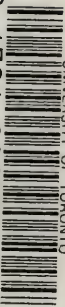
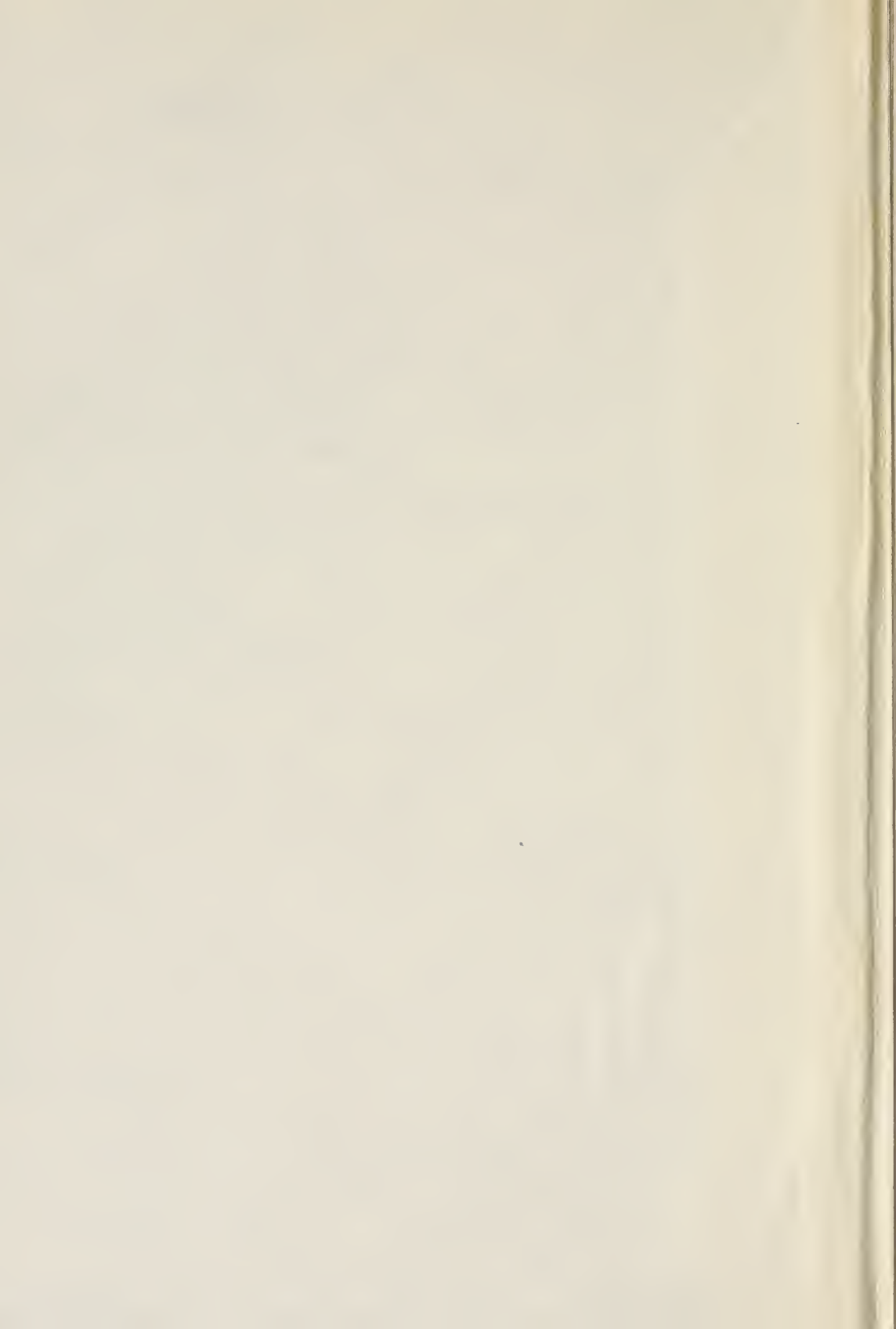


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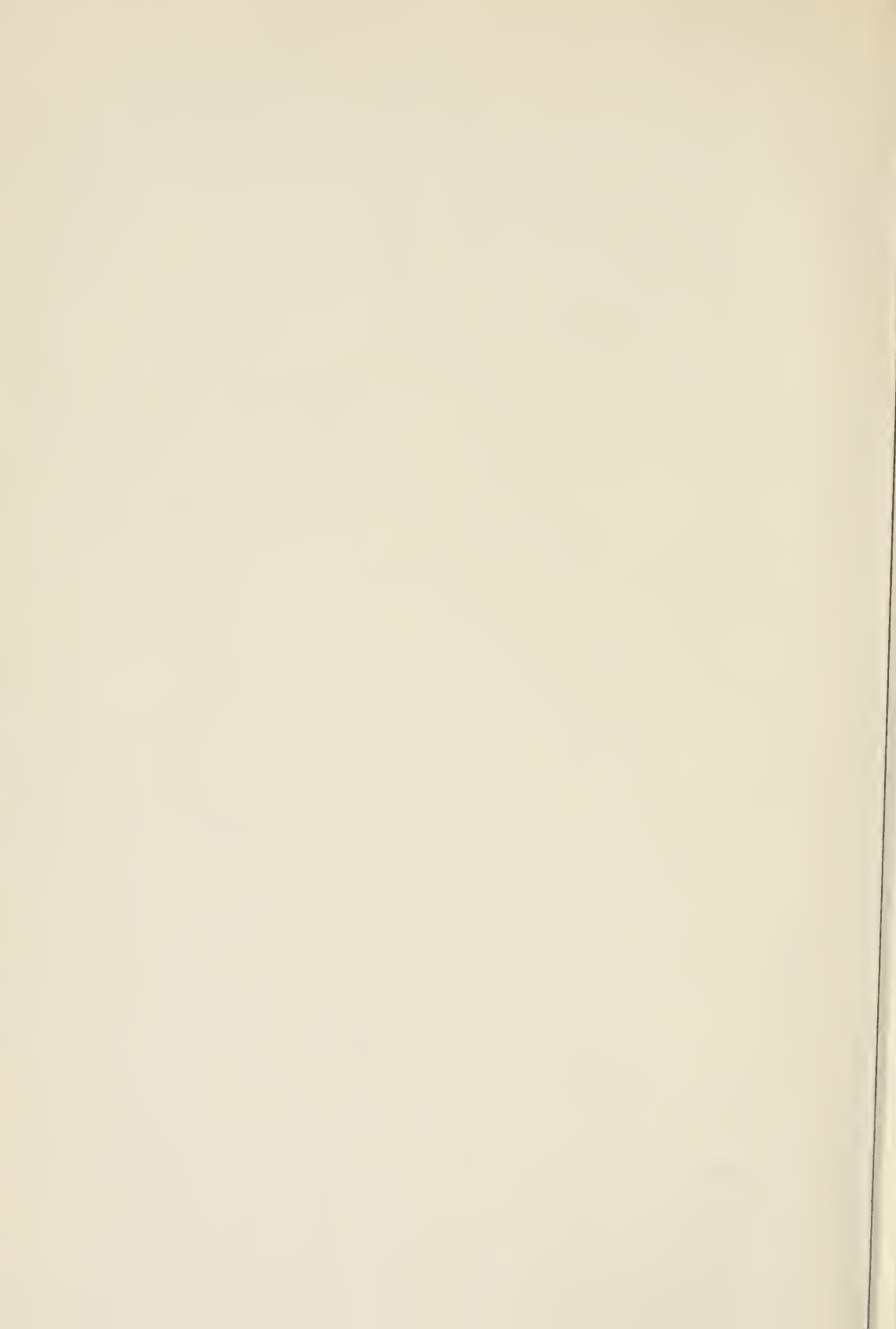


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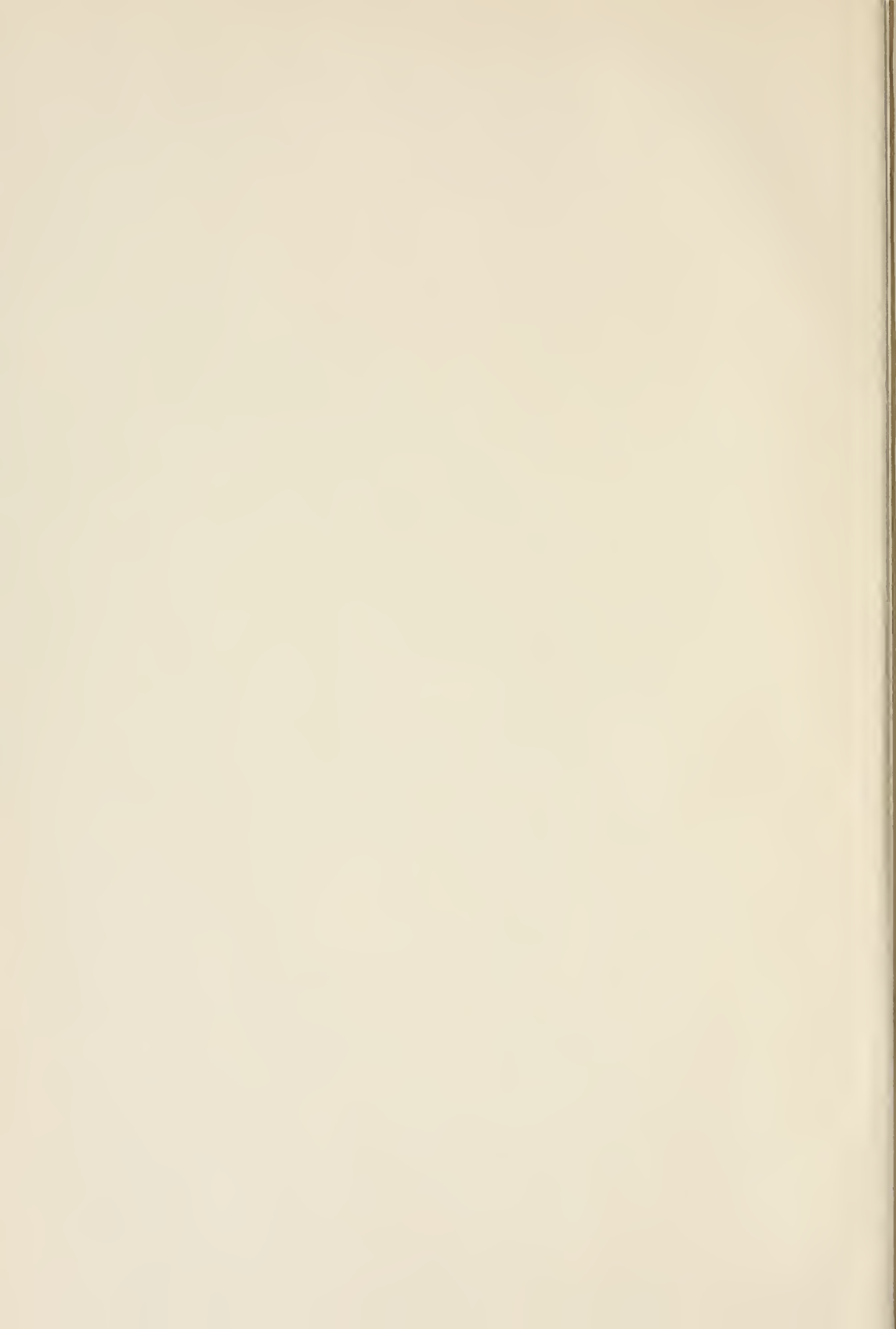




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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XII

*GRENFELL AND HUNT*





EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

*Graeco-Roman Branch*

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XII

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

BY

BERNARD P. GRENFELL, D.LITT.

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE  
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

AND

ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.LITT.

PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE  
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

WITH TWO PLATES

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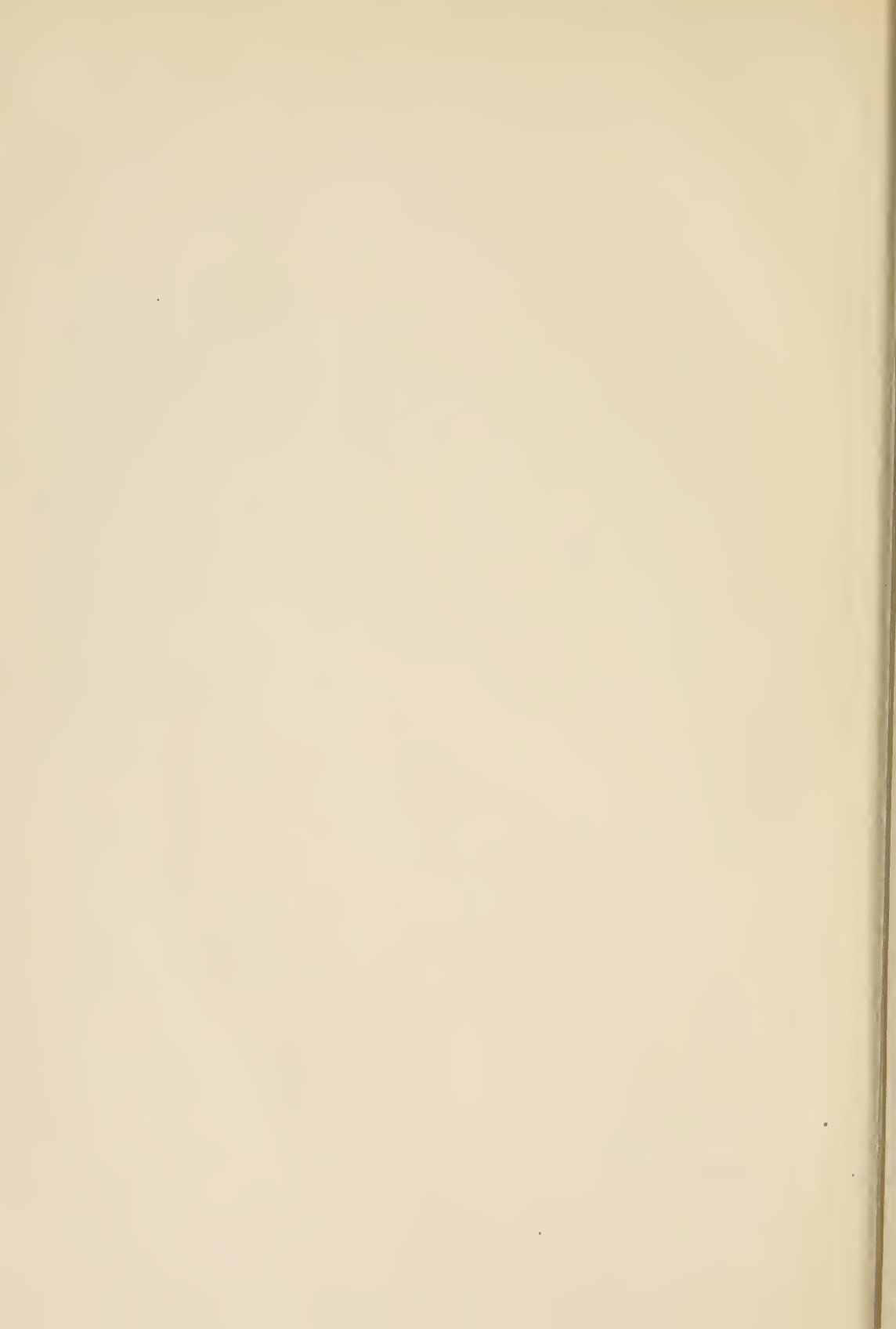
## P R E F A C E

As we announced in the preface of Part XI, which consisted of literary papyri, the present volume contains official and private documents. Most of these, including all those in the two most important sections (i *Edicts and Circular Letters*, and ii *The Senate of Oxyrhynchus*), illustrate the period from Septimius Severus to Constantine; the others belong to the earlier period of Roman domination in Egypt. With a few exceptions, the 189 texts were discovered in 1904-6. The decipherment and translation of them had in the main been effected by June, 1915: since then Prof. Hunt's military duties have generally kept him away from Oxford, and the commentary unfortunately lacks his accustomed share in its composition; but he has made many suggestions upon the proofs. These have also been read by Mr. J. G. Milne, to whom we are indebted for some valuable criticisms on points of numismatics. Dr. J. K. Fotheringham kindly undertook on our behalf some interesting astronomical calculations in connexion with the chronology of the Emperors from Decius to Diocletian, upon which obscure subject the new horoscopes throw considerable light; cf. pp. 229 sqq.

Part XIII, which is in preparation, will contain two sections (*Contracts and Private Accounts*) for which there was not space in this volume, but will consist largely of literary pieces, both theological and classical. Among these are parts of two lost dithyrambs of Pindar, and of two new speeches by Lysias and one by Lycurgus, besides considerable fragments of Pindar's Olympian Odes and Herodotus, Book III.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
AUGUST, 1916.



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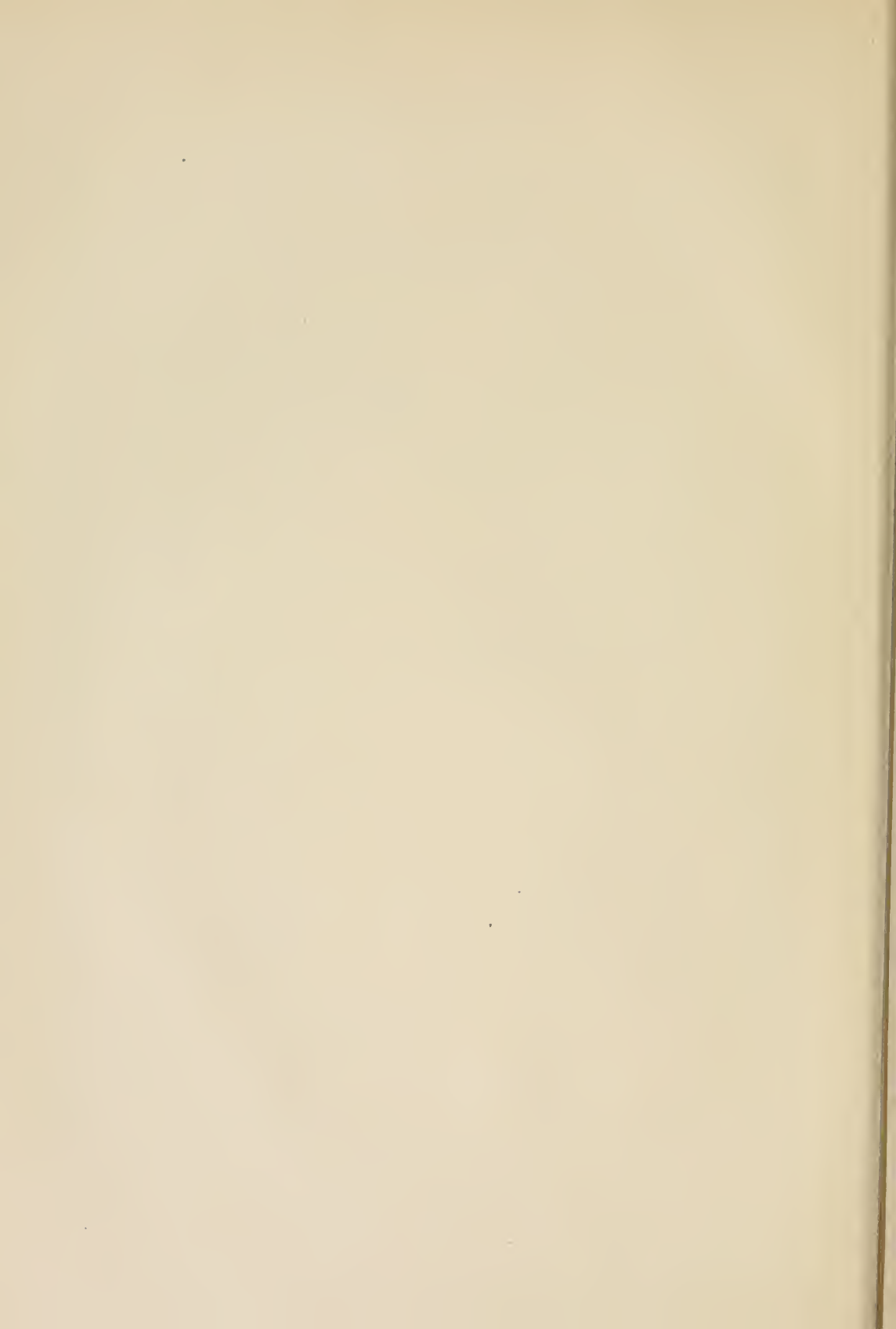
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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I–XI, except that the minor documents are now in nearly all cases given in full. The texts, being non-literary, are all given in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text, their occurrence being recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Where additions or corrections are distinguished, those by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Iota adscript has been printed when so written; otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri in this volume and Parts I–XI, or in the case of Nos. 1626–1655 to the forthcoming Part XIII; ordinary numerals refer to lines, small Roman numerals to columns. In the critical apparatus Π indicates the papyrus in question.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz.:—

*Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.

C. P. Herm. = Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.

C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.

*Griech. Texte* = Griechische Texte aus Aegypten, by P. M. Meyer.

M. *Chrest.* = L. Mitteis, Chrestomathie.

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri, Vols. I–II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I–II, by F. G. Kenyon; Vol. III, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell; Vol. IV, by H. I. Bell.

P. Cairo = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Greek Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Cairo Maspero = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, by J. Maspero.

P. Cairo Preisigke = Griechische Urkunden des Aeg. Museums zu Cairo, by F. Preisigke.

P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.

- P. Flor. = Papiri Fiorentini, Vols. I and III, by G. Vitelli; Vol. II, by D. Comparetti.
- P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.
- P. Giessen = Griechische Papyri zu Giessen, Vol. I, by E. Kornemann, O. Eger, and P. M. Meyer.
- P. Goodsp. = Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum, &c., by E. J. Goodspeed.
- P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell; Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Halle = Dikaiomata, &c., by the Graeca Halensis.
- P. Hamburg = Griech. Papyrusurkunden der Hamburgischen Stadtbibliothek, by P. M. Meyer.
- P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Iand. = Papyri Iandanae, by E. Schaefer and others.
- P. Klein. Form. = Griech. Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats, Studien z. Palaeogr. und Papyruskunde iii, viii, by C. Wessely.
- P. Leipzig = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.
- P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemanns.
- P. Lille = Papyrus grecs de Lille, by P. Jouguet, J. Lesquier, and others.
- P. Munich = Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrussammlung zu München, Part I, by A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger.
- P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-VI and X-XI, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt; Parts VII-IX, by A. S. Hunt.
- P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii. 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.
- P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I-II, by J. P. Mahaffy; Part III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly.
- P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by T. Reinach.
- P. Rev. Laws = The Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an introduction by J. P. Mahaffy.
- P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt; Vol. II, by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A. S. Hunt.
- P. S. I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I-III, by G. Vitelli and others.
- P. Strassb. = Griech. Papyrus der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg, Vol. I, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Stud. Pal. = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, by C. Wessely.
- P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; Part II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed; Part III, in preparation.
- P. Thead. = Papyrus de Théadelphie, by P. Jouguet.
- Preisigke, *S. B.* = Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, Vol. I, by F. Preisigke.
- W. *Chrest.* = U. Wilcken, Chrestomathie.
- Wilcken, *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

## I. EDICTS AND CIRCULAR LETTERS

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### 1405. RESCRIPT OF SEVERUS: APPLICATION TO A STRATEGUS.

13.7 × 7.5 cm.

Third century.

This papyrus, written in a small cursive hand, is an application to a strategus by a man who had been appointed to the office of collector of money-taxes in a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and proposed to evade the duty by giving up his property in accordance with an Imperial rescript, of which a copy is prefixed. It is closely parallel to B. G. U. 473 (*M. Chrest.* 375), which contains part of the beginning of what was no doubt a similar application to a third-century strategus, preceded by a rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla concerning the *cessio bonorum*. In B. G. U. 473 the right-hand half of the lines is missing, and 1405 also is incomplete, having lost the earlier part of the rescript and the end of the application. The strategus, Aurelius Leonides, who is mentioned in 890. 5, a third-century letter without a date, held office in the third year of an unnamed emperor, who on palaeographical grounds probably belonged to the period from Elagabalus to Valerian, so that the rescript, which is dated in Pharmouthi of the 8th year of, probably, a joint reign (cf. l. 8 *ταμέλιον ἡμῶν*), would in any case appear to have been issued by Severus and Caracalla; the fact that its date coincides in respect of the month and number of the regnal year with the date of the parallel rescript in B. G. U. 473 leaves little room for doubt as to the reign. 1405 in any case provides another specimen of the *θεῖαι διατάξεις* referred to in C. P. R. 20 (*W. Chrest.* 402), which supplies the chief evidence concerning the *cessio bonorum* as a means of evading liturgies; cf. Mitteis's commentary, Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 412-15, and 1416. 6 and 1642, which also bear on this subject.

While the rescript in B. G. U. 473 appears, so far as it can be reconstructed, to be mainly a guarantee in general terms to some individual that the renunciation of his property would exempt him from further claims (cf. Mitteis, *Hermes*,

xxxii. 651), the rescript in 1405 evidently provided some more interesting details, but is too incomplete to be at all clear. The recipient had been appointed to a liturgy, the nature of which depends on the restoration of the critical l. 6: perhaps it was a municipal office of some kind, as in C. P. R. 20 and 1642; but the date of the rescript (A. D. 200) is apparently a year or two earlier than the establishment of senates in Egypt (cf. 1406. int.). He seems to have proposed to cede his property to the Imperial fiscus instead of performing the duty; but his proposition was declined by the Emperors, who awarded the property to his nominator and made this person responsible for the liturgy, at the same time guaranteeing the recipient of the rescript against loss of status and corporal punishment.

The application to the strategus which follows throws some new light on the methods of appointing collectors of money-taxes in villages. In the second century they were usually chosen by lot by the epistrategus from lists supplied to the strategus by the comarchs or other village officials nominating two persons for each vacancy; cf. Martin, *Épistratèges*, III sqq., Wilcken, *Grundz.* 347-8. Here, however, the use of the term ἀνωνομάσθαι (l. 17) and the absence of a title after the name of the nominator indicate that he was himself a πράκτωρ, so that the procedure was somewhat similar to that exemplified in 1642 (A. D. 289), where an agoranomus by the command of the praefect nominates his successor, and P. Flor. 2. vii (W. *Chrest.* 401; A. D. 265), where comarchs nominate their successors and the strategus appoints. The writer denied the justice of the selection, and was prepared to abandon his property to his nominator. The papyrus breaks off at the point where he was proceeding to make a declaration about his πόρος (l. 26, note), probably in order to show that it was below the required amount. So far as can be judged, both the renunciation mentioned in the rescript and that referred to in the application concerned the whole property, not merely two-thirds, as supposed by Mitteis. It is noteworthy that in P. Ryl. 75, which is also concerned with ἐκστάσεις of property, though not for the purpose of avoiding public burdens, the whole πόρος seems to have been ceded, and we are less confident than Wilcken or Jouguet that Mitteis's explanation of the phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ νενομισμένου τρίτου in C. P. R. 20. i. 18 is correct; but owing to the incompleteness of 1405 it seems impossible to extract from it a definite solution of the problem; cf. ll. 6-7, n.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .]ρ[. . .] παρεχώρη-  
 [σας . . . . .] εὔδηλόν ἐστιν μὴ τῷ  
 [ταμεί]φ ἡμῶν τὴν παραχώρησιν



[γενέσ]θαι ἀλλὰ τῷ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν  
 5 . [ . . ] μὲν, ὃς ἀναλαβὼν σοῦ τὰ  
 ὑπάρχον[τ]α τὸ λο[π]ὸν τοῦ . . ] π[ρ]ο[σ] . . ]-  
 τικ[ῶν] παρέξει καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀπο-  
 πληρώσει· τὸ γὰρ ταμεῖον ἡμῶν  
 τῶν τοιούτων παραχωρήσεων  
 10 οὐκ ἐφέιεται. ἡ δὲ ἐπιτεμῖα σου ἐ-  
 κ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσεται, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ  
 σῶμα ὑβρεισθήσει. προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρεία η (ἔτους) Φαρμούθι.

Αὐρηλίῳ Λεωνίδῃ στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
 15 παρὰ Αἰμιλίου Στεφάνου Ἀτρῆτος μη-  
 τρὸς Τασορ[ά]π[ι] [ος] ἀπὸ κόμης Σιγκέφα.  
 τῇ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἔμαθον ἀντωνο-  
 μάσθαι με ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Ἀμόιτος Πατάτος  
 μητρὸς Δημητροῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κ[ώ]-  
 20 μης εἰς πρακτορείαν ἀργυρικῶν κωμ[η]-  
 τικῶν λημμάτων τῆς αὐτῆς Σιγκέφα τοῦ  
 ἐνεστώτος γ (ἔτους) ὡς εὔπορον καὶ ἐπιτή-  
 δειον. οὐκ ἀνὰ λόγων οὖν οὐδὲ πρὸς [τὸ ?  
 μέρος τῆς λειτουργίας, ἀλλ' ἐξιστανόμενος  
 25 αὐτῷ κα(τὰ) τὴν προκειμένην θείαν  
 [διάταξιν] ὀ[φ] [λ]ῶ ἔχειν με πόρου ἐπὶ δι-

12. ετ Of προετεθη corr.

23. l. λόγον.

' . . . you ceded (your property) . . . , it is clear that the cession was made not to our Treasury, but to the person who nominated you to the office, who having taken possession of your property will provide the rest of the . . . and fulfil the duties of the office; for our Treasury does not desire such cessions. Your citizenship, however, will in no way be injured thereby, nor will you be subjected to corporal punishment. Published at Alexandria in the 8th year, Pharmouthi.

To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aemilius Stephanus son of Hatres and Tasorapis, from the village of Sinkepha. To-day I learnt that I had been nominated as his successor by Aurelius Amois son of Patas and Demetrous, of the said village, for the office of collector of the village money-dues of the said Sinkepha for the present 3rd year, as being a person of means and suitable. This is unreasonable and

contrary to the just apportionment of the liturgy, so that I resign my property to him in accordance with the Imperial decree cited above, and declare that I . . .

1. παρεχώρησις: cf. παραχώρησις in ll. 3 and 9. Elsewhere the usual verb is ἐξίστασθαι, e.g. l. 24 and 1417. 6. The preceding words may have been τὰ ὑπάρχοντα; cf. ll. 5-6.

2. ἐξ ὧν would hardly fill the lacuna before εὐδηλον, and παρεχώρησις may be in a dependent clause governed by e.g. ἐπέι.

3. [ταμί]ω ἡμῶν: cf. l. 8 and int.

5. . . [ . . . ] μένω: προβαλομένω, the word expected here (cf. C. P. R. 20. i. 6), is too long. δ[εδο]μένω would not give the right sense, and the vestige of the first letter does not suit δ.

6-7. τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ . . . [πο] . . . [ι]τικοῦ] παρέξει: the reading is very uncertain; but, though τό is preferable to τά, τὸ τρι[τον] referring to the *νενομισμένον τρίτον* in C. P. R. 20, which Mitteis supposes to have been given back to the owner (cf. int.), is inadmissible. τὸ προσηκόν is possible, or τὰ προσηκόντα with -τικά in l. 7, but then παρ does not fill up the space before εζει, and no other compound of εζει suits the vestiges. πο, if correct, suggests either an adjective beginning with ὑπο- or else πολ[ι]τικού, but τὸ πολιτικόν does not seem to occur in papyri, and ἐκ τοῦ πολ[ι]τικού, with a supposed reference to τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῇ πόλει τρίτον μέρος (C. P. Herm. 92. 12, 93. 10), which has been sometimes connected with the *νενομισμένον τρίτον* in C. P. R. 20 (cf. Jouguet, *l. c.*), does not yield a satisfactory sense; for, if the πόλις paid  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the expenses of liturgies, a regulation would not be expected allowing a person who, in return for his nominee's property, himself undertook a liturgy to obtain 'from the city's account' the balance of expenses incurred. The supplement [λε] is moreover rather short for the lacuna before ι (which is more probable than ρ), and as the sense expected is that the nominator would, on receipt of his nominee's property, have to provide the rest of the expenses himself, probably the word refers to the nature of the liturgy in question. γ might be read for τ in τικο[υ], for which ἡ κα[τ]ί is a possible, though less suitable, substitute. ] would then be the termination of another verb in the future.

11. Cf. C. P. R. 20. i. 15-16 ὑπάρχει ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν θείων διατά[ξ]ειω[ν] [ . . . ] η . [ . . . ] βο[ήθεια] τὸ μηδεμίαν βίαν πάσχειν.

16. Σιγκέφα: a village in the ἄνω τοπαρχία: cf. 1285. 65.

20. κωμ[η]τικῶν: there is an implied contrast with μητροπολιτικῶν; cf. 1283. 4 πρακτόρων ἀργ. μητροπολιτικῶν μέσης τοπ[αρχίας] Πειενὸ τόπων, and 1444. int.

26. For [διάταξιν] cf. l. 11, n. πυροῦ ἐπὶ δι[αφόρῳ] ('at interest') might equally well be read; but πόρον is expected at this point, though what the next words are is obscure. The amount of the property-qualification in extant papyri concerning πράκτορες ἀγγυρικῶν in villages ranges from 700 drachmae to 3 talents 3,200 dr.; cf. P. Giessen 58. int.

#### 1406. EDICT OF CARACALLA CONCERNING SENATORS.

10.2 × 9.4 cm.

A.D. 213-17. Plate I.

This short edict of Caracalla has lost the ends of lines, but the sense is clear. Senators who assault or use unseemly language towards the president or other members of their body are to be deprived of their rank. Senates were first instituted in the nome-capitals by Septimius Severus about A.D. 202, as at Alexandria (cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 41), and their meetings, for reports of which see 1413-15, are likely to have been rather turbulent, at any rate in the early days.

The date of the edict, which was published at some other town than Alexandria, perhaps Babylon (cf. l. 10, n.), is defined, not, as usual, by the consuls or regnal year, but by reference to a local official, who was apparently described as *ἐναρχος ἄρχων* and was an inhabitant of Heliopolis; cf. ll. 11-12, n. The occurrence of Germanicus Maximus among the Emperor's titles indicates that the edict was not issued earlier than the autumn of A. D. 213. This copy may perhaps be a few years later, but was probably written before the end of the reign. Three other edicts of Caracalla on papyrus are extant in P. Giessen 40, and a rescript by him in P. Flor. 382. i. 5-9. 1406 is perhaps incomplete at the top, and another edict may have preceded.

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ[άρκος Αὐρήλιος  
Σεουήρος Ἀντωνῖνος Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος  
Βρεταν(ν)ικῶς Μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς  
Μέγιστος Ε[ὐσ]εβ[ῆ]ς Σεβαστὸς

5 λέγει·

ἐὰν βουλευτῆς τὸν [πρύτανιν ἢ βουλευ-  
τὴν τύψῃ ἢ μέμψ[ητα]ι [. . . . .],  
ὁ μὲν βουλ[ε]υτῆς τῆς βουλείας ἀ[παλλά-  
ξεται καὶ εἰς ἄτιμον χώραν [καταστή-?

10 σεται. προετέθη ἐν Β[αβυλῶνι]?

ὑπὸ σ[τ]οῦ ἀ δημοσίᾳ ἐν[άρχου] ἄρ-  
χοντος Αὐρηλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου . . . . .

ἀπὸ Ἡλίου [π]όλεως.

6. β of βουλευτῆς corr. 11. ὑπο Π, the ν corr. 13. This line was an afterthought, as is shown by the deletion of a paragraphus below l. 12.

‘Proclamation of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus.

If a senator strike or censure [in an unseemly manner] the [prytanis] or another senator, he shall be deprived of his rank and set in a position of dishonour. Published at B[abylon?] in the public colonnade, the magistrate in office being Aurelius Alexander son of . . ., of Heliopolis.’

1-4. For the restoration of Caracalla's titles cf. P. Flor. *l. c.* (Jan. 216), and e. g. 1278. 31-3 (Dec. 6, 214).

7. An adverb, e. g. *αἰσχρολόγως*, probably followed μέμψ[ητα]ι.

9-10. [καταστή]σεται: cf. 1469. 5 ἀναπόστατοι καταστη[σ]όμεθα. [κατασταθῆ]ται is rather long, and the verb in ll. 8-9 is middle.

10. ἐν Β[αβυλῶνι]: the supposed β is very doubtful, for the traces suit κ better; ε is the only other letter possible. Imperial edicts in papyri usually give the date of publication

at Alexandria, but P. Giessen 40. ii. 12-13 states the dates of promulgation first at Rome and then at Alexandria, and two of the rescripts in 1407 are dated respectively from Ne]apolis (l. 8) and Rome (l. 16). The mention of Heliopolis in l. 13 as the place of origin of the magistrate indicates an Egyptian place-name here, and supports β[αβυλῶν], which was in the Heliopolite nome according to Ptolemy. Of towns beginning with κ Κάνωπος was the most important, but was far from Heliopolis; Κερκέσουρα (Strabo, p. 806) or Κερκάσωρος (Hdt. ii. 15) was in the Letopolite nome opposite Heliopolis, but does not seem a likely place for the publication of the edict, which may have been issued during Caracalla's visit to Egypt in 215, like P. Giessen 40. ii. 16-29.

11-12. ὑπὸ στοᾷ δημοσίᾳ: for the precise definition of the place of publication cf. B. G. U. 140. 5-6 ἐν . . . ἐν τῇ π[α]ρεμβολ(ῇ) τῆ[ς] χειμασί[σ] λεγιῶνο(ς) τρίτης] Κυ[ρ]ηναϊκῆς κτλ., 35 recto. 9-13 (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, i. 130) προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξ[ανδρεία] . . . ἐκ συνκολλησι[μῶν Βιβλιδίων] Αἰδευίων Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου . . . προτεθέντων τῇ ἐνεστῶ[σ]ῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀφφικιαίων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Ἰσίῳ. For a στοᾷ at Hermopolis cf. C. P. Herm. 119 recto. iii. 16 πρὸς τῇ καμάρᾳ ὑπὸ στοᾶν Ἀντινοϊτικῆς πλατίας. In P. Giessen 40. ii. 13 and probably in 35. 13 ὑπὸ after προετέθη means 'by', referring to the official making the publication; but though δημοσί[ο]ν might perhaps be read, we are unable to reconcile the preceding word with a proper name. Σοῦλ, a name found in P. Grenf. ii. 76. 13, is unsatisfactory; moreover δημοσίον is not very likely as a title by itself, i. e. equivalent to ὀφφικιαίου (cf. 35), and δημοσίον ἐν[ . . . . . ] does not suggest any known title.

ἐν[άρχου ἀρ]χοντος: ἄρχοντες with titles of officials is very frequent. ἄρχοντες in the plural is common as a general term for municipal magistrates, e. g. gymnasiarchs, cosmetae, or prytaeis, and ἄρξας frequently occurs as a title 'ex-magistrate' (cf. Preisigke, *Städt. Beamtenwesen*, 8, 14, and Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv. 119); ἄρχων is found in Egypt in the phrase πρυτανικός ἄρχων (592; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 47; A. D. 122-3), in the acclamations of the δῆμος in honour of a prytaeis (41. 12 τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆ πόλι), P. Thead. 32. 13 Αὐρήλιος Φίρμος ἄρχ(ων) ἀποδέκτης κριθῆς, where it corresponds to βουλ(ευτῆς) and ἀγορ(ανομήσας) in the titles of the ἐπιμελητὰι κριθῆς in l. 1 and means 'magistrate', P. Amh. 146. 4 ἡτάθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος (fifth century), referring to an unspecified magistrate, a third-century ostrakon from Oxyrhynchus (Preisigke, *S. B.* 1951) Φιλῆας ἄρχων, and 1526. 10 Διογένης . . . ἄρχ(ων), both referring to unspecified magistrates of Oxyrhynchus: it is also applied to the praefect in fourth-century papyri, P. Leipzig 33. ii. 16, 34. 19, 37. 27. In C. I. G. 4822 (= Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 698; early second century) ἄρχων Θηβῶν is interpreted by Dittenberger as equivalent to Θηβάρχης, an official who dates from the Ptolemaic period and seems to have been the military governor of the town of Thebes. On this analogy ἄρχοντος might be interpreted as the military governor of the town in question (Babylon?; cf. l. 10, n.), rather than as equivalent to e. g. πρυτανικός ἄρχων or gymnasiarch, especially as a precise official title is expected in this context; but the evidence of recent papyri considerably diminishes the force of Dittenberger's distinction between ἄρχων and ἄρχοντες in Egypt.

#### 1407. IMPERIAL RESCRIPTS.

FR. I 16.1 × 16.3 cm.

Late third century.

These two fragments of a series of Imperial rescripts (cf. 1020, P. Flor. 382, Giessen 40) are too small to be intelligible, the lines being of great length. The larger contains the ends of lines of three such rescripts and a few letters from the beginnings of lines of apparently a fourth, but the document begin-

ning at l. 33 was different, being perhaps a letter of or to the senate of Oxyrhynchus. The margin at the bottom is preserved, but not at the top. On the verso in a different hand of about A. D. 300 are parts of 12 lines of an official letter of some kind with a margin at the top, a circumstance which suggests that the papyrus was cut down before the verso was used. The small fragment (2), from a rescript or edict of Aurelian, has on the verso parts of two lines of the letter, and the margin above the writing there corresponds to that on the verso of Fr. 1. The spacing of the lines in Fr. 2, recto, shows that they do not belong to Fr. 1. i. 1-3; but they may well belong to Fr. 1. ii. 22-4, where in l. 22 the enlarged and projecting initial letter suggests Α[ὐτοκράτωρ. Otherwise, if Fr. 2 is placed e. g. above Fr. 1, it is necessary to disconnect the lines on the verso of Frs. 1 and 2 and to suppose a blank space between them, which is not very likely.

Of the three rescripts in Col. i the first (ll. 1-8) is dated Phaophi 17 (Oct. 14) of the 7th year, and evidently the consuls were Nummius Tuscus and Mummius . . . (l. 7) and more than one Emperor was reigning (cf. l. 6 ἡμεῖς); but all that survives of the Imperial titles is ]τος, probably Σεβασ]τός. Nummius Tuscus and Annius Anullinus, the consuls of 295 (the 11-12th year of Diocletian which = the 10-11th of Maximian) are clearly unsuitable, and the consuls of 258 under Valerian and Gallienus, M. Nummius Tuscus and Bassus, must be meant. The gentile name of that Bassus was not known. A Pomponius Bassus was consul for the second time in 271 with Aurelian, but he seems to be identical with the Bassus who was consul with Aemilianus in 259, not with the colleague of Tuscus, who belongs to the previous year, and, as now appears, was called Mummius [Bassus]. A chronological question of considerable interest is raised by a comparison of the consular dating with that by the regnal year; for the 7th (Egyptian) year of Valerian and Gallienus is generally considered to have been 259-60, whereas, if Oct. 14 of it fell within the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus, the 7th year was 258-9. In 1201. 20, however, Sept. 24 of the 6th year fell in the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus, and it is not necessary that the consulship in 1407. 7 should synchronize with the regnal year in l. 8; for while the former presumably refers to the day on which the rescript was written, the latter, which is separated from the former by a mention of the place of writing, may well refer to the day on which the rescript was published at Alexandria (cf. e. g. 1405. 12-13); and, as P. Giessen 40. i. 12-15 shows, there could be an interval of seven months between the writing of an edict and its publication in Egypt. It is true that, if the 7th year is 259-60, the interval between the writing and the publication of the rescript was, even if it was written quite at the end of 258, as much as 9½ months, and may have been much

longer, and the earlier date for the 7th year of Valerian and Gallienus would remove the difficulty caused by the datings in the 7th year of Aurelian. But the astronomical evidence provided by two horoscopes of the present volume confirms the generally accepted date for the 7th year of Valerian and Gallienus, 259-60; cf. 1476. int., where the chronology of this period is discussed.

The rescript seems to have been a more or less favourable answer to a petition (cf. ll. 6-7 σοὶ ἐπικουροῦ[μεν]), and to have been written from Ne[apolis] (l. 8), but whether this refers to Naples, Cavalla, or Neapolis near Alexandria is not clear. Valerian is generally thought to have spent a year or more in the East before his capture by Sapor, which occurred in his 7th or 8th Egyptian year. The restoration of the Imperial titles in ll. 1-2 is obscure owing to the uncertainty regarding the length of the lines; cf. note *ad loc.*

The second rescript (ll. 9-16) was issued from Rome by an Emperor bearing the titles Pius Felix Augustus, who was therefore later than Caracalla, and probably not earlier than Gallienus; for the concluding rescript was issued by Aurelian, and a chronological order may have been observed here, though not found in P. Flor. 382. That it was a rescript rather than an edict is not definitely proved, but from its position between two rescripts is highly probable. Lines 10-11 appear to be concerned with an official appointment, which, as is shown by the following lines, had some bearing on ναύκληροι and a πρυτανεία. Perhaps the corn-supply was the main subject, but ἐφέσεις, 'appeals' (cf. 1185. 6), are mentioned in l. 15.

The third rescript (ll. 17-21) was in the form of a short letter to the senate and people of a city, and in some way related to παῖδες, perhaps children of gymnasiarchs or other municipal officials; cf. 1417. There is no clear connexion between the various documents in 1407, but they may be all concerned with municipal affairs, especially if ll. 33 sqq. are a letter of the senate of Oxyrhynchus. The Imperial titles Pius Felix Augustus in l. 17 come almost exactly under the same titles in l. 9, which suggests that the name of the Emperor was the same; but l. 18 contains additional titles, showing that he was either tribune or imperator for the third time, consul, and *pater patriae*. These titles exclude Gallienus, but would suit Claudius II or Aurelian, who are on the whole most likely to be the author or authors of the second and third rescripts, since after a gap at the top of Col. ii, in which one or two rescripts may be lost, the author of the rescript (or edict) in ll. 22-32 was, if Fr. 2 is rightly placed, Aurelian, apparently without Vaballathus. Claudius was consul in 269 (according to some inscriptions for the second time), and his third tribunician year was apparently Dec. 10, 269-Dec. 9, 270 (cf. 1476. int.), while Aurelian was consul in 271, his third tribunician year being apparently Dec. 10, 271-Dec. 9, 272; ὑπατος,



Fr. I. Col. ii + Fr. 2.

Α[ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Δομίτιος Αὐ]ρηλιανὸς [Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς  
Σεβαστὸς ?

	[	32 letters		]αι ἐντ[							
	. [	31 letters		]ω ἀργί[							
25	αἰ[	26	ε[	27	τ[	28	αποστ[	29-32	lost	33	'Οξίυρρυγιτῶν

1-2. The τ of ]τος in l. 1 is fairly certain, γ and σ being the only alternatives; Σεβασ]τός or Μέγισ]τος therefore seems inevitable. In the 7th year of Valerian and Gallienus, Saloninus was Caesar or Augustus (cf. 1273. 44 and 1563. 1), and on the analogy of ll. 9, 17, 22 and 889, part of an edict of Diocletian and Maximian in A. D. 300, ll. 1-2 or 1-3 would be expected to run *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ* (so also probably 889. 1, rather than *Αὐτοκράτωρ* alone) Πούβλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Γαλλιῆνος Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Πούβλιος Δικίνιος Κορνῆλιος Σαλωνῖνος Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ, followed by a name in the dative with or without *χαίρειν*. Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος might however well be omitted in both cases, as it is in C. P. Herm. 119 verso. iii. 8-16, a rescript of Gallienus alone. If ]τος belongs to Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος in Valerian's titles, l. 1 has 62 letters and ll. 2-3 would have to be restored Οὐ]α[λ][ε]ρ[ε]ν[ο]ς referring to Gallienus; but this reading seems to be inadmissible, for (1) if a ρ occurred in the lacuna before α, the tail of it ought to have been visible, (2) l. 2 would be expected to be 1 or 2 letters shorter than l. 1, whereas with Οὐ]α[λ][ε]ρ[ε]ν[ο]ς at the end it would be 5 letters longer, (3) l. 3 would hardly provide any space for a name between the conclusion of Gallienus' titles and ]αι πρὸς τὸ, to say nothing of the omission of Saloninus. If ]τος belongs to Σεβασ]τός in Valerian's titles, l. 1 would have 84 letters or, omitting Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος, 66, but the titles of Gallienus would still be expected to reach the end of l. 2, and in order to explain ]α[.].[.].α there as part of the name of the recipient of the rescript it would be necessary to suppose the omission of not only Saloninus but part of Gallienus' titles (e. g. *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ*, if the plural was employed in l. 1). These difficulties can be avoided by supposing the lines to have been much longer than 66 or 84 letters and referring ]τος to Gallienus. The restoration *Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Πούβ. Δικ. Οὐαλ. Γερμ. Μέγ. καὶ Πούβ. Δικ. Οὐαλ. Γαλλ. Γερμ. Μέγισ]τος* | [*Εὐσεβείς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβ. Δικ. Κορν. Σαλ. Οὐαλ. ὁ ἐπιφ. Καῖσ.*], corresponding to the ordinary dating formula of these Emperors, would give 124 letters for l. 1, or, if *Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ.* was repeated, 136. With *Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ.* repeated after each Emperor and Σεβασ]τός referring to Gallienus l. 1 would have 180 letters if Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος was inserted, 144 if it was omitted in both cases. Any one of these restorations would provide room for both the insertion of Saloninus' name in l. 2 and a space before ]α[.].[.].α, but is open to the objections that in l. 17 certainly, and in l. 9 probably, only one Emperor's name and titles occupy the whole of a line, and, secondly, that the additional titles added in l. 18 after Σεβαστὸς suit a line of about 62 or 80 letters, so that with a line of over 140 letters there must have been an unusual insertion there. 889. 2 adds *νικητῆς* to the titles of Diocletian, but places it between *Εὐτυχῆς* and Σεβαστὸς, a position which is incompatible with l. 17. Titles like Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος can follow Σεβαστὸς, though it is more usual for them to precede; but they cannot be used for expanding l. 18 without producing a deficiency in l. 17. That Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος, which is a constant title of the Emperors from Valerian to Probus, except Tacitus, was omitted in ll. 17-18, where the



Emperor's titles are fuller than in ll. 1 and 9, is unlikely, and on the whole a line of about 80 letters, making ]τος in l. 1 Σεβασ]τός as in ll. 9 and 17, seems most probable; but we are unable to solve the difficulty of ll. 1-2 satisfactorily. To suppose that Valerian owing to his absence in the East was omitted is not in accordance with ἡμεῖς in l. 6 or with extant laws of A. D. 258-60 in the Cod. Justin., and the supposition that the rescript belongs to another reign altogether seems to be incompatible with ll. 7-8. Above l. 1 is a blank space.

7. Νουμμίῳ Τούσκῳ: the mention of the consuls' names in the dative is usual in rescripts, e. g. 889. 11. These were no doubt followed by the day on the Roman calendar, which is not likely to have corresponded to Phaophi 17; cf. int. The vestige of the first letter of Νουμμίῳ is insufficient to decide between ν and μ, but though sometimes called Memmius Tuscus (or Memmius Fuscus, as in Vopisc. *Vit. Aurelian.* 13), his correct name, *M. Num. Tusco*, occurs in C. I. L. vi. 2388. Nummius Tuscus, consul in 295 and apparently *praefectus urbi* in 302-3, may have been his son; cf. *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* ii. 421.

9. The Emperor is very likely the same as in l. 17; cf. int.

13. μετα- here and in l. 14 may well be part of μεταγωγῆ or μεταφορά (cf. B. G. U. 286. 8), referring to the transport of corn; cf. int.

14. Perhaps δίκαιον, but e. g. 'Ρω]μαίων can be read.

17-18. Before τὸ τρίτον either δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας or Αὐτοκράτωρ is to be restored. The meaning of the numbers following *imperator* in late third-century inscriptions and coins is disputed. Dessau (*Ephem. Epigr.* vii. 429 sqq.) considers that from the time of Gallienus onwards they refer to regnal years, not to victories as in previous reigns, and probably, if Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ . . . occurred here, the figure coincided with that of the tribunician year. The usual order of these Imperial official titles was (1) *pontifex maximus*, (2) *tribunicia potestas*, (3) *imperator*, (4) *consul*; but there are numerous exceptions. The restoration ἀρχιερέως μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τρίτον Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ τρίτον ὑπάτος παρ. πατρ. produces 80 letters in l. 18, or without Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ τρ., which is often omitted after 250, 62. With the lower figure Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. would make 60 letters for l. 17, Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Δούκιος Δομίτιος Αὐρηλιανὸς κτλ. 63 (cf. int.), so that there would be no room for titles like Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος, the insertion of which in l. 17 would yield a line of about 80 letters. A line much in excess of 80 letters would create a great difficulty with regard to the restoration of l. 18; cf. n. on ll. 1-2.

19. Ὁξυρρυγχιτῶν τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῆ κρατίστη βουλῆ (cf. B. G. U. 1074. 10) would give a line of 72 letters; cf. notes on ll. 1-2, 17-18, and 33. But there is no particular reason for supposing a mention of Oxyrhynchus at this point.

24. Καῖ]σαρ, γάρ, and ἀργυ]ρ are inadmissible.

33. Probably Ὁξί]υρρυγχιτῶν τῆς λαμ. καὶ λαμπροτ. πόλεως ἡ κρατίστη βουλή (οἱ τῆ κρ. βουλῆ); cf. l. 19, n. and int.

#### 1408. REPORT OF A TRIAL: CIRCULAR AND EDICT OF A PRAEFECT.

34.1 × 25 cm.

About A. D. 210-14.

The recto of this papyrus contains a taxing-list concerning State lands in the Arsinoite nome (1446). On the verso in a large, almost uncial hand is a nearly complete broad column, containing (1) the conclusion of a report of a trial concerning a surety before Sopater, an official whose rank is not stated, (2) a circular of the praefect Juncinus to the strategi of the Heptanomia and

Arsinoïte nome concerning the suppression of robbers, enclosing (3) an edict on the same subject for publication; cf. 1100 and B. G. U. 646. This edict was continued in the next column, which is lost, and at least one column (cf. l. 1, n.) of the report of the trial is missing. Juncinus is known from P. Giessen 40. ii. 14 to have been in office on Mecheir 4 of the 21st year of Caracalla (Jan. 29, 213) after Subatianus Aquila, who apparently was still praefect on Epeiph 29 of the 18th year (July 23, 210; cf. P. Flor. 6), and before Septimius Heraclitus, who had entered office by Phamenoth 20 of the 23rd year (March 16, 215; cf. B. G. U. 362. vii. 8). The circular of Juncinus is dated in l. 21 Phaophi 28 (Oct. 25), and the missing number of the regnal year therefore ranged from 19 to 23.

As in B. G. U. 15, which bears a formal resemblance to 1408, the trial (ll. 2-10) seems to have no connexion with the following edict, and may have taken place some years earlier. The contending parties were Tryphon, whom the judge speaks of as ἀξιολογώτατος and who perhaps had occupied some official position, and on the other hand Asclepiades and apparently his father, who had become mutual sureties for Tryphon in connexion with the payment of a fine (πρόστιμον). The exaction of this was imminent, and Asclepiades wished to go away for a time, probably to present an appeal to the praefect (l. 7, n.); but to this proceeding Tryphon objected, and the ultimate decision was that Asclepiades should return within fifteen days and pay to Tryphon the full amount of the surety in question. Where the trial took place and whether Sopater was a local official (e.g. strategus of the Arsinoïte nome) or an Alexandrian magistrate (e.g. archidicastes) are not clear. He may be identical with Julius Sopater, ἐπιστρατηγῆσας in 226 (1459. 7). The beginnings of lines are lost throughout, and in most cases a few letters at the ends are wanting. The enlarged ν of κατελθεῖν in l. 8 (cf. the ν of χαίρειν in l. 11) determines the ending point, and the certain restorations at the beginnings of ll. 4 and 8 fix the size of the initial lacuna in ll. 2-10. In the circular this seems to have been about three letters smaller after l. 11, an initial lacuna of the same size as that in ll. 2-10 being evidently unsuitable to e. g. ll. 14-15 π[ά]ν[τ]ε[ς]. In the edict the probable restorations at the beginnings of ll. 22 and 26 suggest that the lines uniformly began about three letters to the right of ll. 12-20; but, since the lacunae at the beginnings of ll. 23-6 are larger than in ll. 11-20 and the restorations more doubtful, ll. 23-6 may have been uniform with ll. 12-20, l. 22, which is introductory, being in that case slightly indented.

The circular of Juncinus (ll. 11-21) concerning the publication of his edict is couched in a severe tone, the word κίνδυνος occurring thrice. Evidently Egypt was in a disturbed condition at this period owing to organized bands of robbers, as in the time of Marcus Aurelius, when the praefect M. Sempronius Liberalis

dealt with the subject in an edict extant in B. G. U. 372 (= W. *Chrest.* 19). Juncinus' edict opened with general reflexions upon the shelter afforded to criminals (ll. 22-6).

]β.

- [. . . .] δός. Σώπατρος [εἶπεν] ἀρκέσουσί σοι πεντεκαίδεκα. Τρύφων  
εἶπεν· ἐπὶ τοῦ- [  
[τῷ μέ]ντοι, ἐὰν ἐντὸς τῆς [προθεσ]μίας ἀπαιτηθῶ, ἔχειν με πρὸς αὐτὸν  
τὴν ἀγωγὴν. [  
[Σώπα]τρος εἶπεν· τοῦτο καὶ χ[ω]ρ[ι]ς] ἐντεύξεως καὶ ὑπομνημάτων πάντως  
ἢ πρ[οσ-  
5 [φώνησι]ς καὶ ἢ τῆς ἐγγύης ἀναδοχῆ καὶ τὸ χειρόγραφον τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
πατρὸς τὸ πισ[τόν  
[σοι παρ]έχει. Ἀσκληπιάδης εἶπεν· κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος. Τρύφων  
εἶπεν· οἶ  
[. . . ἀλλ]ηλέγγυοί εἰσιν· μία γὰρ ἔκκλ[η]τος καὶ ἐν πρόστειμόν ἐστιν.  
Σώπατρο[ς]  
[Ἀσκληπι]άδης εἶπεν· φρόντισον ἐντὸς τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν κατελθεῖν  
[καὶ τὸ πρό]στειμον πᾶν, ἀλληλεγγύη γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν, θεματίσαι, ἵν' ἔχη  
ὁ ἀξιολ[ογώ-  
10 [τατος Τρ]ύφων τὸ ἀσφαλές.  
[Βαίβιος] Ἰουγκίνος στρατηγοῖς Ἐπτὰ νομῶν καὶ Ἀρσινοῦτου χαίρειν. [  
[ἔ]χω μὲν ὑμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐτέρων] μου γραμμάτων προστάξας πεφροντισ-  
μ[έ]ν[ω]ς  
[τῆ]ν τῶν ληστῶν ἀναζήτησ[ιν] ποιήσασθαι, κίνδυνον ὑμεῖν ἐπαρτήσας  
εἰ ἀμ[ε-  
[λε]ίτε, καὶ νῦν δὲ διατάγμα[ι β]εβαιῶσαί μου τὴν γνώμην ἠθέλησα,  
ἵνα πά[ν-  
15 [τέ]ς εἰδῶσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐκ ἔκ παρέργου τιθέμενον τοῦτο  
τὸ [  
[χρέ]ος, ἀλλ[ὰ] καὶ τοῖ[ς] συλλημψομένοις ὑμῖν γέρα προτιθέντα, κίνδυ-  
νον [δὲ  
[τοῖς ἀπει]θεῖν προαιρουμένο[ι]ς ἐπανατεινόμενον. ὅπερ διάταγμα βού-  
[λομαι  
[ἐν τε ταῖς μη]τροπόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις τῶν νομῶν (τόποις)  
προτεθῆν[αι,

[ζημίας ὑμῖν ἐπικ]εϊμένης μετὰ κινδύνου εἴ τις κακουργὸς λαθὼν β[ιάξε-  
 20 [σθαι δύναται. ] ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι.  
 [ (ἔτους) . .] ≠ Φαῶφι κη.  
 [Λούκιος Βα]ίβ[ι]ος] Αὐρήλιος Ἰουγκίνος ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει·  
 [τὸ? τοὺς ληστὰς κα]θαι[ρ]εῖν χωρὶς τῶν ὑποδεχομένων μὴ δύνασθαι  
 πᾶ[σι]  
 [φανερὸν, ἀλλὰ] γυμνοὺς τῶν περικειμένων αὐτοῖς ὄντας ταχέως  
 τ[ι]μω-  
 25 [ρησόμεθα? εἰσὶ] δὲ ὑποδεχομένων πολλοὶ τρόποι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 κοινωγ[οῦ]-  
 [ντες τῶν ἀδικη]μάτων ὑποδέχονται, οἱ δὲ οὐ μετέχοντες μὲν κα[.] .

5. εὔγυης Π. 7. ἀλλ]ηλεγύνοι Π. First ι of εἰσιν corr. from σ. 9. ἀλληλεγύνη Π.  
 20. λ of βούλομαι corr. from μ.

‘. . . Asclepiades said, “Grant me . . . days.” Sopater said, “Fifteen will suffice for you.” Tryphon said, “On this condition, however, that if payment is demanded from me before the end of the period, I shall have the right of arrest against him.” Sopater said, “That is completely provided for you, even without a petition and a memorandum, by the declaration, the undertaking of the surety, and the trustworthy note of hand on behalf of the father.” Asclepiades said, “So far as my share is concerned.” Tryphon said, “The [two?] are mutual sureties, for there is one appeal and one fine.” Sopater said to Asclepiades, “Take care that you return within the fifteen days and pay in the whole amount of the fine, as your surety for it is mutual, in order that the most estimable Tryphon may have the security.”

Baebius Juncinus to the strategi of the Heptanomia and Arsinoïte nome, greeting. I have already in a previous letter ordered you to search out robbers with every care, warning you of the peril of neglect, and now I wish to confirm my decision by a decree, in order that all inhabitants of Egypt may know that I am not treating this duty as an affair of secondary importance, but offer rewards to those of you who co-operate, and on the other hand expose to peril those who choose to disobey. The said decree I desire to be made public in both the capitals and the most important places of the nomes, penalties including personal risk being laid upon you if in the future evil-doers are enabled to use violence without being detected. I hope for your health. The . . . year, Phaophi 28.

Proclamation of Lucius Baebius Aurelius Juncinus, praefect of Egypt. That it is impossible to exterminate robbers apart from those who shelter them is evident to all, but when they are deprived of their helpers we shall quickly punish them (?). There are many methods of giving them shelter: some do so because they are partners in their misdeeds, others without sharing in these yet . . .’

1. ]3: a figure apparently referring to the number of the column.

2. Probably ἡμέρας τριάκοντα] (or τριάκοντα ἡ|μέρας]) δός; cf. l. 8.

3. ἀγωγὴν: for the meaning ‘arrest’ cf. P. Tebt. 39. 22 βουλομένου ἀγωγὴν ποιήσασθαι, and ἀγώγιμος in 1471. 22. Later the word is used as equivalent to the Latin *actio* (cf. Wenger, *Stellvertretung* 262), a sense which is possible here.

4-5.  $\rho\sigma[\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\sigma\iota]s$ : the  $\rho$  is nearly certain, and the final letter cannot be a ( $\iota$ ,  $\nu$ , or  $o$  are the only alternatives to  $s$ ). The word, which is used for formal declarations, often on oath, addressed to officials (cf. *Griech. Texte* 4 int.), combines suitably with  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta\omicron\chi\eta$ .

5.  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$ : he was probably the father of Asclepiades and was included in the  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\omicron\iota$  in l. 7 and  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$  in l. 9. To suppose that Asclepiades was the father of Tryphon, and that  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\omicron\iota$  and  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$  refer only to these two persons, does not suit  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  in l. 7, for  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  would in that case be expected. Tryphon cannot be the father of Asclepiades, since the remark of the judge is addressed to Tryphon. That the judge takes official cognizance of a  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$  and apparently describes it as  $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is noteworthy, for it has been sometimes supposed that a private  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$  was inadmissible as evidence in a court of law unless it had been subjected to  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (so doubtfully Mitteis, *Grundz.* 83-4); but the present passage does not favour that view, which is also opposed by Jörs, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xxxiv. 143 sqq.; cf. 1472. int.

6. There is a slight blank space before  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$ , such as the writer frequently leaves between words, but sometimes between letters of the same word.  $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is too far away from  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$  in l. 4 to be the object of  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$ , unless  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron(\upsilon)$  be read there.

7. The word before  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\omicron\iota$  was probably a figure,  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  if Asclepiades and his father were meant (cf. l. 5, n.), or e. g.  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  if there were other persons involved in the suit.

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ : sc.  $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ ; cf. 1117. 3, 1642. 21, Preisigke, *S. B.* 5693. 15, P. Amh. 82. 9 as restored by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 353<sup>1</sup>, in each case referring to an appeal to the praefect, which may well be the cause of Asclepiades' approaching departure (ll. 1 and 8). If  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  in l. 8 implies that his return journey was down stream, the trial before Sopater must have taken place north of the town to which he was going, so that the latter cannot have been Alexandria. Possibly the trial was held at Alexandria and the praefect happened to be away. If it was held in the Arsinoïte nome (cf. int.) or at Oxyrhynchus,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  can hardly be brought into connexion with a journey for the purpose of appealing to the praefect.

9.  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ : cf. l. 5, n. For  $\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  cf. P. Catt. 1 verso. iv. 28  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\gamma\gamma\rho\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$   $[\acute{\epsilon}]\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta$ , and Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 185. For  $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\lambda[\omicron\gamma\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\omicron\varsigma]$  cf. 1490. 1.

11.  $[\text{Βαίβιος}]$   $\text{Ἰουγκίνος}$ : so in P. Giessen 40. ii. 14; in l. 22 below his full name was written  $[\text{Λούκιος Βαίβιος}]$   $\text{Ἀδρήλιος}$   $\text{Ἰ.}$ , the restoration of the missing praenomen there being based on his probable identity with the official of that name whose *cursus honorum* (before his praefecture) is given in C. I. L. x. 7580, and who was probably a descendant of the juridicus of the same name under Hadrian (*Prosop. Imp. Rom.* i. 224). With  $[\text{Βαίβιος}]$  or  $[\text{Λούκιος}]$  in the lacuna it is necessary to suppose that l. 11 was uniform with ll. 2-10 and projected about 3 letters beyond ll. 12-20 (cf. int.). A shorter name, e. g.  $\text{Γάιος}$ , does not suit l. 22 so well, for the  $s$  of  $[\text{Βαίβιος}]$  stood above  $\alpha[\theta]$  of  $\kappa\alpha[\theta\alpha\iota[\rho]]\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  in l. 23 and  $\mu$  of  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  in l. 26, where the restoration of the initial lacuna is fairly certain and requires 12 letters, mostly rather broad, in the space which would occupy only 11 in l. 22, if  $[\text{Γάιος Βαίβιος}]$  be read there.

13-14.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu[\epsilon]\lambda\epsilon\text{ῖ}\tau\epsilon$ : the supposed  $\iota$  is very insecure and  $\text{ῖ}\tau\epsilon$  could well be read; but neither  $\acute{\alpha}\mu[\epsilon]\lambda\eta\sigma\text{ῖ}\tau\epsilon$  nor  $\acute{\alpha}\mu[\epsilon]\lambda\eta\sigma\text{ῆ}\tau\epsilon$  suits the size of the lacuna in l. 14, unless  $\lambda\eta$  was written unusually small at the end of the line.

18.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\eta\mu\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$  ( $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ): cf. 1100. 3  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\tau[\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\mu\eta\tau\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\phi\alpha\text{ῖ}\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , B. G. U. 1086. ii. 4  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\eta\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\tau[\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ .

20.  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ : the usual salutation of a praefect at this period; cf. 1100. 5, n.

22.  $[\text{Λούκιος Βαίβιος}]$ : cf. l. 11, n.

## 1409. CIRCULARS OF A STRATEGUS AND DIOECETES.

21.4 × 28.3 cm.

A.D. 278.

This fairly well preserved papyrus consists of a short letter from the strategus to the δεκάπρωτοι (cf. 1410. int.) of the Oxyrhynchite nome (ll. 1-6 and 23), enclosing for their information a copy of a circular addressed to the strategi and δεκάπρωτοι of the Heptanomia and Arsinoïte nome by the dioecetes, Ulpus Aurelius, concerning the repairing of the dykes and canals in view of the approaching inundation (ll. 7-22). For this purpose a general *corvée* was apparently imposed on all cultivators (ll. 9-10, note), and in addition to the control to be exercised by the strategi and δεκάπρωτοι special supervisors were to be appointed in accordance with custom (ll. 12-15). The exaction of a money payment in place of personal service was forbidden in a strongly worded injunction (ll. 19-22), which is probably the main point of the circular, but the relation of this injunction to the various imposts in connexion with the repairs of dykes and canals known from earlier papyri is not very clear; cf. l. 20, note. The evidence concerning forced labour on the embankments is summarized by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 334-8; the working of the principles laid down in 1409 is well illustrated by 1469, a petition written twenty years later by the comarchs of a village to the acting-praefect, which shows the difficulties arising from the multiplication of officials.

Except perhaps 58 and 474, where the rank of the high officials Servaeus Africanus and Plautius Italus is not stated, 1409 is the only extant circular of a Roman dioecetes. Its style and treatment of the subject recall the more lengthy exhortations of the Ptolemaic dioecetae to officials in P. Par. 63 and Tebt. 27. The direction of public works, as well as finance, fell within their province, as is shown by the Petrie papyrus; but by the middle of the third century the καθολικός (cf. 1410) seems to have become the chief finance minister, and the continuance of the office of dioecetes is not attested beyond the time of Carinus. Ulpus Aurelius, who may have been the immediate predecessor of Aurelius Proteas (1115. 11 and 1412. int.; six years later), was thus one of the latest holders of the office. The names of these two, and of two dioecetae under Aurelian, Andromachus (γενόμενος διοικητής in Phamenoth of the 2nd year; 1264. 9) and Julius Monimus (1633. 15; Mesore of the 6th year), besides perhaps Moenatides (P. Ryl. 84. 1; A.D. 146), and Septimius Apollonius κοσμητεύσας τὴν διοίκησιν (P. Thead. 14. 18; late third century), are to be added to the list in Wilcken, *Grundz.* 156.

- Ἀυρήλιος Ἀρποκρατίων στρατηγὸς Ὁξ[υρυγχίτου] δεκαπρώτ[οις τοῦ νομοῦ  
 χαίρειν.  
 τῆς γραφείσης ἐπιστολῆς εἰς κοινὸν ἡμῖν στρατη[γοῖς καὶ δε]καπρώτοις  
 τῆς [Ἐπτανομίας καὶ Ἄρσινο]ῦ[τ[ο]ν  
 ὑπὸ Οὐλπίου Ἀυρηλίου τοῦ κρατ[ίσ]του διοικητοῦ περὶ τῆς τῶν] χωμάτων  
 ἀπερ[γασίας καὶ τῆς τῶν διωρύχων] ἀνα-  
 καθάρσεως ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστέλλεται ὑμῖν, φίλτ[ατοι, ἵνα εἰ]δῆτε καὶ τοῖς  
 γρ[αφεῖσιν ἀκολουθῆτε. ὃς δ'] ἂν πρό-  
 5 τερος ὑμῶν κομίσῃται τόδε τ[ὸ] ἐπίσταλμα τοῖς [λοι]π[οῖς] μεταδότω. ἐρῶ[σθαι  
 ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, φίλτ]ατοι.  
 (ἔτους) γ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ Φαρμούθι [.  
 Οὐλπιος Ἀυρήλιος στρατηγοῖς κ[αί] δεκαπρώτοις Ἐπτανομίας καὶ Ἄρσι-  
 νοῦτου [χαίρειν. τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς τῶν  
 χωμάτων ἀπεργασίας καὶ τῆ[ς] τῶν διωρύχων ἀνακαθάρσεως ἐνεστη[κός  
 παραγγέλλειν ὑμῖν ἀναγ-  
 καῖον ἡγησάμην διὰ τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων ὡς χρή σύμπαντας τοὺς  
 γε[ωργοὺς 18 letters  
 10 ταῦτα ἀπεργάζεσθαι ἤδη μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐπὶ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτοῖς  
 π . [ . . . . . ] πρὸ[ς τὸ δ]η[μοσία τε  
 πᾶσιν καὶ ἰδία ἐκάστῳ συμφέρον· τὴν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τούτων γεινο-  
 μένην ὠφ[ελί]αν πάντας εἰ[δέναι πέ-  
 πεισμαι. ὅθεν διὰ φροντίδος ὑμῖν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεκαπρώτοις  
 γενέ[σθω ἐπ]εῖξαι μὲν ἄπαν[τας ἀντι-  
 λαβέσθαι τῆς ἀναγκαιοτάτης ταύτης ἐργασίας, αἰρεθῆναι δὲ τοὺς εἰωθότας  
 εἰ[ς] τοῦτο χειροτονεῖσθαι ἐπιμελη-  
 τὰς ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἢ καὶ ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἀναγκάσσοντας ἐκάστους τὰ προσή-  
 κοντα ἔργα αὐτοῖς σώμ[ασιν ἀπο-  
 15 πληρῶσαι κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα ὄρον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀποτάκτου συστάσει ἄνευ  
 τι[δ]ος ἀπεχθείας ἢ χάριτος, ὥστε ἐπε-  
 νεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεταγμένον ὕψος τε καὶ πλάτος τὰ χῶματα καὶ τοὺς  
 διακόπους ἀποφραγῆναι πρὸ[ς τὸ δύνα-  
 σθαι ἀντέχειν τῇ ἐσομένῃ εὐτυχῶς πλημύρα τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Νείλου, τὰς  
 τε διώρυχας ἀνα[καθαρή-  
 ναι μέχρι τῶν καλουμένων γνωμόνων καὶ τοῦ συνήθους διαστήματος,  
 ἵν[α ε]ὑμαρῶς [τὴν] ἐσομέν[ην τῶν

ὕδατων εἴσροισιν ὑποδέχονται πρὸς ἀρδείαν τῶν ἐδαφῶν, τούτου κοινωφ[ε]λ[ο]ῦς  
 τυγχ[άνοντος,] μηδέ[νε]α δὲ

20 ἀντὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀργύριον τὸ παράπαν πράττεσθαι. ἔαν γὰρ τοιοῦτο

ἐπιχειρήσ[αι] τολμή[σ]η ἢ τῶν πρ[ο]στετα-

γμένων ἀμελήσῃ, ἴστω ὅτι ὡς λυμαινόμενος τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ συνπά[σ]η[s]  
 τῆς Αἰγύπτου προηρ[η]μέ-

νοισ οὐ μόνον περὶ χρημάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 ἔξε[ι]. ἐ]ρωῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι. (ἔτους) γ [. . . . .

(2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Σ]ιλβανὸς ὑπ[ε]ρέτης ἐπήνεγκα (ἔτους) γ Φαρμούθι 5.

3. ὑπο Π. ν of διωρνωχ]ν CORR. 4. ἕμιν Π. 5. ἕμων Π; so l. 12 ἕμιν. φιλτ]ατοῖ Π.  
 7. ἀρσωνοῦτου Π. 11. ἴδια Π. 14. ξ of εξ CORR. ἴδιων Π. 16. ὑψος Π.  
 17. First ν of ἀντεχειν CORR. ἕρωτατου Π. 18. ἴνα Π. 19. ὑδατων . . . ὑποδεχοιντο Π.  
 20. παρ' τεσθαι Π. 21. ἴστω Π. ν of λυμαινόμενος CORR. from ει (?). 23. πη of  
 ὑπηρετης CORR.

‘Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the decemprimi of the nome, greeting. A copy of the circular letter written to us, the strategi and decemprimi of the Heptanomia and Arsinoïte nome, by his highness the dioecetes, Ulpius Aurelius, concerning the building up of the dykes and the cleansing of the canals is sent to you, dear friends, in order that you may be informed and follow his instructions. The one of you who is the first to receive this missive should communicate it to the rest. I pray for your health, dear friends. The 3rd year of our lord Marcus Aurelius Probus Augustus, Pharmouthi [.]’

Ulpius Aurelius to the strategi and decemprimi of the Heptanomia and Arsinoïte nome, greeting. The season for the building up of the dykes and the cleansing of the canals having arrived, I thought it necessary to announce to you by this letter that all the cultivators and . . . ought now to build these up with all zeal on the . . . belonging to them, with a view to both the public gain of all and their own private advantage. For I am persuaded that every one is aware of the benefit resulting from these works. Therefore let it be the care of you, the strategi and decemprimi, both to urge all to devote themselves to this most necessary labour, and to see that the overseers usually elected for the purpose are chosen from magistrates or private persons, who will compel every one to perform his proper work by personal service, according to the rule given in the constitution of the appointment, with no malice or favour, so that the dykes are raised to the ordained height and breadth and the breaches are filled up, in order that they may be able to withstand the flood of the most sacred Nile auspiciously approaching, and that the canals are cleansed up to the so-called standards and the usual width, in order that they may easily contain the coming influx of water for the irrigation of the fields, this being for the common weal, and that absolutely no money is exacted from any one in place of work. If any one dare to attempt exactions or neglect these orders, let him know that not only his property but his life will be at stake for injuring measures designed for the safety of the whole of Egypt. I pray for your health. The 3rd year . . .

Presented by Aurelius Silvanus, assistant, in the 3rd year, Pharmouthi 6.’

1. δεκαπρώτ[ο]ις τοῦ νομοῦ: δεκαπρ. τοῦ γ (ἔτους) (cf. P. Tebt. 288. 2 τοῖς πράκτορσι τοῦ ε (ἔτους)) is less likely; cf. 1410. int.: but δεκαπρ. simply may be read.



3. For the restorations cf. ll. 7-8.

6. The day was not later than the 6th, on which the letter was presented by the ὑπηρετής (l. 23). In 1119. 5 and 30 there is an interval of six days between the two corresponding dates.

8. For παραγγέλλειν cf. e. g. 1411. 8.

9-10. γε[ suggests γε[ωργούς or γε[ωργοῦντας rather than γε[ούχους or γε[ουχοῦντας, since the circular probably applied primarily to δημόσια rather than to ιδιωτικά χωμάτα (cf. 1469. 5); but the traces of the supposed ε may belong to the γ. 1469 and 1546 show that, at this period at any rate, a village as a whole was made responsible for providing the necessary labour (cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 335, whose argument concerning the mention of the village in εἴργασται-certificates of the second and early third centuries is unconvincing, as remarked in P. Ryl. 211. 7, n.); and a quite general expression (e. g. γε[ωργούς καὶ κληρούχους; cf. P. Tebt. 288. 3) is wanted. The meaning of ταῦτα is doubtful. If dependent on ἀπεργάζεσθαι, it may refer either to l. 8 or to a word such as χωμάτα or ναύβια (cf. 1546. 3) lost in the preceding lacuna, and in that case the word following αὐτοῖς might be πε[ριχωμάτα], the areas surrounded by embankments (cf. e. g. P. Cairo Preisigke 39. 10), or some other word in agreement with διαφέροντα. But e. g. πε[νθήμερον], referring to the five days work on the embankments, customary in the second or early third century, could be the object of ἀπεργάζεσθαι (cf. B. G. U. 969. i. 25 πενθήμερον μετρεῖν), which can also be used absolutely, and ταῦτα (referring to l. 8) would then be governed by a preceding participle. The π is fairly certain, but possibly a ν intervened between it and the σ of αὐτοῖς. ὑπ[άρχοντα]; however, would produce a tautologous expression. The phrase ἐπὶ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτοῖς is not likely to have any connexion with the system indicated in 290 (A. D. 83-4), in which an ιδιωτικὸν χωμα is ἀγόμενον κατ' ἐπιβολὴν ὡν ἕκαστος ἔχει (ἀρουρῶν), for this method of apportioning work according to the size of a holding was not employed, so far as is known, in dealing with δημόσια χωμάτα.

13-14. ἐπιμελή]τας : χωματεπιμεληταί are often mentioned in second-century papyri and ostraca, e. g. P. Giessen 58-9 and 64; cf. the editors' commentary. ἐπέικ]τας (cf. 1257. 13 ἐπέικτου δημοσίου σίτου, 1413. 25 ἐπ. χρυσοῦ στεφάνου, the χωματεπέικται found in early Byzantine papyri, e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1247. 2, and 1469. 7 ὁ τῆ ἐπέικτει τῶν χωμάτων ἐπικείμενος) is slightly less probable, since the division προσημασμένων is found in ll. 20-1 and ἐπ]είξαι occurred in l. 12.

15. κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα ὄρον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀποτάκτου συστάσει corresponds to κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν τῶ ἀπότακτον συστησάμενων in 1187. 12-15 (cf. n. *ad loc.*), and is to be connected with αἰρεθῆναι, not with ἀποπληρῶσαι. Cf. also πρὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀποτάκτου συστάσεως in 1562. 11.

16. διακόπος : cf. 1469. 6, P. Goodsp. 30. vi. 4 ἰς ἔργα διακόπου, and P. Brit. Mus. 1246. 7, where l. διακόπου.

17. ἀνα[καθαρῆ]ναι : cf. l. 8 ἀνακαθάρσεως. ἀνα[ψησθῆ]ναι is also possible; cf. B. G. U. 530. 17 τὸ ὕδρευμα ἀνεψήσθη, P. Ryl. 90. 20 and P. Giessen 42. int.

18. The γνώμονες here seem to be poles for measuring the depth of canals, corresponding to ὕψος in l. 16 as διαστήματος does to πλάτος.

19. εἴσοριαν ὑποδέχονται : for the optative cf. 1411. 16 εἰ μὴ πειθαρχή(ε)ιαν. εἴσορια (cf. διάρροια) is apparently unattested elsewhere.

20. ἀντὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀργύριον : in the second and early third centuries three kinds of money-payments connected with dykes are known : (1) the ναύβιον (e. g. 1436. 6), (2) the χωματικὸν (1438. 20, n.), (3) πενθήμερος ὄνων (P. Ryl. 195. 5). Of these the ναύβιον has generally been explained in accordance with Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 263, as an impost in place of personal service, and the same explanation is applied by Kenyon to the χωματικόν, but is not accepted by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 331; cf. *Ost.* i. 342. The πενθήμε. ὄνων corresponds to the μετρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς πενθήμερου in B. G. U. 969. 20-4, and was clearly an *adacratio*, but whether the payer in

P. Ryl. 195 was a (*δημόσιος*) *κτηνοτρόφος*, as in B. G. U. 969, does not appear. How far the system of taxation in Egypt was altered between the reigns of Severus Alexander and Diocletian, who introduced extensive changes, is still obscure owing to the paucity of evidence, and perhaps by the time of Probus the government had become much stricter than formerly in enforcing compulsory labour, as is also suggested by the apparently comprehensive character of the *corvée* enjoined in ll. 9-10. We are not inclined to think that the *diocetes* was referring either to the *ναύβιον* impost, which used to be levied on land-owners at the rate of 100 copper drachmae per *arura* upon *κάτοικοι* and 150 dr. upon *ἐναφέσιοι* (P. Brit. Mus. 372 *ap.* P. Tebt. ii, pp. 339-43, and P. Ghent verso. ii-iii *ap.* P. Ryl. ii, p. 421 : *ἐναφέσιοι* were probably holders of *κληρουχική* and *ιδιωτική γῆ*; cf. P. Ryl. ii, p. 252) and was classed with *ἀραβία* as one of the *γνήσια δημόσια* (P. Amh. 85. 9 and 86. 10; cf. P. Ghent, *l. c.*, where the *ἀραβία* calculation follows that of the *ναύβιον*), or to the *χωματικόν*, which was paid by dwellers in the metropoleis as well as by those in villages, and was levied at a uniform rate of 6 dr. 4 obols apart from *προσδιαγραφόμενα*. The *πενθήμερος ὄνων* cannot have affected persons who did not own asses, and being rarely mentioned does not seem to have been a far-reaching impost. The bulk of the *corvée* must at all times have fallen upon cultivators of *βασιλική γῆ* or landless persons, and if the *ναύβιον* and *χωματικόν* imposts survived unchanged to the reign of Probus, probably they were not affected by this circular, which seems to be directed mainly against irregular exactions of money in place of personal service. Payments by individuals of varying amounts for *ναύβια* occur in the fourth century (P. Gen. 65), and in P. Flor. 346 (fifth century?) there is mention of *τὰ ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενα ὑπὲρ δε (1 τε) μισθῶν καὶ ἀναβολῆς τοῦ δημοσίου χώματος*, so that money-payments in connexion with the repairs of embankments in any case continued to be exacted in Byzantine times.

23. *ὑπέρτης*: cf. l. 6, n. In 59. 22 *ὑπ(ηρέτης) βουλ(ῆς)* is more likely than *ὑπ(ομηματογράφος) βουλ(ετής)*.

#### 1410. EDICT OF A CATHOLICUS.

13.5 × 7.8 cm.

Early fourth century.

An order, of which the conclusion is wanting, issued on the authority of the catholicus, Magnius (?) Rufus, making it illegal to reimpose the office of *decemprimus* upon persons who had held that position since a particular year of two unnamed Emperors. From the handwriting the papyrus appears to belong to the early part of the fourth century, but there may well have been an interval between the date mentioned in l. 5 and the actual date of the papyrus, which was probably stated in the missing lower portion. Owing partly to the uncertainty with regard to the reading of the figure in the first of the two regnal years mentioned, partly to the difficulties of chronology in the period from 305 to 323, it is not quite clear which Emperors are meant, but probably in l. 5 the 8th year refers to Maximian and the 1st to Galerius (and Constantius), i. e. A. D. 292-3, and the omission of Diocletian's regnal year (which was one in advance of Maximian's) is to be explained by the supposition that 1410 was written during 305-13 after his abdication, when Egypt was governed by Maximinus Daza who belonged to the Herculan faction; cf. l. 5, n. During Diocletian's and Maximian's joint reign there are instances of

Maximian's year being ignored, apparently for the sake of brevity (e. g. 895. 6), but none of Diocletian's years being so treated, though cf. 1416. 29, n.

The δεκάπρωτοι, who were introduced into Egypt by Septimius Severus together with the βουλαί, and were generally, perhaps always, senators, had arduous duties as collectors of revenue both in corn (e. g. 1444. 3) and money (e. g. 1442. 5); cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 626 and *Grundz.* 217-18, Seeck, *Klio*, i. 147-88, Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* s. v., Gelzer, *Studien*, 42-3, Jouguet, *Vie munic.* 366 sqq. It has generally been supposed that the tenure of the office was one year, but Seeck, mainly on the evidence of two Thyatira inscriptions (C. I. G. 3490 and *B. C. H.* xi. 473), considered that the period lasted 5-15 years, and identified the δεκάπρ. with the *quinquennales*. 1410 does not state definitely the length of their tenure, but implies that re-election was customary; and the apparent interval of twelve years or more between the date of the papyrus and the year when the δεκάπρ. in question entered office rather suggests that the normal tenure was longer than a year. Since 1257, where a person is still called δεκάπρωτος four years after entering office, supports Seeck's view, and the objection to it urged by Wilcken, that the analogy of the tenure of municipal offices favours an annual period, breaks down in the light of new evidence that municipal offices were held for a longer period than a year (1413. 17 and 1418. 15), a five-years' tenure for δεκάπρ. in Egypt is the most probable. Apart from 1410, they are not mentioned in papyri later than the reign of Diocletian, and Gelzer supposes that they disappeared when in 307-10 the new division of the nomes into πᾶγοι was substituted for the toparchies with which the δεκάπρ. were connected. The present regulation therefore probably indicates an important, perhaps the principal, step on the way towards the abolition of the office.

Ἐξ αὐθεντείας Μαγ[νί]ο[υ]  
 Ῥούφου τοῦ διασημ(οτάτου) καθολ(ικοῦ)  
 ἐπαρχείας Αἰγύπτου  
 καὶ Λιβύης.  
 5 τοὺς ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] η (ἔτους) καὶ α (ἔτους)  
 δεκαπρώτους μηκέτι  
 μηδεὶς εἰς δεκαπρωτεί-  
 αν ὀνομαζέτω. χρῆ γὰρ  
 αὐτοὺς τετηρηῆσθαι τ[οῦ]  
 10 λοιπ[οῦ] ἵνα μὴ πληρώσ[αν]-  
 τες αὐθις ἀναδοθῆ[σον]-  
 ται τοῖς τῆς δεκα[πρω]-

τῆ[ι]αῖς λειτουργήμ[ασ]ι. ὅστι[ς]  
 δὲ ἐκ δευτέρου ἀνεδέ[δοτο]  
 15 [α]ῦθ[ι]ς δεκαπρωτ[εῖα

12. l. δεκα[πρω]τεῖας: the scribe noticed his original error, but inadvertently crossed through the first *i* instead of the second.

‘On the authority of Magnius Rufus, the most illustrious catholicus of the praefecture of Egypt and Libya.

Decemprimi from the 8th which = the 1st year must not be re-nominated by any one to the office of decemprimus; for it is necessary that in future they should be protected from being appointed again to the duties of that office, having once discharged them. Any person who has been reappointed decemprimus once more . . .’

1. Ἐξ αὐθεντείας: cf. P. Leipzig 33. 7 ἐξ αὐθ. τοῦ δικαστηρίου παραγγ[ελ]εῖς and Mitteis’s int., p. 92.

1-2. Μαγ[ν]ίου Ῥούφου: a procurator in Spain called P. Magnius Rufus Magonianus is known from C. I. L. ii. 2029, and a procurator of Neapolis by Alexandria in 247-8 called Magnius Rufinianus, probably a relative, occurs in B. G. U. 8. ii. 26. Our catholicus may well have belonged to the same family. The scribe has apparently used the second half of the  $\mu$  to represent *a*, as in l. 10 he used the *a* of *ua* to represent half the following  $\mu$ . The remains of the letter before the lacuna suggest  $\gamma$  rather than  $\epsilon$  or  $\iota$ , and there is barely room for Με[σσι]ο[υ], much less Με[ττι]ο[υ].

2-4. The addition of Libya to Egypt in the title of the catholicus is new. He is generally called ὁ διασημ. καθολ. (in C. I. G. 4807 of the year 341 λαμπρότατος) with or without Αἰγύπτου (e. g. 1509. 6); cf. C. I. L. iii. 17 *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) r(ationalis) Aeg(ypti)*. Libya seems to have been united to Egypt by about A. D. 300. The earliest mentions of the union apart from the present passage are *B. C. H.* i. 85 ὁ κράτιστος συνήγορος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης καὶ Λιβύης Μαρμαρικής (late third or fourth century), and C. I. L. iii. 18 *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) mag(ister) priv(at)ae Aeg(ypti) et Lib(yae)* (fourth century). On the subsequent varying relationship of the two provinces see J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l’Ég.* 23-5.

5.  $\eta$  (ἔτους) καὶ  $\alpha$  (ἔτους): the traces of the first figure suit  $\eta$  better than  $\iota\alpha$  or  $\beta$ , which are the only alternatives. A joint reign with a difference of 7 between the two figures indicates Maximian and Galerius, i. e. A. D. 292-3; cf. int. To refer the 8th year to Probus and the 1st to his successors Carus, Carinus, and Numerian, i. e. A. D. 282-3, or the 8th year to Gallienus and the 1st to the usurpers Macrianus and Quietus, i. e. A. D. 260-1 (cf. 1411. int.), is unsatisfactory, since  $\alpha$  (ἔτους) simply would be expected, and both the handwriting and the mention of Libya suggest a later date than the 2nd or 3rd year of Carinus or the 2nd of Macrianus and Quietus, which would be the latest years available for the date of the papyrus itself. With  $\iota\alpha$  (ἔτους) καὶ  $\alpha$  (ἔτους) the figures would suit Constantine and Crispus, i. e. A. D. 316-17 (cf. P. Thead. 6. 5). The ignoring of Licinius, who was in possession of Egypt from 313-23 and is mentioned by himself without Constantine in P. Thead. 49 (his regnal years are uniformly two behind those of Constantine), could be explained by the supposition that 1410 was written after 323, when his memory was obliterated. With  $\beta$  (ἔτους) καὶ  $\alpha$  (ἔτους) the Emperors would certainly be Diocletian and Maximian, and the papyrus could easily be assigned to a later year of their reign; but the

$\beta$  of  $\Lambda\iota\beta\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$  in l. 4 (the only other  $\beta$  that occurs in 1410) is made quite differently. A curious date in 1318, the 11th year of Galerius Augustus and [.]th of Maximinus Caesar, which seems to belong to the period 305-10, the first figure being apparently erroneous, affords a parallel for the omission of the Jovian Augustus (Constantius or Severus) in Egypt under the rule of the Herculian faction, such as we have supposed to be the case here.

10.  $\mu\acute{\eta}$ : the letters are imperfectly preserved, and the scribe seems to have omitted the the first half of the  $\mu$  owing to confusion with the preceding  $\alpha$ ; cf. ll. 1-2, n. A negative is essential for the sense.

14-15.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}(\delta\omicron\tau\omicron)$ : or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}(\theta\eta)$ , for which cf. the forms  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ) in P. Iand. 9. 34,  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  in P. Brit. Mus. 1349. 17,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  in P. Tebt. 416. 16. For the pluperfect cf. the unnecessary perfect  $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  in l. 9. The repetition of  $[\alpha]\delta\theta\iota\varsigma$  (cf. l. 11) after  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon$  is superfluous, and the reading doubtful.  $\epsilon$  can be substituted for  $\nu$ , and  $\rho$ ,  $\epsilon$ , or  $\iota$  for  $\theta$ , but  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}[\theta]\eta$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\omega\rho\omega\tau[\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon\omicron]$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}(\delta\epsilon)[\tau]\omicron$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\delta$ . are unsatisfactory. The last letter of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\delta\epsilon$  is slightly raised and the line unusually short; for other abbreviations cf. l. 2.

## 1411. PROCLAMATION OF A STRATEGUS.

21.6 X 12.5 cm.

A.D. 260.

This interesting document is a notice issued by the strategus Ptolemaeus also called Nemesianus, ordering bankers and all other persons engaged in commercial transactions to accept the new Imperial coinage. The papyrus belongs to about the middle of the third century, and a strategus of that name is known from 1555. 1 to have been in office at Oxyrhynchus under Macrianus and Quietus, who held Egypt during nearly all the 8th and part of the 9th year of Gallienus (cf. 1476. int.). To their brief reign accordingly 1411 also is in all probability to be referred (cf. ll. 20-1, n.). The order was called forth by complaints of the  $\delta\eta\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$  (l. 2, note) that the proprietors of banks of exchange ( $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\upsilon\beta\iota\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota$ ; cf. l. 4, note) were closing their doors in preference to accepting the coin; and the trouble was apparently not new, for the strategus alludes in ll. 18-20 to a praefectorial edict or edicts previously issued on the same subject. There had been a steady deterioration in the coinage of Egypt, in the size of the coins as well as in the quality of the metal, and it is not surprising that attempts were made to discriminate, and some disinclination was shown to accept the  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$   $\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\sigma\mu\alpha$  at its face value. It may be noticed in this connexion that in several contracts of about this period the money specified is old Ptolemaic silver; as has been suggested by Wessely (*Mith. Pap. Rain.*, iv. 144 sqq.), the disrepute of the later Imperial issues may well have assisted the survival of the ancient coin. In the present case the dubious character of the claim of Macrianus and Quietus to the Imperial titles (they perished in the attempt to obtain Italy) may well have been an additional cause of the reluctance in Egypt to accept their coinage.

On the verso is a list of utensils (1654) in a different hand.

Αὐρήλιος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Νεμεσιανὸς  
 στρατηγὸς Ὁξύρυγχίτου. τῶν δημοσίων εἰς  
 ἐν συναχθέντων καὶ αἰτιασαμένων  
 τοὺς τῶν κολλυβιστικῶν τραπέζων  
 5 τραπέζειας ὡς ταύτας ἀποκλείσαν-  
 τ[ω]ν τῶ μὴ βούλεσθαι προσ{σ}ίεσθαι  
 τὸ θεῖον τῶν Σεβαστῶν νόμισμα, ἀνάγκη  
 γεγένηται παραγγέλματι π[αραγ-  
 γελῆναι πᾶσι τοῖς τὰς τραπέζας κεκτ[ημέ-  
 10 υ]οῖς ταύτας ἀνοῖξαι καὶ πᾶ[[η]]ν [[π]]νόμι-  
 σ[μ]α προσίεσθαι πλὴν μάλισ[τα]  
 παρατύπου καὶ κιβδήλου καὶ κατακ[ερμα-  
 τίζειν, οὐ μόνοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ [τοῖς  
 καθ' ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον τὰς συναλλα-  
 15 γὰς ποιουμένοις, γεινώσκουσι]ν  
 ὡς, εἰ μὴ πειθαρχήσῃαν τῇδε τ[ῆ] παρ-  
 αγγελία, πειραθήσονται ὧν τὸ [μέ-  
 γεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἔτι ἀνω[θεν  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς [[το με]]γε[[θος]]νέσθαι προ[σο-  
 20 ἔταξεν. ἐσημειωσάμην. ἔτου]ς πρώ-  
 τ[ο]υ] Ἀθὺρ[[ι]] ὀγδόη κ[[ε]]αὶ εἰκάς.

1-2. *os* of *αυρηλιος*, *πτολεμαιος*, *νεμεσιανος*, and *στρατηγος* above *ω*, which is crossed through, and *ο* above *τω*, which is crossed through. 5. 1. *ἀποκλείσαντας*. 6. Second *σ* of *προσσιεσθαι* above the line. 9. *ε* of *πασει* above the line. 10. *α* of *πα[[η]]ν* corr. from *λ*. After *[[π]]* beginning of another *λ* (?). 16. *χ* of *πειθαρχησῃαν* corr. from *κ*. 17. *αι* of *πειραθησονται* above *ε*, which is crossed through. 20. First *ε* of *εσημειωσαμην* corr. 21. First *ο* of *ογδοη* above *ω*, which is crossed through.

'From Aurelius Ptolemaeus also called Nemesianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Since the officials have assembled and accused the bankers of the banks of exchange of having closed them on account of their unwillingness to accept the divine coin of the Emperors, it has become necessary that an injunction should be issued to all the owners of the banks to open them, and to accept and exchange all coin except the absolutely spurious and counterfeit, and not to them only, but to all who engage in business transactions of any kind whatever, knowing that if they disobey this injunction they will experience the penalties already ordained for them in the past by his highness the praefect. Signed by me. The 1st year, Hathur 28.'

2. τῶν δημοσίων: it has been disputed whether the *δημόσιοι*, who often appear in papyri of the third-fourth centuries, are simply 'officials' in general (Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv. 223,

Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, 49), or φύλακες and other minor police-officials (Hohlwein, *Musée Belge*, ix. 187-94, accepted by Wilcken, *Archiv*, v. 441; cf. Gelzer, *Studien*, 58), or the πρεσβύτεροι as well as the ἀρχέφοδοι and lower police-officials, but not the κομογραμματεῖς or tax-collectors (Jouguet, *Vie munic.* 217). In P. Brit. Mus. 1247. 23 (iii, p. 226) οἱ προκίμενοι] δημόσιοι{s} includes the comarchs (cf. 1246. 25; iii, p. 225), who were by no means limited to police duties, besides other persons whose rank was not stated in 1247. In P. Goodsp. 14. 9 παραδῶσουσιν εἰς τοὺς δημοσίους τῆς Νέας πόλεως Preisigke (*Berichtigungen*, 173<sup>17</sup>) is probably wrong in explaining δημοσίους as a general term for the corn-revenue officials rather than δημ. (θησαυρούς) (so Wilcken and Vitelli); but P. Ryl. 232. 8 and still more the present passage, which refers to officials of the metropolis rather than of the villages, favour the wide interpretation of δημόσιοι; cf. 1421. 2 and n., 1557. 3.

4. κολλυβιστικῶν τραπέζων: cf. B. G. U. 741. 10, 1053. 16, and often in 1118-1156, P. Hamburg 1. 2, C. P. R. 1. 13, P. Strassb. 34. 7, P. S. I. 204. 21. The point of the adjective is not clear. Preisigke, *Girov.* 27 sqq., considers that κολλ. τρ. were not different from τρ. simply, whether privately owned or leased from the State, and in support of this it may be noted that κολλυβ. is omitted in l. 9 πᾶσι τοῖς τὰς τραπέζας κεκτ[ημέ]ν[οι]ς; but the injunction there may be intentionally framed so as to include banks other than κολλυβ., if such existed apart from δημόσιαι τρ. with which 1411 is not concerned. Other terms applied to banks are χρηματιστική (P. Brit. Mus. 1164; Antinoë) and ἐπιτηρουμένη (*Mél. Nicole*, p. 193. 1-2, P. Ryl. 176. 2, n.). The former refers, according to Preisigke, to the notarial capacity of banks, which, as appears from P. Strassb. 34, was shared by the κολλ. τρ.; the latter must refer to the supervision exercised by ἐπιτηρηταί over banks which were leased from the government; cf. 513. 37, 1132. 8-12, nn. The relation of the ἐπιτηρούμεναι to the ἰδιωτικαί and δημόσιαι τρ. is disputed. If Preisigke's view of the leased banks is correct, and the Ἡρακλείδων κολλ. τρ. Ταμείων at Arsinoë (C. P. R. 1. 13) was really a leased 'Staatsbank', not ἰδιωτική, the ἐπιτηρούμεναι τρ. do not form any more suitable contrast to the κολλ. τρ. than do the χρηματιστικά, as he explains that term. The evidence, however, for Preisigke's theory of 'Staatsbanken', which was mainly based on Oxyrhynchus papyri, is weakened by 1639, which mentions Ἡρακλείδων ἰδιωτικῆ τρ. at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus in 22 B. C., and it is still uncertain whether the ἰδιωτικαί τρ. were different from the ἐπιτηρούμεναι, and, if so, to what extent the banks not described as ἰδιωτ. or ἐπιτηρ. were leased or under private ownership; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 160 and 1639. 3-5, n. The phrase οἱ τὰς τραπέζας κεκτημένοι (l. 9) is new, and comprehensive rather than precise, so that it might apply to any banks which were not δημόσιαι, whether leased or privately owned. On the whole we are disposed to think that κολλ. τρ., probably like the Ptolemaic ἀμοιβικαί τρ., were contrasted with banks which did not undertake money-changing, perhaps the χρηματιστικά, and that, if the ἰδιωτικαί τρ. were different from the ἐπιτηρούμεναι, the κολλ. τρ. belonged to the former class.

20-1. ἔτου|ς πρώ|το|υ]: ἔκ|του is also possible, the reigning Emperors in that case being Valerian and Gallienus, and the date 258. But since Ptolemaeus also called Nemesianus is known from 1555 to have been strategus under Macrianus and Quietus (A. D. 260-1), πρώ|του is much more likely than ἔκ|του. τετάρ|του or τρί|του would imply an unusually long period of office for this strategus, three years being apparently the normal duration of their tenure (cf. Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Or.* 699. 35). That the accession of Macrianus and Quietus took place before Hathur was already known from P. Strassb. 6. 30; cf. 1476. 2 and P. Flor. 273. verso, where Thoth 1 (Aug. 29) of their 1st year occurs as an isolated date, perhaps written later. On the question whether the year was 260 see 1476. int.

## II. THE SENATE OF OXYRHYNCHUS

## 1412. NOTICE OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE SENATE.

22.5 × 21.6 cm.

About A.D. 284.

That the meetings of the senate were convened by the prytanis was a natural supposition made by Jouguet (*Vie munic.* 379), and direct evidence on the question is now provided by this notice of a special general meeting summoned by the prytanis, who bears a long and interesting list of municipal titles (ll. 1-3, n.), in consequence of letters received from the dioecetes (cf. 1409. int.) and another high official. Urgent business was to be transacted by the appointment of *λειτουργοί* in connexion with the transport of corn required by troops, stationed probably at Babylon (cf. e. g. 1261. 7), the requisite boats having been already provided by the government (ll. 8-10, n.). The precise character of the liturgies is not stated; but from other papyri of the third-fourth century they are known to have included the supervision of the transport by water, as well as the care of the transport by land from the *θησαυροί* to the Nile and the embarkation; cf. l. 14, n. It is noticeable that no hour is fixed for the meeting, which was to be held apparently on the same day (cf. ll. 14-16, n.), and the place of assembly is also described in general terms (l. 11 *εἰς ἐπιμελή τόπον*). Presumably both time and place were subject to fixed rules and Oxyrhynchus had a regular *βουλευτήριον*, though it is still unattested; the evidence for *βουλευτήρια* at other metropoleis is singularly slight; cf. Jouguet, *op. cit.* 374. With a view of securing a full voluntary attendance at the meeting the prytanis, if l. 16 is rightly restored, had posted up publicly the letters which he had received, and the concluding exhortation concerning the necessity for dispatch (ll. 16-20) also bears witness to the difficulty of making senators perform their onerous duties in connexion with liturgies. The somewhat dilatory character of their deliberations is well illustrated by 1413 and 1415; cf. 1413. int.

The date of the papyrus, which is written in a rather large late third-century cursive hand, is not preserved, but the dioecetes Aurelius Proteas (l. 9) is known from 1115. 11-12, where l. Πρ[ω]τέρα for Ἀρ[ισ]τέρα, to have held office in the second year of Carinus (A.D. 283-4). The other high official ὁ κράτιστος Ἀμμώνιος (ll. 9-10) is no doubt identical with Ἀμμώνιος ὁ κράτ. ἐπέκτης δημοσίου σίτου in 1257. 14, and the unnamed emperor whose years are mentioned in 1257 was clearly Probus, as already suggested in 1257. int. Aurelius Ammonius ὁ κράτιστος in 1191. 1, 15 (6th year of Probus) was perhaps the same person, though the



context there suggests that he was an epistrategus. The ἐπέκτης δημοσίου σίτου, who is not mentioned elsewhere, was apparently created in the third century in addition to the existing ἐπίτροπος Νέας πόλεως, as the catholicus (cf. 1410. int.) was appointed in addition to the dioecetes. The κράτιστος Αὐρ. Ἀμμωνίων in 1544. 3 (probably early in the reign of Diocletian) may also have been an ἐπέκτης, and was possibly identical with Aur. Ammonius. The prytanis Aurelius Eudaemon also called Helladius (l. 1) was no doubt the same person as the βιβλιοφύλαξ of that name in Mitteis, *Chres.* 196. 4 (A. D. 307), where he is only called γυμνασιαρχήσας) βουλ(ευτής); cf. 1452. 2, 11.

Αὐ[ρ]ή[λι]ος Ε[ὐδ]αίμων ὁ καὶ Ἑλλάδιος γ[ε]νόμενος εὐθ[η]-  
 νιάρχης κοσμητῆς ἐξηγητῆς ὑπομνηματογράφος  
 βουλευτῆς τῆ[ς] λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων,  
 γ[υ]μνασ[ι]αρχήσας βουλ[ε]υτῆς ἑναρχος πρύτανις τῆς  
 5 λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως.  
 τὰ τῆς ἀνακ[ο]μιδῆς τῆς εὐθeneίας τῶν [γ]ενναιοτάτων  
 στρα[τ]ιωτῶν οὐδὲ βραχεῖαν ἀνάθεσ[ι]ν ἐπιδέχεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο,  
 καὶ γραμμάτων ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο κατεπειγόντων τοῦ κρα-  
 τίστου διοικητοῦ Αὐρηλίου Π[ρ]ωτέα ἔτι [δ]ὲ κ[α]ὶ τ[οῦ] κρατίστου  
 10 Ἀμμ[ω]νίου, καὶ τῶν πλοίων ἤδη τῶν ὑπ[ο]δεχομένων  
 τὰ εἶδη ἐφορμούντων, ἐδέησεν εἰς ἐπιμελῆ τόπον δ[η]-  
 μοσίαν συναγαγεῖν πρόσκλητον βουλήν, ἵνα προτεθείσῃ[ς]  
 σκέψεως περὶ μόνου τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαί[ο]υ τέλεσις τὴν  
 ταχίστην λάβῃ τὰ λειτουργήματα. ἵ[μ]α οὖν π[άν]τες ἐκόντες  
 15 [ᾧ]σι [?] βουλευταὶ τοῦτο γινώ[τ]ε[ς] ἐν τῇ σήμερο[ν] ἡ[μ]ε[ρ]ῆ[ς] ἐστ[ί]ν ιε,  
 [τὰ γρά]μμ[α]τὰ δημοσίᾳ πρόκειτ[α]ι. καλῶς δ[ὲ] ἔχειν ἐνόμισα [  
 [γινώσκει?] ὑμᾶς δι[ὰ] τοῦδε τοῦ προ[γ]ράμματος συντετα-  
 [χέναι ἡμᾶς] ὑμῖν συνε[ιδό]σιν πρὸς τὰ κελευσθέντα ὀξέως  
 [συναχ]θῆναι, οὐδενὸς ἄλλο[υ] ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ συνόδῳ μένον-  
 20 [τος, ψ]ηφίσασθαι τε τὰς [τ]ῶν λ[ι]τουργῶν χειρο[τ]ο[ν]ίας.  
 [(ἔτους) β'] [ ιε.

2. ὑπομνημ. Π.

10. ὑπ[ο]δ[ε]χ. Π.

‘From Aurelius Eudaemon also called Helladius, formerly eutheniarch, cosmetes, exegetes, hypomnematographus, senator of the most illustrious city of Alexandria, ex-gymnasiarch, senator, prytanis in office of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus.

The question of the transport of provisions for the most noble soldiers does not admit even a brief delay, and for this reason, and since letters from his excellency the dioecetes Aurelius Proteas, as well as from his excellency Ammonius, are urging us on this matter, and the boats to receive the supplies are already at anchor, it became necessary to summon a special general meeting of the senate at a suitable place, in order that a discussion may be held on this single subject, and the obligations performed as quickly as possible. Accordingly in order that every one, being informed of this, may willingly act as senator (?) to-day, which is the 15th, the letters are publicly exhibited. I thought it right that you should know by this proclamation that I have instructed you, being now in possession of the facts, to assemble swiftly in view of the orders, since no other subject remains for the present meeting, and to vote upon the elections of those who are to serve.

The 2nd (?) year, (month) 15.'

1-3. Cf. the identical titles of an Alexandrian magistrate in a Pachnemounis inscr. (Hogarth, *J. H. S.* 1904, p. 10); in B. G. U. 1074. 10 (from Oxyrhynchus) the same four titles as those in ll. 1-2 occur (also referring to Alexandria), but *εὐθηνάρχης* is placed between *ἐξηγητής* and *ὑπομνηματογράφος*. Jouguet (*Vie munic.* 292 sqq.), in endeavouring to reconcile those two instances with the rules laid down by Preisigke, *Beamtenwesen*, 31 sqq. for the order of municipal titles in papyri and inscriptions, naturally became involved in great difficulties, and eventually concluded that exegetae, cosmetae, and eutheniarchs were all on much the same level, so that, if the chronological order in which these offices were held was followed, there was a good deal of variation. With regard to the *ὑπομνηματογράφος* he did not accept Preisigke's proposal to relegate him to the lowest grade, but thought that he was inferior to the gymnasiarch. Our view of Preisigke's rules is somewhat different. The order in point of rank which he proposed was (1) gymnasiarch, (2) exegetes, (3) cosmetes, (4) chief-priest, (5) agoranomus, (6) eutheniarch, (7) hypomnematographus, and he considered that papyri differ from inscriptions in usually having an ascending instead of a descending order where several offices are mentioned together. The attempt to differentiate the practice of papyri from that of inscriptions, which results in interpreting the Pachnemounis list as a descending one (so Jouguet, *op. cit.* 298), although another Pachnemounis inscription (Hogarth, *l. c.* p. 5) has a list which is clearly ascending, seems to us fallacious. If inscriptions provide somewhat more exceptions than papyri to the general rule that titles are mentioned together in an ascending scale, that is more likely to be due to local variations of style than to the nature of the writing-material, and especially in the light of 1412 we prefer to interpret both the Pachnemounis inscriptions in accordance with the usual practice in papyri. This results in our regarding the hypomnematographus as superior to the gymnasiarch, which removes the difficulty (cf. Jouguet, *op. cit.* 171-3) created by the great importance of the hypomnematographus at Alexandria (cf. p. 30), as contrasted with his supposed low rank in the nome-capitals, and is quite in accordance with the evidence of second-century papyri concerning the *cursus honorum* at Alexandria; cf. P. Tebt. 286. 14-15, where Julius Theon is stated to have been archidicastes before becoming hypomnematographus, Flor. 68. 5 *γενόμ. γυμν. καὶ ὑπομν.*, and B. G. U. 832. 15 and 888. 5, where (*γενόμ.*) *ὑπομν.* follows (i. e. ranks higher than) *τῶν γυμνασιαρχηκότων* and *γενομ. ἀρχιδικαστῆς* respectively. The last three instances, which on Preisigke's view of the rank of the *ὑπομν.* were exceptions to his rule about the ascending order of municipal titles in papyri, thus on our view serve to illustrate it. With regard to the hypomnematographus fresh evidence is afforded by B. G. U. 1073. 4, where the titles *γενομένου κοσμητοῦ ἐξηγητοῦ ὑπομνηματογρά(φου)* are in the usual ascending order, and 1434. 10 and 1461. 2-3, in both of which cases he ranks higher than the *ἀρχιερεὺς*, and the two instances which have been thought to indicate his low rank in the hierarchy do not justify that inference. In B. G. U. 121.

1 (A.D. 194), where Preisigke doubtfully proposes γενο(μένου) [ὑπομνηματογράφου] ἀγορα(νομή-σαντος), the restoration is open to the objection that the ὑπομν. is absent from the list of municipal officials in P. Amh. 124, which is approximately contemporary with B. G. U. 121, and the creation of local ὑπομν. was, as Jouguet points out, most likely connected with the establishment of senates in 202, so that we prefer to restore [εὐθηνιαρχ(ήσαντος)]. In 55. 1-2 (A.D. 283) Ἀρ. Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ γεν. ὑπομν. κ[αί] ὡς χρηματίζει γυμνασιαρχήσαντι βουλευτῇ ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει τῆς λαμ. καὶ λαμ. Ὁξ. πόλ. διέποντι καὶ τὰ πολιτικά Preisigke, followed by Jouguet, ignores καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει, which in reality is a periphrasis for βουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμ. πόλ. τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, as is clear from 59. 2-3 (A.D. 292) where Ἀρ. Ἀπόλλωνο[s] τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου γεν. ὑπομν. βουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμ. πόλ. τῶν Ἀλεξ. γυμν(ασιαρχήσαντος) πρυτ(ανεύσαντος) βουλευτοῦ ἐνάρ. πρυτ. must be the same person (cf. 1463. 27, n.). Hence γεν. ὑπομν. in 55 refers to Alexandria, not to Oxyrhynchus, and stands in no close relation to γυμνασιαρχήσαντι. Corroborative evidence for the high rank of the hypomnematographus is afforded by 59. 6, 1191. 11, and 1257. 4, where a strategus is called γενόμε. ὑπομν., 59. 7, where a former ὑπομν. acts as deputy for the strategus, a function performed elsewhere by ex-gymnasiarchs or ex-exegetae (cf. Preisigke, *op. cit.* 66-7), P. Thead. 18. 1, where a ὑπομν. is apparently a deputy-strategus, and 1645. 2-3, where two ὑπομν. are responsible for the appointment of a guardian, a task usually undertaken by exegetae or officials of the central government (cf. P. Tebt. 397 and 1466. int.).

The normal order of the hierarchy of municipal officials in the nome-capitals was in our opinion as follows: (1) hypomnematographus, (2) gymnasiarch, (3) exegetes, (4) cosmets, (5) chief-priest, (6) eutheniarch, (7) agoranomus. Concerning the eutheniarch (cf. 1454. int.) it is still doubtful whether by himself he should be ranked above or below the cosmets or chief-priest; his office was often combined with the tenure of another, e. g. that of gymnasiarch in 1417-18, that of exegetes apparently in P. Tebt. 397. 15, that of chief-priest in P. Amh. 124. 22. There is also some fluctuation in the relative position of the cosmets and chief-priest, the former taking precedence in P. Amh. 124 (Hermopolis) and Flor. 21. 1 (Arsinoë), the latter in 1025. 4-5; in C. P. R. 20. i. 2 (Hermopolis) the titles γυμνασιαρχήσαντι καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσαντι are arranged exceptionally in a descending scale, as in Inscr. 66 of De Ricci, *Archiv.* ii. 444. In P. Ryl. 149. 1-4 (A.D. 39-40) an unusual combination of the offices of chief-priest, exegetes, and strategus occurs. In P. Brit. Mus. 1177. ii (iii. 182) the cosmets seems to rank above the exegetes. Where the ἀγωνοθέτης, who is rarely mentioned, should be placed is not clear. In Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Or.* 713, his office is combined with that of gymnasiarch, and seems to rank below it; P. Ryl. 117. 18 and 1416. 5 are indecisive.

At Alexandria the conditions were somewhat different. Plaumann (*Archiv.* vi. 92<sup>3</sup>), after examining the evidence, could come to no definite conclusion; but some of the difficulties which troubled him disappear with the modification of Preisigke's arrangement caused by placing the hypomnematographus at the top, and in P. Tebt. 317. 2 γ[ε]νομένῳ probably refers only to κοσμητῇ, and ἱερεὶ ἐξηγητῇ are the offices actually held, so that this instance indicates the customary relation of cosmets and exegetes, concerning which Plaumann expressed doubts. On the whole, in spite of the inconsistency of the evidence regarding the eutheniarch already noted, the rank of the seven officials mentioned above seems to apply to Alexandria as well as to the nome-capitals, except perhaps in the case of the chief-priest. The hypomnematographus (1102. 4), archidicastes (e. g. 1471. 2), and exegetes (P. Tebt. 317. 2) are called ἱερεῖς, as sometimes the exegetae in the nomes (Jouguet, *op. cit.* 338<sup>1</sup>). Concerning the relationship of the archidicastes to the hypomnematographus the evidence is conflicting, since in B. G. U. 832. 15 an archidicastes (cf. Koschaker, *l. c.*) is called τῶν γεγυμν. [γ]ενομένῳ ὑπομνηματογράφῳ, whereas in P. Tebt. 286. 14-15 and B. G. U. 888. 5 (cf. p. 28) these offices were held in the reverse order. Since the post

of hypomnematographus at Alexandria was one of great importance and that official, who dated from Ptolemaic times, was chief of the praefect's chancery (that more than one *ἵπομν.* existed at Alexandria, as has been sometimes supposed, seems to us unlikely), we prefer to place him above the archidicastes, whose deputy is now known from 1472. 12 to have been in one case an exegetes-elect, not a hypomnematographus. The *στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως* was inferior to the archidicastes (cf. Koschaker, *l. c.*), and if he was identical with the *νυκτερινὸς στρατ.* of Strabo, he may well have ranked low down in the list; for the *νυκτοστράτηγος* of the nomes (Wilcken, *op. cit.* 414) do not seem to have ranked as high as ordinary *στρατηγοί*, and from 1560. 10-11 the office of *στρατ. τῆς πόλ.* appears to have been lower than that of *ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηρίας* (i. e. eutheniarch), unless the two were held simultaneously. We are accordingly more disposed than Jouguet (*op. cit.* 193-4) to regard the rank of the *στρατ.* of Alexandria as quite different from that of the *strategi* in the nomes, who ranked above gymnasiarchs. 1560 also mentions *πρεσβευτής* in the list of titles in l. 11, placing it between *ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηρίας* and *ἀρχιδικαστής*. To judge by 1242. 3-11, where the *πρέσβεις* are chiefly gymnasiarchs, the special office of *πρεσβευτής* is likely to have ranked very high, so that the order of the Alexandrian hierarchy which we propose is the following: (1) *ὑπομνηματογράφος*, (2) *ἀρχιδικαστής*, (3) *πρεσβευτής*, (4) *γυμνασιάρχος*, (5) *ἐξηγητής*, (6) *κοσμητής*, (7) *ἀρχιερεὺς Σεβαστῶν*, (8) *εὐθηνιαρχος*, (9) *ἀγορανόμος*, (10) *στρατηγός* (?).

8-10. Cf. int. The *πλοῖα* in question were no doubt *δημόσια*; cf. P. Cairo Preisigke 34 quoted in l. 14, n., Amh. 138. 5 *πλοίου ταμακοῦ*, Brit. Mus. 256 (a). 1 *σκάφης δημοσίας*. Private boats were also frequently employed; cf. *πλοίου ἰδίου* in 1554. 6, P. Flor. 75. 8, Brit. Mus. 948. 1-2 (iii, p. 220), and Goodsp. 14. 3, and *πλοίου Ἡραΐσκου ναυτικοῦ* in 1544. 7-8.

11. *ἐπιμελῆ τόπον*: cf. int.

12. *πρόσκλητος βουλή*, an expression adopted from Attic, is illustrated by the proceedings recorded in 1414, which apparently also refers to a special meeting (l. 29). How often the ordinary meetings of Egyptian senates were held is not known; very short notice was given in the present instance; cf. ll. 14-16, n. The word used in 1412 for 'meeting' is not *συνέδριον* (C. P. Herm. 7. ii. 6) but *σύνοδος* (l. 19). For partial meetings of the senate cf. 1414. 21, n.

14. *λειτουργήματα*: the duties of senators in connexion with the collection of corn and the transport from the granaries to the boats are illustrated by P. Brit. Mus. 948 (iii, p. 220), Flor. 75, W. *Chrest.* 434, and Stud. Pal. i. 34, all acknowledgements by *κυβερνήται* to senators concerning the receipt of corn for dispatch by river. That the *ναυκληρία* too tended to become a liturgy was conjectured by Rostowzew, *Archiv.* iii. 223 (cf. P. Giessen II. 11, n.), and the evidence desiderated by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 379, was provided by 1261, a declaration concerning the transport of produce for troops at Babylon, made by a senator acting as an *ἐπιμελητής* in terms which correspond to the declarations of a *ναύκληρος χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως* in 1259, and of a *κυβερνήτης* in 1260; cf. P. Cairo Preisigke 34. 3-4 *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀμμωνᾶς . . . ἀρξ(ας) τῆς Ἐρμού πόλεως ναύκληρος πλοίου δημοσίου τῆς Μαξιμανοῦ πόλ[εως]*, where *βουλευτής* may well be the word lost before *ναύκληρος*.

14-16. The reconstruction of this sentence is not quite certain. After *λειτουργήματα* a blank space was, we think, left, as after *πρόκειτ[α]* in l. 16. The supposed *ς* of *π[αν]τες* is not very satisfactory, but the next word seems to be *ἐκόντες*, not a participle. *βουλευταί* suits the vestiges very well, and there is no room for a verb except at the beginning of l. 15. The emphatic date refers to what precedes rather than to what follows; in view of the pressing nature of the business, and the prevailing custom of giving invitations at very short notice (*αὔριον* is usual, e. g. in 1487; *σήμερον* occurs in 1485-6), the fact that the meeting was summoned for the very day on which this notice was issued (whether sent to individual senators or publicly exposed) is not very surprising. Another doubtful point is the

restoration of the beginning of l. 16, where we suppose that [τὰ γρά]μμ[α]τα refers back to γραμμάτων in l. 8. The final α is probable in any case, but the traces of the preceding letters are very slight. ] τὰ[ν]τα and πρό[γ]ρα[μ]μα are unsatisfactory.

16-17. ἐνόμισα [γνώσκει]ν or ἐνομία[μεν εἰδέν]αι can be read, or the infinitive may be e. g. [νοθετεί]ν.

20. Cf. the debate on liturgies in 1415. 4-31, and 1413. int.

21. [ἔτους β'] : cf. int. It is not certain that the stroke belongs to a numeral, and some part of the name of the month would be expected to be visible. Perhaps no year was given and the stroke refers to the day of the month, or the date was written after a considerable gap and the stroke is accidental. The margin at the bottom is not preserved.

### 1413. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

22.3 × 24.8 cm.

A. D. 270-5.

The procedure of the local senates in Egypt is very imperfectly known ; for though several fragments of reports of their debates are extant in 1103 (and perhaps 1305 ; cf. 41, a report of a meeting of the δῆμος at Oxyrhynchus), B. G. U. 925 (Heracleopolis), C. P. Herm. 7. i (Hermopolis), and De Ricci, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1895. 160, Wilcken, *Archiv.* iv. 115 sqq. (both Antinoöpolis), owing to the great length of lines which is customary in this class of documents the restoration of lacunae is difficult ; cf. Jouguet, *Vie munic.* 374 sqq., where an attempt is made to reconstruct the Hermopolite text. 1413-15, which are reports, divided into sections, of discussions in the senate of Oxyrhynchus, with 1416, a list of resolutions, though also imperfect, are much more extensive, and serve to give a very fair general idea of the proceedings.

The subjects of discussion illustrated by these four papyri concern either administration or finance. Under the former head come the appointment of exegetae and ἐπιτηρηταί (1413. 4-18, and perhaps 1-3), of a δημόσιος τραπεζῆτης (1415. 13-31), of a new prytanis (1414. 24-7), of an ἀγωνοθέτης (1416. 5), of a temporary cosmetes (?) (1416. 18), the apportionment of the duties of gymnasiarchs on particular days (1413. 19-24, 1416. 6-9 ; cf. 1417-18), nominations for special liturgies such as the transport of military and other supplies (1414. 17-23, 1415. 4-12), arrangements for the local festival (1416. 2 and 11-17), or other duties (1416. 19-26). Financial questions were debated in 1413. 25-33, concerning the completion of a gold crown in honour of Aurelian (cf. 1416. 29, where some honour to be bestowed on an Emperor and praefect is mentioned), 1413. 34-7, concerning a payment for some public object for which the cosmetae seem to have been responsible, 1414. 1-3, apparently concerning clothes payable to the State, 1414. 4-11, concerning the supply and price of yarn for linen required by a temple, and 1414. 12-16, dealing with an application from the city linen-weavers for an increase of their remuneration ; cf. also 1416. 3-4, referring to

a loan from the municipal funds. An application from the local priests is alluded to in 1416. 10 (cf. 1414. 4, n.), but the nature of the question discussed is uncertain, as in 1414. 28-30, 1415. 1-3 and 32-42, 1416. 1 and 27-8.

The debate on each topic was generally opened by the reading of a communication from the strategus or some other external official (e. g. 1414. 17, 19), or by an explanatory speech from the prytanis (for an exception cf. 1413. 19, n.), who was no doubt responsible for the drawing up of 1416 and often took a leading part in the discussion (1413. 1, n.). The senators' remarks, as reported, are frequently collective, as in B. G. U. 925, frequently also acclamations like those in 41; but sometimes one section speaks, e. g. the exegetae in 1413. 5, the members of the third tribe in 1413. 12-13 (cf. 1415. 19), and in 1413 and 1415, though not in 1414, the names of individual senators are mentioned, besides the *σύνδικος*. That official of the senate is prominent in 1413-14, especially in connexion with bringing matters to a decision or collecting information to be used at a later sitting, and he seems to have been a kind of legal adviser, as well as an advocate of the senate in courts of law; cf. 1413. 17, n. There are frequent references to communications to or from officials of the central government, an *ἐπίτροπος* in 1416. 28, an *ἐπέκτης χρυσοῦ στεφάνου καὶ νίκης* in 1413. 25, the epistrategus in 1413. 30, 1415. 8-9, the strategus in 1414. 4, 17, 19, 1415. 4, 13, and magistrates whose titles are uncertain in 1415. 13, 17, 1416. 19; but the officials of the central government do not take part in the debates, and Wilcken is no doubt right in now (*Chrest.* 39. int.) referring the *συνέδριον* in C. P. Herm. 52. ii. 9 to a trial, not, as formerly, to a meeting of the senate (cf. 1412. 12, n.). A tendency to postpone business until the next meeting is distinctly marked; cf. 1413. 11-12, 1414. 16, 18, 1416. 10, and 1412. int. Altogether 1413-16 provide much new information, the details of which are discussed in the commentary.

1413, written in a small cursive hand, consists of the ends of lines of a very broad column from the official records (*ὑπομνηματισμοί*; cf. C. P. Herm. 7. ii. 7 *τοῖς ὑπομνηματισθεῖσι ἐπὶ τῆς κρατ. βουλ.*) of five debates in the reign of Aurelian (ll. 4, 25-6) on a day early in Thoth (see below). 1414, which is approximately contemporary with 1413 since it mentions the same *σύνδικος*, has on the verso a document written in the fifth year of an Emperor (1496. 25), and whether the reigning monarch there was Aurelian or Probus (cf. 1497. 2-3) is uncertain. 1413-14 therefore may belong to the latter part of Aurelian's reign; but the mention of the *χρυσοῦς στέφανος καὶ νίκη* in 1413. 25 suggests a year soon after Aurelian had got rid of either Vaballathus, who was associated with him in his first and second years, or Firmus, who revolted in his third or fourth year. The second, third, and fourth sections are fairly intelligible, though from ll. 14 and 17 it appears that more than 80 letters are lost at the beginnings of lines normally (10 more in ll. 16-17).

The first three lines give the conclusion of a discussion about the filling up of an official post, probably that of exegetes, which is also the subject of the following section. Lines 1-2 seem to belong to a speech of the prytanis, acting as *γνωμησισηγητής* (l. 1, n.), proposing to assign half the post to some one. This is followed by some remarks from an exegetes, of which the senate expressed its approval by a favourite exclamation at this period, *ὠκεανέ* (l. 3, n.).

In ll. 4-18 the topic is the appointment of municipal magistrates, whose numbers tended at this period to diminish owing to the lack of willing candidates (cf. 1252. verso and 1642), and in particular, though perhaps not exclusively (cf. l. 5, n.), the nomination of exegetae and their *ἐπιτηρηταί*, thus providing an interesting parallel to P. Ryl. 77, which gives an account of the appointment of a *cosmetes* in the period before the creation of senates. On the general character of exegetae see Jouguet, *op. cit.* 315-18. Oxyrhynchus had at this period many gymnasiarchs (1413. 19-24, 1416. 6-9) and sometimes many eutheniarchs, who in 199 numbered 12 (908. int.), but how many exegetae there were in the *κοινόν* of that *τάγμα* (891. 14) is unknown. The prytanis opened the debate with a reference to honouring the Emperor by the nomination of senators to magistracies, in order that their payments for the crowns of office (*στεπτικά*, l. 4, n.) should be available for the State, and, in answer perhaps to a question who should make the first nominations, appealed to the exegetae. These officials suggested that Serenus (?) should be made exegetes. After a remark by the prytanis, which is lost, perhaps a request for more nominations, Sabinus, an ex-prytanis, called attention to the fact that a certain Plution had not yet paid his *στεπτικόν* for becoming exegetes; about this the prytanis apparently appealed to the *γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν* (l. 7, n.) for confirmation, and received an affirmative answer. The subject of Plution's debt was continued by one of the exegetae, perhaps with a warning that the precedent was not to be followed in the case of Serenus, to which the senators replied that the latter was nominated on the security of his property (l. 8, n.). The syndic then apparently closed the discussion about Serenus with a remark of which the point is obscure, but which perhaps implied that Serenus was ineligible owing to his being gymnasiarch. In any case the prytanis appealed to the exegetae for further nominations, and they put forward the name of Ion. A proposal was next made by a chief-priest that Ion should have an *ἐπιτηρητής* attached to him (l. 10, n.), the suggestion being accepted by the prytanis, who nominated Phileas and Plotinus for this post, their names meeting with the approval of the senate. The definitive appointment was, however, not made, the question being adjourned till the next meeting, and the prytanis appealed to the occupants of other magistracies to make nominations. The answer came from the members of the third tribe,

which was at the moment responsible for liturgies (l. 12, n.), but the name of the person put forward (as *exegetes*?) is lost. As in the former case, an *ἐπιτηρητής* was nominated by the prytanis, and his name greeted with acclamations by the senate. After another proposal, which is lost, by the members of the third tribe, the syndic again intervened, explaining that he had seized the property of some individual (probably the person who had just been mentioned by the third tribe), and would report later on its value. A criticism of the two names presented by the third tribe was then made by a new speaker (possibly a hypomnematographus; l. 15, n.), who stated that the nominations had been made by only two persons, and this led to the selection by the senators collectively of several persons, chosen apparently from the whole body of the tribe or senate. The debate concluded with some remarks by the syndic concerning the first year of office (l. 17, n.), apparently making some concession to the newly nominated persons in order to induce them to serve.

In ll. 19-24 the topic was the days on which individual gymnasiarchs were responsible for the provision of oil for gymnasial purposes, which was one of their chief duties. The opening speaker seems to have been not, as usual, the prytanis, but a gymnasiarch called Ptolemaeus, who stated that he had recently provided oil on two days (probably Thoth 1 and 3) in place of two of his colleagues, and apparently asked to be relieved from duty on the days fixed for himself. The senators accepted his proposal with acclamations, and appointed other persons to serve on Thoth 11 and 12, which must have been subsequent to the date of the meeting. An objection to the alteration of the dates was then raised by a gymnasiarch whose name is lost, but was apparently overruled by the senate, which proceeded to appoint persons for the 13th and following days. Another objection was then raised (l. 23) by a gymnasiarch called Serenus (perhaps identical with the preceding objector), that the change might affect him injuriously, and, if the first part of l. 24 belongs to the same speaker, he seems to have claimed to have acted, like Ptolemaeus, in place of some one else, his remarks being greeted with applause from the senate.

A fresh section begins in l. 25, the prytanis reporting the receipt of a communication from the *ἐπέκτης χρυσῶ στεφάνου καὶ νίκης* of Aurelian (of which the purport was similar to that of the letter of the *ἐπέκτης δημοσίου σίτου* in 1412. 9), concerning the completion of a golden crown due from the city (cf. 1441. int.). In order to expedite matters the prytanis proposed that 12 talents more should be paid to the artificers, and a discussion arose on the questions how and when the amount was to be collected. With regard to the first point it was decided to keep the same collectors as previously; with regard to the second the remarks of a certain Euporus, who apparently wished to expedite the completion of the



crown in view of the approaching visit of the epistrategus, met with the approval of the senate. The syndic concluded the discussion, promising to report any payments made to the artificers in advance. The last section (ll. 34-7) refers to some duty imposed upon the cosmetae, apparently involving a payment for a public work of some kind.

- 1 ] . η καὶ ψήφισμα αὐτῶ ἐπὶ τούτοις γινέσθω εἰς ἡμιχώριον τ[ 35  
letters ]υθ[. . . .
- 2 ]αξ δὲ εἰσηγοῦμαι. Σεπτίμιος Σερῆνος ὁ καὶ Ἰσχυρίων ἐξηγητῆς  
εἰ[π(εν)· .] . . . . [·] . ρ[ 15 letters ] . . [·] . . [· . .] καὶ φ[. . . .
- 3 ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ὄροις. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἰπ(ον)· ὠκεανέ, ἐξηγητά.
- 4 [ὁ πρύτανις εἰπ(εν)· τὸ μεγαλῆιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ·  
ὀνομάσατε οὖν καὶ βουλευτὰς ἵνα τὰ στεπτικὰ αὐτῶν εἰσ[. . . . .
- 5 οἱ βουλευταὶ εἰπον· ]ι. ὁ πρύτανις εἰπ(εν)· προτρέψασθε οἱ ἐξη-  
γηταὶ τινὰς. οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ εἰπ(ον)· προτραπήτω [Σ]ερῆνος εἰς  
ἐξηγητείαν. ὁ πρύτανις εἰ[π(εν)·
- 6 Σα]βείνος καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίξει) πρυτανεύσας εἰπ(εν)· ὁ Πλουτίων  
στεπτικὸν ἔτι ὀφείλει ἧς ἀνεδέξατο ἀπὸ τιμῶν ἐξηγητείας.  
ὁ πρύτ[ανις
- 7 [εἰπ(εν)· ] . . . [· .] . [γ]ραμματεὺς πολειτικῶν εἰπ(εν)· ναί. Ἰουλιανὸς  
ὁ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης ἐξηγητῆς εἰπ(εν)· Πλουτίων ὀφείλει στεπτι-  
[κόν,] οὐκουν [
- 8 οἱ βουλευτ[αὶ] εἰπ(ον)· ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ πόρῳ ὀνομάσθη.  
Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων γενόμενος ὑπομνηματο-  
γρ[ά]φος καὶ
- 9 [ὡς χρημα(τίξει) σύνδικος εἰπ(εν)· Σερῆνός]ς ἐστιν γυμνασίαρχος.  
ὁ πρύτανις εἰπ(εν)· ὀνομάσατε ἄλλους, ἵνα κὰν τὸ ἐξηγητικὸν  
συσταθῆ. οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ εἰπ(ον)· προτραπήτω Ἴων υἱὸς
- 10 εἰς τὴν ἐξηγητεί[αν] τοῦ πάππου. Σεκοῦνδος Σεκοῦνδου ἀρχιερεὺς  
εἰπ(εν)· ἐπιτηρείσθω οὖν ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς. ὁ πρύτανις εἰπ(εν)· αἰ-  
ροῦμαι εἰς ἐπιτή[η]-
- 11 [ρησιν Φιλέαν καὶ] Πλουτεῖνον ἵνα τὴν πίστιν ἀποπληρώσωσιν τῇ  
βουλῇ. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἰπ(ον)· ἀγνὲ πιστὲ Φιλέα, ἀγνὲ πιστὲ  
Πλο[υ]τεῖνε. τούτων [
- 12 ὑπερτεθέντων εἰς τὴν] ἐξῆς βουλὴν, ὁ πρύτανις εἰπ(εν)· καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι

- ἀρχαὶ ὀνομασάτωσαν. ὀνομάσατε δὲ καὶ βουλευτάς. οἱ ἀπὸ  
τῆς τρίτης φυλῆς εἶπ(ον)·
- 13 ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ἐπι]τηρήσει Νεῖλος βουλευτής. οἱ βουλευταὶ  
εἶπ(ον)· ἀγνὲ πιστὲ Νεῖλε, ἀεὶ καλῶς Νεῖλος, βοήθειαν αὐτῷ.  
οἱ ἀπὸ τῆ[ς τ]ρίτης φυλῆ[ς
- 14 [εἶπ(ον)· Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἄγαθος Δαίμων γενόμενος ὑπο-  
μνηματογράφος καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίζει) σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· ] κατεί-  
ληφα πόρον, τουτέστιν γενήματα ἀποκείμενα ἐν τῷ Μονίμου,  
καὶ ὅταν γνωσθῇ ἡ ποσότης, παρατε[θ]ήσεται ὑμῖ[ν].
- 15 ]φος καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίζει) εἶπ(εν)· ὅσοι νῦν ὀνομάσθησαν ὑπὸ Φελέου  
καὶ Ἡρακλιδίωνος ὀνομάσθησαν. οἱ βουλευτ[α]ῖ εἶπ(ον)· ἀπὸ  
δλης [
- 16 [τῆς φυλῆς? ἀγνὲ πισ]τὲ Ὀρίων γεουχῶν ἐν Νεσμείμι, ἀγνὲ πιστὲ  
Λεωνίδη γεουχῶν ἐν Δωσιθέου, ἀγνὲ πιστὲ Βη[σ]αρίων γεου[-
- 17 [χῶν ἐν Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἄγαθος Δαίμων γενόμενος ὑπο-  
μνηματογράφος καὶ ὡς χ]ρημα(τίζει) σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· ἵνα προ-  
τραπῶσιν καὶ ἄρχωσιν οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι, τὸ πρωτενίαιτον τῆς  
λιτουργησί[α]ς
- 18 ]
- 19 [Πτολεμαῖος γυμνασίαρχος? εἶπ(εν)· εἰ]ς τῆ[ν τρια]κάδα τοῦ Μεσορῆ  
χρεῖσαι. τῇ μὲν τριακάδι οὐκ ἔχρῃσεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐξῆς νεομηνία  
δι' ἐμοῦ ἔ[χρῃσε]ν, παραδεχ[.]-
- 20 , β ]ς ὁ τοῦ Φιλοσόφου, γ ἐπεστάται Θεόδωρος υἱὸς Πτολεμαίου  
καὶ οὐκ ἔχρῃσεν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκ προχρείας [ἔχρῃσε]α. ἐὰν οὖν [
- 21 οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)·] ὠκεανὲ Πτολεμαῖε, ὠκεανὲ γυμνασίαρχε. ια  
Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος, ιβ Ἀριστίων ὁ καὶ Ἀνδ[ρόνει]κος  
Ἀσ[υ]γκρί[-
- 22 [του. γυμνασίαρχος εἶπ(εν)· ] ἢ ἐναλλαγῇ τῶν ἡμερῶν. οἱ  
βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· κύρια τὰ ψηφίσματα. ιγ Ἐνικὸς καὶ οἱ  
μέλλοντες γυμ[νασι]αρχεῖν, . . . .
- 23 ] Σερῆνος Ἀμμωνίου γυμνασίαρχος εἶπ(εν)· μὴ βλαπτέτω μου τὸ  
ψηφίσμα ἢ ἐναλλαγῇ τῆς ἡ[μ]ῆ[ρας] 18 letters
- 24 εἰ?] καὶ μὴ ἔχρῃσεν. κη Σεουῆρος καὶ Ἐπίμαχος οἱ τοῦ Φιλο-  
σόφου. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ὠκεανὲ Σερῆνε?, ὠκεανὲ γυμνασί-  
αρχε?.

- 25 [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ] ὁ ἐπέικτης χρυσοῦ στεφάνου καὶ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου  
 ἡμῶν Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβ[αστ]οῦ Ἰο[υ]λι 24 letters
- 26 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐρηλια]νοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ στέφανος  
 αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ οἱ τεχνεῖται [. . .] . . [ 27 letters
- 27 τὰ σκ[εῦ]η ταῦτα κατ' εὐχὴν γίνεται. ἄλλα δώδεκα τάλαντα δοθήτω  
 τοῖς τεχνεῖτα[ι]ς. [ 23 letters
- 28 ]. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀπαιτείωσαν. Θέων ὁ καὶ Ὀριγένης  
 Χ[αιρήμον ?]ος καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίξει) εἶπ(εν)· 18 letters
- 29 δύν]ασθε αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτῆσαι. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ἄγνοι πιστοὶ ἀπ-  
 αιτηταί. Εὐπορ[ος] ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίξει) ?  
 εἶπ(εν)· . . .
- 30 ]ναι, ἐὰν [μ]ὴ τελειωθῆ τὸ ἔργον. ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· καὶ ὁ κρά-  
 τιστ[ος] ἐπιστράτηγος δ[ 27 letters
- 31 Εὐπορος ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ? καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίξει) εἶπ(εν)· ὅταν  
 οὖν εὐθέως ἔλθῃ, ἐπειχθήσεται τ[ὸ] ἔργον. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)·  
 23 letters
- 32 ]τε Εὐπορε, εὐδιοίκητε Εὐπορε. Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς  
 Δαίμων γενόμε[ι]νος ὑπομνηματογράφος
- 33 [καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίξει) σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· εἴ τι τοῖ]ς τεχνεῖταις ἐν πίστι  
 ἀναλίσκεται, παρατεθήσεται ὑμῖν.
- 34 [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ]πον ἦν καὶ ἐπεστάλη τότε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν κοσμητ[ῶν]  
 διὰ Κ[ο]ρηλιανοῦ καὶ Πανσαν[ίου] 22 letters
- 35 ]ος δεδη[λωκέν]αι πρὶν ἂν τὸ πᾶν ἀνάλωμα δοθῆ[ῃ] . . . . .]. Μάξιμον  
 ἐν[. . .]δ[ 22 letters
- 36 ] . . . [λιτουργ?]ησίαν [. . .] . ἕως τοῦ Παχῶν α[ 53 letters
- 37 ]του[. . . . .] . . ο[. . .]ς ἀίτησω . [ 53 letters

8. ὑπομνηματογρ. Π. 9. ἱὸν υἱος Π. 14. ὑμῖν Π; so in l. 33. 15. ὑπο Π.  
 1. Φιλέου. 20. υἱος Π.

“and let a resolution be made for him on these terms, that he (is to serve) half (the office) . . . I introduce . . .” Septimius Serenus also called Ischyriion, exegetes, said, “. . . on these terms.” The senators said, “Bravo, exegetes.”

(The prytanis said,) “. . . the majesty of our lord Aurelianus Augustus. Accordingly nominate also senators, in order that their payments for crowns (may contribute) to the . . .” (The senators said,) . . . The prytanis said, “Do you exegetae press some one.” The exegetae said, “Let Serenus (?) be pressed to take the office of exegetes.” The prytanis said, . . . Sabinus and however he is styled, ex-prytanis, said, “Plution still owes the payment for a crown on account of the office of exegetes which he undertook among

the magistracies." The prytanis said, . . . , secretary of the city revenues, said, "Yes." Julianus also called Dioscurides, exegetes, said, "Plution owes the payment for a crown; therefore he is not . . ." The senators (?) said, "The person nominated was nominated on the security of his own property." Septimius Diogenes also called Agathodaemon, ex-hypomnematographus and however he is styled, syndic, said, ". . . Serenus (?) is a gymnasiarch." The prytanis said, "Nominate others, that the number of exegetae may be completed." The exegetae said, "Let Ion son of . . . be pressed to take the office of exegetes held by his grandfather." Secundus son of Secundus, chief-priest, said, "Then let the person nominated be subject to overseers." The prytanis said, "I choose for the post of overseer . . . Phileas and Plutinus, that they may discharge this trust for the senate." The senators said, "Upright, faithful Phileas; upright, faithful Plutinus." This question . . . having been postponed until the next meeting of the senate, the prytanis said, "Let holders of the other offices also nominate; and nominate senators also." The members of the third tribe said, "(We nominate . . .)" The prytanis said, "Nilus, senator, shall be overseer." The senators said, "Upright, faithful Nilus; ever-honourable is Nilus; success to him." The members of the third tribe said, . . . Septimius Diogenes also called Agathodaemon, ex-hypomnematographus and however he is styled, syndic, said, "I have impounded the property of . . . , that is to say produce deposited at the farmstead of Monimou, and when the amount is known, it shall be laid before you." . . . plus and however he is styled said, "Those who were just now nominated were nominated by Phileas and Heraclidion." The senators said, "From the whole (tribe?) . . . Upright, faithful Horion, land-owner at Nesmimis; upright, faithful Leonides, land-owner at Dositheou; upright, faithful Besarion, land-owner at . . ." Septimius Diogenes also called Agathodaemon, ex-hypomnematographus and however he is styled, syndic, said, "In order that the persons nominated may be pressed to serve and may take office, the first year's duty . . ."

(Ptolemaeus, gymnasiarch, said), ". . . promised to provide oil on Mesore 30. On Mesore 30 he failed to provide oil, but on the first day of the following month he provided it through me . . . ; on the 2nd oil was provided by . . . son of Philosophus; on the 3rd Theodoros son of Ptolemaeus presided and failed to provide oil, but I provided it by a loan. If therefore . . ." The senators said, "Bravo, Ptolemaeus; bravo, gymnasiarch. The 11th is the day of Dionysius also called Artemidoros, the 12th of Aristion also called Andronicus, son of Asyncritus." Serenus son of Ammonius (?), gymnasiarch, said, ". . . the interchange of days." The senators said, "The resolutions are valid. The 13th is the day of Xenicus and the gymnasiarchs-elect, . . ." Serenus son of Ammonius, gymnasiarch, said, "Do not let the interchange of days injuriously affect the resolution concerning me. On the . . . even if he failed to provide oil; on the 28th Severus and Epimachus, sons of Philosophus." The senators said, "Bravo, (Serenus; bravo, gymnasiarch?)."

The prytanis said, "The collector for the golden crown and victory of our lord Aurelianus Augustus, Julius (?) . . . (reported) . . . our lord Aurelianus Augustus, and that his crown has already been prepared, and unless the artificers . . . ; these objects are votive offerings. Let 12 talents more be given to the artificers . . ." The senators said, "Let the same persons make the demands." Theon also called Origenes, son of Chaeremon (?) and however he is styled, said, ". . . you can demand it from them." The senators said, "Upright, faithful collectors." Euporus also called Agathodaemon, and however he is styled, said, ". . . , if the work is not finished." The prytanis said, "His excellency the epistrategus also . . ." Euporus also called Agathodaemon (?), and however he is styled, said, "As soon as he comes, therefore, the work shall be pressed on." The senators said, ". . . Euporus; obedient Euporus." Septimius Diogenes also called Agathodaemon, ex-hypomnematographus and however he is styled, syndic, said, ". . . if any money is paid in advance for the artificers, it shall be brought to your notice."

The prytanis said, “. . . and the body of cosmetae through Cornelianus and Pausanias was then sent . . . reported that before the whole cost was paid . . .”

1. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις: cf. l. 3 ἐπὶ τοῦ]τοις τοῖς ὄροις, and, for ὄροι of the senate, 1414. 4-9. The speaker, to whom the first part of l. 2 also seems to belong, is probably the prytanis, who in B. G. U. 362. xv. 8 acts as γνωμησηγητής and ἐπιψηφιστής, though the suggestion of Jouguet (*op. cit.* 381) that he alone had the right of exercising those functions is disposed of by 1416. 1 and 4, where ordinary senators act as εἰσηγηταί. A change of speaker in the lacuna after τ], the earlier part of the line being then possibly spoken by the ἐξηγητής (cf. l. 2), is unlikely; but, if καὶ ὁ[ς χρημα(τίξει) be restored in l. 2 (cf. e. g. l. 6), a third speaker perhaps intervenes, and ἐπὶ τοῦ]τοις τοῖς ὄροις might be spoken by him, not by the exegetes. The name and titles of Septimius Diogenes, the only σύνδικος found in 1413-14 (cf. l. 17, n.) cannot be restored in l. 2.

εἰς ἡμυχώριον: cf. l. 24, where the two sons of Philosophus have a single day assigned to them as gymnasiarchs, B. G. U. 579. 5 (= W. *Chrest.* 279) οἱ δύο γυμ(νασιάρχ)σαντες ἰς χῶραν ἑνός (sc. δεκαπρώτου), 144. 7-9 ἐγ (μέρους) ἀγορανομ(ήσας) or ἐξηγ(ητεύσας), 574. 10 ἐγ μέρ. ἀγορανομ., P. Amh. 67. 8 ἐγ μέρ. ἤρξεν. The office in question may well be that of exegetes; cf. int.

2. εἰσηγοῦμαι: cf. l. 1, n. γνώμ]as is possible before it, but not γνώμ]ην.

3. ὠκεανέ: cf. ll. 21, 24, 41. 4, 1305, C. P. Herm. 7. i. 9, Wilcken, *Archiv.* iii. 541.

4. For [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν), projecting by 2 or 3 letters, at the beginning of a new section cf. 1415. 32, 41. Something like δεῖ σέβασθαι may have preceded τὸ μεγαλῖον (for which cf. e. g. 1252. 38); cf. 1416. 29.

στεπτικά: cf. στεπτικῶν in ll. 6, 7; the term does not occur elsewhere. It clearly refers to payments for the crown of office; cf. P. Ryl. 77. 34-5 στεφ[α]ν]φάρον ἐξηγητείαν, 36-7 εἰ . . . βούλεται στεφανωθῆναι ἐξηγητείαν, εἰσενεγκάτω τὸ ἰσητήριον ἐντεῦθεν, 1117. 5, n., and 1252. 16 στε[φάνου τοῦ] εὐθμιαρχικοῦ καὶ ἀγορανομικοῦ. The form στεπτικόν supports the view (which is not the usual one) that the officials called οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων were connected with the στέφανοι of magistrates; cf. P. Ryl. 77. 31, n.

5. At the beginning of the line the speakers were probably the βουλευταί or ἐξηγηταί; cf. int.

[Σ]ερῆνος: this reading, which is very uncertain, was partly suggested by a comparison of l. 23 Σερῆνος Ἀμμωνίων γυμνασιάρχος with l. 9, where ]s ἐστὶ γυμνασιάρχος probably refers to the person mentioned in l. 5. Since the exegetes ranked below the gymnasiarch (1412. 1-3, n.), and the two offices were not, so far as is known, combined, the circumstance that Serenus was a gymnasiarch seems to have prevented, in the opinion of the σύνδικος, his being eligible for the post of exegetes. Otherwise this mention of a gymnasiarch in l. 9 is very abrupt, for in ll. 9-11 the subject is still the election of exegetae, and though in l. 12 the prytanis appeals to other ἀρχαί there is nothing in ll. 12-17 to indicate that any magistrates other than exegetae or their ἐπιτηρηταί were proposed. That the members of the third tribe (ll. 12-13) should come next after the κοινόν of exegetae in nominating persons for that office is quite natural; cf. l. 12, n.

6. ἀπὸ τιμῶν is used by itself as a title in 1498. 1-2.

7. [γ]ραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν: this title is new. πολιτικά χρήματα are probably meant (cf. 55. 14 ταμίας τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων); but he might be the secretary of the prytanis (who is described as διέπων τὰ πολιτικά in 55. 4), though in that case he would be expected to be mentioned more often. A different official, the σκρίβας, seems to have been the principal secretary of the senate; cf. 1191. 7, n., 1417. 10.

8. βουλευταί or ἐξηγηταί can be restored. ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς refers to Serenus (l. 5, n.). With ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ πόρῳ cf. 1642. 20, where a man is appointed agoranomus ἐπὶ πόρῳ ἑαυτοῦ

καὶ τῶν ὑποχειρίων τέκνων, and 1405, where a nominated πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν surrenders his πόρος rather than take office. Line 14 below also refers to the seizure of a πόρος (that of Pluton or some one just mentioned?), apparently owing to the owner's refusal to become exegetes or ἐπιτηρητής. For the restoration of the titles of the σύνδικος cf. l. 17 and 1414. 7. For the rank of the ὑπομηματογράφος cf. 1412. 1-3, n.

9. The name ]ς is probably the same as that in l. 5; cf. n. *ad loc.*

10. ἐξηγητέϊαν τοῦ πάππου: cf. P. Ryl. 77. 34 στεφέσθω Ἀχιλλεύς κοσμητεῖαν μμοῦ τὸν πατέρα.

ἐπιτηρείσθω: i. e. be subject to ἐπιτηρηταί, as ll. 10-13 show. The senators seem to be more interested in them than in the exegetae, and the post of ἐπιτηρητής appears to have been as important as that of the magistrate whom he supervised. ἐπιτηρ. of exegetae are new, but ἐπιτηρ. of the ἀγορανομεῖον are often found acting in place of agoranomi in Heracleopolite papyri, and ἐπιτηρ. of gymnasiarchs occur in an obscure context in 471. 29-36. For ἐπιτηρ. of banks, whose relation to the τραπεζίται is not yet clear, cf. 1411. 4, n. The present passage shows clearly the nature of the distinction between magistrates and their ἐπιτηρηταί, and in the light of the new evidence the common identification of the ἐπιτηρ. ἀγορανομεῖον with agoranomi (e. g. Jouguet, *op. cit.* 335) is to be rejected.

11. ἀγνέ πιστέ: cf. ll. 16, 29, 41. 29, 1415. 27. The expression was commonly applied to persons accepting office.

11-12. τούτων . . . βουλῆν: cf. 1414. 18.

12. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης φυλῆ]ς: cf. 1030. 2 ἀμφοδογρα(μματοῖ) α φυλῆς, 1552. 3, and 1415. 19 sq. The φυλαί corresponded to the ἀμφοδα at this period (cf. 1116. 20, n.), and that λειτουργαί were assigned to them in rotation was known from e. g. 86. 10-11; cf. Jouguet, *op. cit.* 410-11, and l. 5, n.

13. ὁ πρύτανις ἐπ(εν) ἐπιτηρήσει: cf. l. 10, n. προτραπήτω or ὀνομάζομεν followed by a proper name is probably to be restored at the beginning of both this line and l. 14; cf. int.

14. That the σύνδικος is the speaker is clear from παραε[θ]ήσεται ἑμί]ν, which is a favourite phrase of his; cf. l. 33 and l. 17, n. Before κατεῖληφα the name of the person nominated in l. 14 (cf. l. 13, n.) or possibly Πλουτίωνος (cf. ll. 6-8) is to be restored; cf. l. 8, n. Μοῖμου ἐποίκιον was in the ἄνω τοπαρχία (1285. 62).

15. ]φος: if this belongs to a title, not to a proper name, ὑπομηματογρά]φος is required, and the remark seems not inappropriate to that magistrate; cf. 1412. 1-3, n. γενόμενος ἵπομν. can of course be read, but Septimius Diogenes is unsuitable, since σύνδικος comes after ἵπομν. in his titles and he was the speaker in l. 14; cf. n. *ad loc.*

16. βουλῆς can be substituted for φυλῆς. Nesmimis was in the ἄνω τοπαρχία (1285. 57), Dositheou in the κάτω τοπ. (1285. 139; cf. 1425. 4, n.).

17. σύνδικος: apart from 1413-14, where Septimius Diogenes plays an important part in the debates (cf. int.), and 1417, where another σύνδ. appears on behalf of the senate at a trial before a strategus, not much is known about syndics in Egypt. An Oxyrhynchus papyrus at Leipzig (M. *Chrest.* 196), a προσφώνησις of βιβλιοφύλακες concerning the property of an accused person, is addressed to the prytanis and two σύνδικοι βουλευταί, who thus ranked below him. The normal number was at least two, for the plural also occurs in 41. 29 ἀγνοὶ πιστοὶ σύνδικοι (Wilcken's suggestion in *Chrest.* 45. int. that the plural is rhetorical is without justification), and in C. P. Herm. 23. ii. 5-8, where at a trial before an ἐπίτροπος a σύνδ. says ἡμεῖς ἂ ἐδειδά[χ]θ[η]μεν ὑπὸ τῆς λα[μ]πρ . . . ] ταῦτά σοι παρεθέμεθα, to which the ἐπίτροπος replied ὅσα εἰ[δ]ήκατε ἀνε[υ]εγκ ] καὶ δεήσει καὶ ὑμᾶς ὡς συνδίκους . . . ἀνευεγκεῖν τῷ λαμπ(ροτάτῳ) ἡγεμόνι περὶ πάντων. Similar references to the παράθεσις of documents by a syndic occur also in C. P. Herm. 25. ii. 3-4 and 41. 25; cf. 1413. 14, 33, 1414. 16, the verb being also used by the prytanis in 1415. 8. C. P. Herm. 53 is probably

a letter from the senate to a syndic (so Wilcken, *Chrest.* 39. int.) concerning an action brought by the senate against the gymnasiarchs (cf. 1417). In ancient Greek city-states the *σύνδικοι* seem to be identical with *ἔκδικοι* (cf. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung.* 303 sqq.); but the *ἔκδικος τῆς πόλεως* (*defensor civitatis*), who appears in Egypt early in the fourth century (cf. 1426. 4, n.), was an official of the central government, whereas the *σύνδικοι* were presumably elected by the senate, like the *prytanis* (1414. 24-7).

*τὸ πρωτεύαντον τῆς λιτουργησιῶ[ς]*: this new evidence for the normal tenure of municipal offices having exceeded one year is confirmed by 1418. 15; cf. 1410 and 1418. intt.

19. The analogy of the beginnings of new sections elsewhere in 1413-15, in which the *prytanis* is the first speaker (cf. l. 4, n.), suggests that he introduced the discussion here also; but, if so, his remarks were unusually brief. The first person in ll. 19-20 appears to refer to the gymnasiarch who is acclaimed in l. 21, even though in 1496. 28 the *prytanis* is found making payments, which may be for oil, together with other municipal officials, some of whom were probably gymnasiarchs. Ptolemaeus must have been mentioned before l. 21, and the sentence beginning *ἐὰν οὖν* [ was probably a request to let him off his appointed day or days; cf. ll. 22-3, where the proposed change is further discussed. A word like *ὑπέσχετο* followed by a proper name is required before *εἰς*.

*ἔχρεισεν*: cf. 300. 12-13 *εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον Θέωνι . . . ἐλοχερίστη*, and C. P. Herm. 57-62, which are reports to the *βουλή* by an *ἐλαιοχίτης* (who corresponds to the *ἐλαιοχρίστης*) of the gymnasium concerning the neglect to provide oil on particular days assigned to different gymnasiarchs.

*τῇ ἐξῆς νεομηνία*: i. e. Thoth 1 (cf. l. 20), not the 1st intercalary day.

*παραδεχί*: if this word belonged to the preceding sentence it was probably *παραδεχ[όμενος* or *παραδεχ[ομένον*: cf. 1418. 18 *παρ]αδέξομαι τῷ παιδί τετραμήνιον γυμνασιαρχίαν*, the context being obscure. But a full stop is perhaps to be placed after *ἔχρεισε[ν]*, in which case e. g. *παραδεχ[θήτω μοι* is possible, though not satisfactory; for a request for the remission of Ptolemaeus' day came in ll. 20-1 (cf. l. 20, n.), and all the earlier part of his speech seems to be narrative.

20. ]*ς ὁ τοῦ Φιλοσόφου*: *Σεουήρο[ς]* or *Ἐπίμαχο[ς]* is suggested by l. 24, but this may have been a third brother, acting by himself. *Φιλοσόφου* is probably a proper name, not a title as in P. Leipzig 47. 11, 14; cf. 1497. 1 *Ἐπίμαχον* (the *Ἐπ.* mentioned in l. 24) *υἱὸν Φιλοσόφου*. On the days of gymnasiarchs cf. l. 19, n., 1416. 6-9.

*ἐπεστάται*: this term is new in connexion with gymnasiarchs. The context shows that it refers to the one responsible for providing oil. The *ἐπιμελητῆς γυμνασίου* quoted by Preisigke (*Beamtenwesen*, 63) and Jouguet (*op. cit.* 321) from P. Rainer, *Mittheil.* iv. 58 is non-existent, as appears from the publication of the full text in C. P. Herm. 94, the title being *ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πλακώσεως στοῶν γυμνασίου*.

*ἐὰν οὖν* [ : something like *δόξη ὑμῖν δότε ἄλλον ἀντ' ἐμοῦ* probably followed in l. 21.

21-2. *Ἀσ[υ]γκρί[του] σκρί[βας]* (cf. 1417. 10) might be read, but there is hardly room for a patronymic in front of it.

22. The speaker in the first part of the line may be Ptolemaeus or Serenus (cf. l. 23), but is more likely to be another gymnasiarch making a similar objection to that of Serenus.

*κύρια τὰ ψήφισματα*: this probably refers to the previous decrees concerning the days of gymnasiarchs, which were not to be affected; cf. l. 23, n.

*Ἐνικός*: cf. 1496. 22, 34, probably referring to the same person. That gymnasiarchs-elect were liable for providing oil is noticeable; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1166, where a *μελλογυμνασίαρχος* makes a contract regarding the heating of a gymnasium thirteen months before entering office.

23. *Σερῆνος*: cf. l. 5, n. *μου τὸ ψήφισμα* means a resolution appointing a particular day for Serenus (cf. l. 22), not a resolution proposed by him.

24. Whether εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔχρῃσεν κτλ. was spoken by Serenus or e. g. by the speaker of ll. 19-20 is uncertain. κη may refer back to Mesore (cf. l. 19); if it refers to Thoth, there was an interval of several days for which no arrangements were made. Similar intervals occur in C. P. Herm. 57-62. For Ἐπίμαχος cf. l. 20, n. For the restorations at the end of the line cf. l. 21.

25. The prytanis, not ἐπέικτης, was the speaker, as is shown by ἡμῶν; cf. l. 4, n. A verb like ἔγραψεν is to be supplied. ἐπ. χρυσοῦ στεφάνου κτλ. is a new title; cf. 1412. int., and 1428. 3 ἐπ. [τῆς] ὀθόνης. The levying of *aurum coronarium* was not confined to the Emperor's accession; cf. 1441. int. Ἰο[ύλιος or Ἰο[υλιανός is probably the name of the ἐπ. rather than that of a new speaker, e. g. Ἰουλιανός ὁ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης (l. 7).

26-7. For κατ' εὐχὴν cf. C. P. Herm. 119 verso. iii. 4 τῆς τοίνυν τύχης . . . Γαλληνοῦ . . . πάντα ἡμῖν κατ' εὐχὴν ἤνυσται. The great length of the lacuna between εἰ μὴ οἱ τεχνεῖται and τὰ σκ]εῖη makes it improbable that τὰ σκ]εῖη . . . γίνεται is the apodosis, and the parallel from C. P. Herm. is against interpreting κατ' εὐχὴν in an unfavourable sense, 'visionary'. Something like τελειώσουσι τὸ ἔργον (cf. l. 30) is expected after τεχνεῖται.

29. ἀγνοὶ πιστοί: cf. l. 11, n.

Εὔπορος] ὁ καὶ Ἀγα[θὸς Δαίμων: cf. 1496. 26, and B. G. U. 1073. 2, 1074. 10, where he appears as πρύτανις in the 5th-6th years of Aurelian and his titles are given in full (cf. p. 28). His proposal met with the approval of the senate (l. 32).

30. Probably δ[εῖ ἐπιστάματος or ὑπομνήματος; cf. 1415. 8-9.

31. For Εὔπορος . . . κ]αὶ ὡς χρημ. cf. l. 29, n. Θέων ὁ καὶ Ὀριγένης Χαιρήμονος κ]αὶ ὡς χρημ. (cf. l. 28) is also possible.

32. εὐδαιόκητε: the instances of this word in Stephanus, *Lex.*, refer to easily digested food. ]τε was probably another compound beginning with εὐ- rather than ἀγνέ πισ]τέ (cf. l. 11).

34. ]πον: γ, σ, or τ, followed by ι, can be read for π, but πρόσκλη]τον (cf. 1412. 12) and συνέδ]ριον are inadmissible. For the activity of the κοινά of different magistrates after the foundation of senates cf. 891, where the prytanis Cornelianus (about twenty years after the date of 1413) may be identical with the cosmetes of that name here.

35. Μάξιμον: possibly the Μάξιμος of 1496. 36.

36. λιτουργ]ησίαν: cf. l. 17.

#### 1414. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

22.3 × 18 cm.

A. D. 270-5.

This report is similar to 1413 and approximately contemporary with it, the same syndic being mentioned. It is written in two hands, of which the first is smaller than the second, and both are different from that of 1413. The lines were of about the same length as those in 1413 and 1415, and both beginnings and ends are lost, but ll. 4, 19, and 24, where the restorations are practically certain, combine to indicate clearly the extent of the initial lacuna (about 16 letters) at the beginning of a new section; the other lines presumably began a few letters to the right, as in 1415. ii. At the ends of lines about 50 letters are missing, to judge by ll. 9-10, where the whole lacuna between them can be filled satisfactorily; but cf. l. 16, n. Parts of six or seven different sections are preserved (that a new one began in l. 12 is not certain), and except the first and last are fairly intelli-



gible. Besides the prytanis and syndic, the only speakers appear to be the senators collectively, thus affording a contrast to 1413 and 1415; cf. 1413. int.

The first three (or two) sections (ll. 1-16) are concerned with different points connected with the *ὀθονηρά*, on which subject in general see Wilcken, *Grundz.* 245-7, and Reil, *Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. Gewerbes*, 5 sqq., and in reference to the temples Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, i. 300, ii. 64. That the Ptolemaic government controlled the textile industries in a manner somewhat similar to the oil-monopoly was shown by the fragmentary Cols. lxxxvii-cvii of P. Rev. Laws; but the details are obscure, and how far the parallelism with the oil-monopoly is to be carried is doubtful, especially in the Roman period, when Reil in fact supposes that the weaving monopoly had disappeared. To the scanty evidence for that period have now to be added P. Ryl. 98 (A. D. 172), an application for the lease of the *ἰστωναρχία* of an Arsinoïte village, addressed to the *ἐπιτηρηταὶ μισθοῦ βαφικῆς*, which favours the continuance of a monopoly; 189, a receipt for *χιτῶνες* of some kind (cf. 1414. 1, n.) and *παλλίολα* delivered in A. D. 128 by the *γέρδιοι* of Socnopaei Nesus to *παρὰλῆπται δημοσίου ἱματισμοῦ κωστωδιῶν*; 214, a list of *μερισμοί* including one called *ἐνδείματος ὀθονηρᾶς*; 374 (about A. D. 100), a taxing-list mentioning a payment of 5,420 dr. 2 ob. for *ὀθο(νηρά)*; Preisigke, *S. B.* 5677. 9, a payment of 85 dr. for *μερ(ισμοῦ) στόλ(ου) στρα(τιωτῶν)*; 1436. 5, where *ὀθ(ον)ηρᾶς* occurs in a list of taxes (cf. 1438. int.); 1428, a letter to an *exactor* about an *ἐπέικτης [τῆς] ὀθόνης* and the manufacture of the requisite *ὑφάσματα*; and 1448, a list of *στιχάρια* and *πάλλια* due from various villages. Most important of all is the present passage, which throws some much needed light on the relations of traders and manufacturers in the textile industries to the State and to the senate as tax-collector. Except for instances of payments of 12 drachmae for *χειρωνάξιον* (cf. 1436. 4) by a *λωδῦφος* in Wilcken, *Ost.* No. 23, and by a *λινοπώλης* in *Ost.* No. 45, little was known of those two classes of persons in the Roman period. Lines 1-3 belong to the conclusion of a discussion about what seems to be a sum payable by the nome as the value of (most probably) *στιχάρια*, the prytanis being apparently the speaker. In spite of P. Ryl. 214. 42-3, n., there was probably a close connexion between the contributions of clothes for *δημόσιος ἱματισμός* and the payments of money for *τιμὴ* of clothes in 1414 or *ὀθονηρά*: the latter was probably an *adaeratio* from those who did not provide actual clothes, and was balanced against the payments from the local authorities to the city manufacturers (cf. l. 15, n.) or, as apparently in ll. 1-2, against the total value of clothes due from the nome to the central government. The suggested interpretation of ll. 1-2 serves to explain a difficult passage in P. Leipzig 57 concerning the proportion of the tax which fell on *μητροπόλεις*; cf. l. 1, n.

In ll. 4-11 the topic is the supply of yarn (*λίον στημονικόν*) required for making the vestments (*ἰθόνη*) of a local temple, and the amount to be paid to the yarn-merchants (*λιτέμποροι*). Probably a new section began at l. 12, where the question of the remuneration of the city cloth-weavers (*λιωδύφοι*) was entered upon. The opening speech of the prytanis (cf. 1413. 4, n.) explained that a previous resolution of the senate concerning the budget of a temple required modification on account of the difficulty of obtaining yarn for manufacturing the temple vestments. Owing to the refusal or inability of the village flax-spinners and their wives to carry out their engagements, it had apparently become necessary to apply to the city yarn-merchants for the material, as was pointed out by the syndic, who reported that the price demanded by them was 49 denarii (196 drachmae), of which 11 denarii had already been advanced from the *ταμιακὸς λόγος* (l. 8, n.). This price was considered too high by the senate, and they reduced it to 30 denarii (120 dr.) in all, a figure accepted by the syndic, who then undertook to present a sample to the weavers appointed for the manufacture of the temple linen. These are also mentioned in the obscure l. 11, which seems to be concerned with the same subject as l. 10; but the topic of discussion changes in ll. 12-16, which are concerned with a petition from the associated cloth-weavers of Oxyrhynchus, asking for an increase in their remuneration owing to the rise in both the price of raw materials and the wages of their assistants. Probably these manufactures were destined for the State, like those in ll. 1-3, not for the temple, as those in ll. 4-11. The figures relating to the demand of the cloth-weavers are not preserved; but some increase in remuneration was conceded by the senate, which fixed the amount payable to them at 200 drachmae (for each *κρίκος*?; cf. l. 15, n.).

After a short section (ll. 17-18), perhaps referring to a different sitting (l. 17, n.), which deals with an appointment to a public office of some kind at the instance of the strategus, the question being adjourned, ll. 19-23 are concerned with another and similar communication from the strategus, ordering the appointment of persons to convey animals and other supplies for the government down the river, probably to Alexandria or Babylon; cf. 1415. 4-12. The prytanis stated that in order to expedite matters he had held a partial meeting of senators and nominated a certain Sarapion. His choice was ratified by the acclamations of the senate as a whole. This interesting side-light upon the powers of the prytanis serves to explain a passage in B. G. U. 144 (l. 21, n.). Another instructive section follows in ll. 24-7, concerning the approaching resignation of the prytanis. The law, as it now appears, required that a new prytanis should be nominated six months before entering office. How long the normal tenure was is uncertain, but C. P. Herm. 57 sqq. show that at Hermo-

polis the same prytanis was in office for 14 consecutive months in the 14th and 15th years of Gallienus, and probably he was prytanis in the 13th year also, so that if the appointment was annual re-election was evidently not unusual; cf. Jouguet, *Vie munic.* 376-8. That the tenure was annual is now much more doubtful in view of the new evidence concerning the longer length of tenure (five years?) of the offices of gymnasiarch and decemprimus (cf. 1410, 1418. int.); but the question of re-election may well have entered into the present case, for after the senate had declared their intention of making the necessary choice by a resolution comes a speech from the prytanis alluding to his bad health, and that he was declining a proposal to re-elect him (which is probably lost in the lacuna between ll. 25-6) is fairly evident from the complimentary entreaties of the senate that he should continue in office, which seem to express the resolution alluded to in l. 25. A new section apparently began in l. 28, where an obligation which probably fell on some members of the senate is mentioned, but the remains of the last three lines are very slight. If βουλήν in l. 29 is correct, the sitting in question was specially summoned, like that to which 1412 refers.

On the verso is a list of payments by various officials in the 5th year of Aurelian or Probus (1496); cf. 1413. int.

- 1 [ 10 letters ὁφίλει[τα]ι [κ]αὶ τάλ[α]ντα δεκατέσσαρα. ἡ τιμὴ τῶν  
 ρ σ[τι]χ[α]ρίων τάλαντα ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα
- 2 [ 11 l. ] ἀπέχω τὰ διαφέροντα τῷ νομῷ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐξ ἡμισιοῦ. μηνιαῖοι ἀποδοῦναι ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἀπαιτεῖσ-  
 θωσαν ἐ[π]τὰ ἡμισυ?
- 3 [ 10 l. ] χίζεται.
- 4 [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· τῆ]ν τοῦ ἱεροῦ γραφ[ῆ]ν κ[ατ]εσκεύασθαι καὶ ὄρον  
 δεδώκατε καὶ ἐπεστάλη[ν] τὰ δόξαντα ὑμῖν τῷ στρατηγῷ,  
 ἀλλὰ [οἱ ἱερεῖς μὴ?
- 5 [ . . . . . τοὺς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο μεταχειρισαμένους μηδὲ τὰ[s] γυναῖκας  
 αὐτῶν δύνασθαι κλώθειν τὸ λείνον προεβάλλοντο . [
- 6 [ . . . . . ]α . [ . ] ὅπως καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ὄρον δῶτε· ὀλίγε γὰρ κῶ[μα]ί  
 εἰσιν αἱ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὑμῶν τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἔχουσιν. οἱ βου[λ]ε[υ]ταὶ  
 εἶπ(ον)·
- 7 [ 8 l. ] ναί. Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων γενόμενος  
 ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίζει) σύν[δικος] εἶπ(εν)· οἱ  
 λινέμποροι?

- 8 [ 8 l. ]σαι καὶ ἐ[κ] τεσσαράκοντα ἑνῆα δηναρίων εἶναι τὸ λείνον  
τὸ στημονικόν, ἕνδεκα δὲ δηνάρια αὐτοῖς ἐξωδιάσθη ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ  
ταμιακοῦ λόγου
- 9 [ 8 l. γ]ενέσθαι. [οἱ βο]ουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· [δε]καενῆα δηναρίοις  
ἀρκείσθωσαν οἱ λεινένποροι{s} μετὰ τὸ ἐξωδιαζέ[σ]μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
τα[μ]ιακοῦ λόγου. Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων  
γενόμενος
- 10 [ὑπομνηματογράφ]ος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει) σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· εἰ τοῦτο  
ὑμ[ῖ]ν [ἐ]δοξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στημονικοῦ, πείραν προσενεγκομ[ε]ν καὶ  
τοῖς μ(2nd hand)έλλουσι[ν] ὑφαίνειν
- 11 [ 13 l. ]ταξάτωσάν τινα οἱ λινούφοι οἱ μέλλοντες ὑφαίνειν τὴν  
ὀθόνην τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνα . [
- 12 [ἀναγνωσθείσης ἀξ]ιώσεως τῶν τῆς πόλεως λινούφων περι τοῦ μετὰ τὰς  
πέρυσιν ἐξωδιασθείσαν αὐτοῖς [ὑπὲρ δραχμὰς δοθῆναι  
ἄλλας δραχμὰς
- 13 [. . . . . δι]ὰ [τὴν] πλεοτιμίαν [τῶν] εἰδῶν καὶ τὴν πλεομισθίαν τῶν  
ὑπουργ[ῶ]ν, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὁ π[ρ]ύτανις εἶπ(εν)· δοθήτωσαν  
τοῖς λινούφοις ἄλλαι δραχμαὶ
- 14 [. . . . . κο]ντα εἰς [σ]υνπλήρωσιν δραχμῶν διακοσίων διὰ τὴν πλεο-  
τιμίαν τῶν εἰδῶν. τοῦτο ψηφί[σ]ασθε?
- 15 [. συντε]τιμημένου τοῦ κρίκου καὶ αὐταὶ προσγενέσθωσαν. οἱ τε-  
λοῦντες τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ [λί]νου?
- 16 [ 11 l. ] π[α]ρατεθήσεται ὑμῖν τῇ ἐξῆς βουλῇ. οἱ βουλευταὶ  
εἶπ(ον)· οἴτω.
- 17 [ 15 l. ἀνα]γνωσθέντος ἐπιστάλματος Τερευτίου Ἀρίου στρα(τηγοῦ)  
περὶ τοῦ αἰρεθῆναι εκα[
- 18 [ἐ]δοξεν ὑπερτεθῆναι[ι] [ε]ἰς τὴν ἐξῆς βουλήν.
- 19 [ἀναγνωσθέντος ἐπιστά]λματος τ[οῦ] στρατηγοῦ περι αἰρέσεως ἄλλω[ν]  
κατα]πομπῶν ζώων, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὁ π[ρ]ύτανις εἶπ(εν)·
- 20 [ 13 l. ] μάλιστα [δὲ] τῶν κ[ατ]απομπῶν τῶν καταφε[ρο]-  
μένων ζώων τοῖς ἅμα τ[ο]ῖς καταφ[ε]ρομένοις
- 21 [ 15 l. ]υπον συνάξας τινὰς τοὺς παρ[ό]ντας ἀπὸ τῆς  
βουλῆς ὧ[ν] μᾶσαμεν ἕνα Σαραπίωνα ἕνα μὴ
- 22 [ 15 l. ] γ[έ]νηται. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ἀτίμητε π[ρ]ύτανι,  
σώξου ἡμῖν, π[ρ]ύτανι, καλῶς ἄρχις, κα[λῶς] ὁ π[ρ]ύτανις εἶπ(εν)·

- 23 [ 16 l. ] . ἐν τῷ λογιστηρίῳ ἐστίν. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)·  
ἐπεικεικῶς ὁ πρύτανις.
- 24 [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ὁ νόμος κ[ε]λεύει πρὸ ἑξαμήνου τὸν μελλοπρύτανιν  
ὀνομάζεσθαι. ὑπομνησκ[ω ὑ]μᾶς τ[
- 25 [ 20 l. οἱ] β[ουλευ]ται εἶπ(ον)· μετὰ σκέψεως ἢ ὀνομασία  
γαί[ε]ται τ[ ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)·
- 26 [ 17 l. ] ἢ γὰρ ἔ(ν) νόσῳ εἰμὶ καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς [δ]έγχομαι,  
ὡς ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ [ . . . . . ] . . . . [
- 27 [οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπον· . . .] ἴδ' ὑπε πρύτανι, εὐγεν[ές] πρῦ[τ]ανι, ἔτι κάμε  
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, κάμε ἄξια τοῦ ἐπάγ[ω] χρόνου.
- 28 [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· 12 letters] . ἐστίν, καὶ οἱ ἡμι[σ]ῦ τού[ου] τοῦ μέρους  
[ὁ]φ[ε]ί[λ]λ[ου]τ[ε]ς [ . . ] . εἰσι[ν] . . . [ οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)·
- 29 [ 21 l. ὁ] πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ἐπειδὴ σ[ή]μερον πρόσκλητον  
βου[λ]ήν
- 30 [ 24 l. ] . [ . . . . . ] αἱ π[ρόνο]ιαν ποιήσεται ἅπαν  
τὸ . [
- . . . . .

2. l. ἡμισυ. 4. ἱερὸν Π. l. κ[α]τ[ε]σκέψασθε. 6. l. ὀλίγοι. 10. προσενεγ[κ]. Π.  
11. ο Of οἱ before μελλοῦτες corr. from α (?). 12. λουφῶν Π. l. —σθείσας. 13. ὑπουργ[ω]ν Π.  
16. ὑμιν Π. l. οὔτω. 21. ο Of ]υπον corr. from α. 22. ε Of ατιμητε corr. from α. τα  
Of πρυτανι after ημιν corr. from υ. 23. η Of λογιστηριω corr. from ω. 24. ὑπομν. Π.  
26. [ρ]έγχομαι Π. l. ἐπίστασθε. 27. ὑπερ Π.

1-27. '(The prytanis said,) ". . . is owing, and 14 talents. The value of the 100 (?) garments is 14[0] talents, . . . I have received the 6½ belonging to the nome on account of the city's share. Let them be compelled to pay monthly from their own property 7½ (?) . . ."

The prytanis said, "You examined the list of the temple and fixed a limit, and your resolution was submitted to the strategus, but (the priests?) . . . made the excuse that those who undertook the work in question and their wives were unable to spin the yarn, . . . (see) that on this point also you fix a limit, for there are only a few villages in your nome which have this material." The senators said, . . . Septimius Diogenes also called Agathodaemon, ex-hypomnematographus and however he is styled, syndic, said, "(The yarn-merchants report that) . . . and the price of weaving-yarn is 49 denarii, and 11 denarii were paid to them from the Treasury's account . . ." The senators said, "Let the yarn-merchants be content with 19 denarii besides what was paid to them from the Treasury's account." Septimius Diogenes also called Agathodaemon, ex-hypomnematographus and however he is styled, syndic, said, "If this is your decision in the case of the weaving-yarn, we will supply a sample and . . . to those who are to weave it . . . Let the cloth-weavers who are to weave the linen of the temple appoint (?) some one to (test it?)."

A petition of the city cloth-weavers having been read, to the effect that, besides the . . .

drachmae paid to them in the past year (for each . . .), . . . more drachmae should be given to them on account of the rise in the value of the materials and in the wages of their workmen, after the reading the prytanis said, "Let . . . more drachmae be given to the cloth-weavers, making 200 drachmae in all, on account of the rise in value of the materials. Decree this . . . When the bundle (?) has been valued, let these (drachmae) too accrue. Those who pay the value of the (cloth) . . . it shall be submitted to you at the next meeting of the senate." The senators said, "So be it."

(Date?) A communication from Terentius Arius, strategus, having been read, concerning the election of . . ., it was decided to postpone the matter until the next meeting.

A communication from the strategus having been read, concerning the election of other conveyers of animals, after the reading the prytanis said, ". . . especially the conveyers of the animals transported . . . I collected some senators who were present and nominated one, Sarapion . . . in order that there should not be (any delay) . . ." The senators said, "Invaluable prytanis; save yourself for us, prytanis; excellent is your rule; excellent . . ." The prytanis said, ". . . is in the counting-house." The senators said, "The prytanis has done right."

The prytanis said, "The law commands that the coming prytanis should be nominated six months beforehand. I remind you . . ." The senators said, "The nomination is made with a resolution . . ." The prytanis said, ". . . for I have (long) been ill and have a cough from my lung, as you know, . . ." The senators said, "(Illustrious) prytanis, noble prytanis, still labour for us; labour in a manner worthy of the past."

1.  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda[a] \nu\tau\alpha$ :  $\tau\acute{\alpha} \lambda[0] \iota\pi\acute{\alpha}$  might be read, but  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha$  probably refers to talents in any case rather than to the word after  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ , and is perhaps accounted for by the figures in l. 2; cf. n.

$\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$ : cf. ll. 9, 15, nn., and the  $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \delta\theta\omega\iota\omega\nu$  in P. Tebt. 5. 63.

$\sigma[\tau\iota]\chi[a] \rho\iota\omega\nu$ : cf. e. g. 1448. 1. The reading of the figure ( $\rho$ ?), if there was a number at all) is very doubtful; but a new compound of  $\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$ -, like  $\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron . . . \omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  in P. Ryl. 189. 3 (cf. the  $\iota\sigma\tau\omega\nu\alpha\rrho\chi\iota\alpha$  in P. Ryl. 98, and P. Rev. Laws xciv. 2  $\nu$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  ( $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu.$ )  $\kappa\epsilon$ ) is less likely. That a kind of garment was meant is strongly suggested by the context and a comparison of l. 2 with P. Leipzig 57. 26 sqq., an undertaking to transport to Alexandria  $\tau\acute{\omega} \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \tau\eta$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota$   $\angle$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  ( $\eta$ )  $\rho\mu\zeta$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\rho.\kappa\lambda\omega\nu$  (i. e.  $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\delta\lambda\omega\nu$ ?)  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  ( $\eta$ ) [-].

2.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega . . . \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\omega} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ : this indicates that the prytanis was the speaker in ll. 1-2; cf. 1515. 1, where he pays a tax on behalf of the city.

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha} \eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ :  $7\frac{1}{2} + 6\frac{1}{2} = 14$  (talents); cf. l. 1, n. The use of  $\mu\eta\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\iota$  for persons making monthly payments, not, as usual, for  $\mu\eta\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\iota \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\iota$  (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, ii. 126) is remarkable, but without alteration of the text can hardly be avoided.

4.  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}\nu$ : this document probably resembled B. G. U. 362, the official budget of the chief temple at Arsinoë in A. D. 215, and corresponded to the budget usually appended before 202 to the annual  $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha} \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (the contents of the temple; cf. 1449), e. g. B. G. U. 162, P. Tebt. 298. After the establishment of senates, which assumed the administration of the temples, the budgets seem to have been drawn up by a special  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  appointed by the senate (B. G. U. 362. iii. 3), rather than by the priests. It is noticeable that P. Ryl. 110 (A. D. 259), in most respects resembling an ordinary second-century  $\gamma\rho.$   $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \chi\epsilon\iota\rho.$ , has no budget attached to it. The temple in question, which was not precisely described (cf. l. 11), was probably one of the two principal shrines at Oxyrhynchus, the Serapeum and Thoëreum; cf. 1449. int. and 1453.

$\delta\rho\omicron\nu$ : cf. l. 6, 1409. 15, n., 1413. 1-3. It seems to have fixed *inter alia* the amount to be collected by the senate for the yarn required by the priests. Lines 8-9, where an advance is said to have been made to the yarn-merchants from the  $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , probably do not

imply more than that the senate was responsible for obtaining the supply of yarn; for the actual price of this material presumably fell directly upon οἱ τελοῦντες τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ [λίνου (cf. l. 15, n.), or at any rate on the contributors to the temple, who were by no means all senators, as is shown by the list of persons (many of them women) making payments to the Arsinoite temple in B. G. U. 362.

5. It is not clear whether δύνασθαι is governed by προεβάλοντο, or by a word like φάμενοι or διὰ τό in the preceding lacuna; in the latter case προεβάλοντο connects with what follows. Besides a negative, the lacuna may have contained another infinitive with τοὺς . . . μεταχειρισμένους as the subject. τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, which refers to the manufacture of yarn (l. 6), indicates that some reference to λίνον στημονικόν or γέρδιοι had also just occurred. The subject of προεβάλοντο is probably either the priests or ἐπιμεληταί appointed by the senate to collect the yarn (cf. l. 4, n.), not the λινόφθοι, who do not seem to be mentioned before ll. 10 or 11, nor the λινέμποροι, to whom αὐτοῖς in l. 8 refers.

5-6. A verb like φροντίσατε or γενέσθω ἐπιμελές probably occurred in the lacuna before ]α. For ὄρον cf. l. 4, n.

τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος: cf. l. 13, where εἰδῶν refers to the yarn. εἶδος here might also mean the flax. Wilcken (*Osł.* i. 268) supposed that the cultivation of this was regulated under the Ptolemies, like that of the oil-producing plants, but the fragments concerning the ὀθονηρά in P. Rev. Laws bear no trace of a list corresponding to that in Cols. lx-lxxii, and in later periods at any rate λινοκαλάμη seems to have been cultivated at will, without reference to the government; cf. e.g. 1102-3. The point of the remark about the κῶμαι is not that the villages had failed to produce the statutable amount of yarn, but that this material would have to be obtained not from the local villages, but from the city λινέμποροι, who presumably imported it from other nomes, if there was not enough in the city.

7. ]ναι might be ναί (cf. 1413. 7), in which case another speaker intervened in the preceding lacuna, but is more likely to belong to an infinitive or participle. On the σύνδικος see 1413. int. and l. 17, n.

8. εἰ[κ] τεσσαράκοντα ἑννέα: the supposed ρ might be ι (but not any other letter), and the vestiges of the preceding five letters are very slight and inconclusive; ε[.] . . . τριάκοντα might be read, but there is not room for εἰ[κ]ατὸν τριάκ. [δε]καεννέα seems to be the figure in l. 9, where [τεσσαράκον]τα ἑν. cannot be read; but there is every reason to expect the figure before ἀρκείσθωσαν to be considerably smaller than that in l. 8, since the 11 denarii which had already been paid were part of the 49 denarii, whereas in l. 9 they are an addition to the 19 denarii. The senate, as we think, offered 30 denarii instead of the 49 demanded by the yarn-merchants, who do not appear to have had their prices fixed beforehand by a State tariff like that found in P. Rev. Laws xciv-viii; cf. l. 13, where the complaint of the cloth-weavers about the πλεσιμία τῶν εἰδῶν does not suggest that the price of these was fixed by the government. How much yarn was supplied for 49 denarii may have been stated in the lacuna in ll. 7-8; cf. l. 12, n.

στημονικόν: this adjective, 'suitable for warps,' seem to be new.

αὐτοῖς: i. e. the λινέμποροι (cf. l. 9), even if the priests or ἐπιμεληταί responsible for obtaining the yarn (cf. l. 4, n.), and not the λινέμποροι, were the subject of the verb governing εἶναι (e. g. προσεφώνησαν).

ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ ταμιακοῦ λόγου: i. e. the fiscus; cf. l. 9, P. Brit. Mus. 985. 6 (iii. 229) τὰ ὠρισθέντα μοι δοθῆναι εἰς λόγον τῆς στρα[τ]ίας μου ἀπὸ τοῦ ταμιακοῦ λόγου, and P. Leipzig 64 quoted in 1419. 2, n.

9. [δε]καεννέα: ]τα ἑνν. might possibly be read, but there is not room for [τριάκον]τα, and cf. l. 8, n. For λινέμποροι, which seems to be a new form, cf. the λισοπῶλαι in Wilcken, *Osł.* No. 45, quoted in int. In B. G. U. 1. 3 and P. Rainer *ap.* Wessely, *Karanis*, p. 74, the priests of Socnopaei Nesus paid 300 drachmae εἰς τιμὴν ὀθονίων βυσσίων στολισμῶ(ν), and

the nature of the payment has given rise to some discussion in view of other evidence that the temple in question manufactured *ὀθόνια* itself; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 269, Otto, *op. cit.* i. 301. That the *λίνον* with which *λιέμποροι* were concerned was yarn, not manufactured linen, is clear from the present passage; the occurrence of *συντε]τιμημένου* and *τιμή* in l. 15 with an apparent reference to the finished product suggests that the priests of Socnopaei Nesus paid *λιούφοι* just as the senate or *οἱ τελοῦντες τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ [λίνου* did, and it is hardly likely that the weavers at Socnopaei Nesus were really priests, as supposed by Otto, since in the receipts of the temple there is no trace of profits derived from weaving. The procedure in the case of the Oxyrhynchite temple was different, since the senate did not buy the manufactured article, but had separate arrangements with the persons who supplied the yarn and with the weavers.

10. *πείραν*: cf. l. 15, n., and the *πρὸς δειγματισμὸν διάφορα* remitted by Ptolemy Epiphanes in connexion with the *ὀθόνια* supplied by the priests (Rosetta Inscr. 17-18).

*προσενεγκοῦμ[ε]ν*: cf. 1260. 28 *κατενεγκῶ*, and n. The construction of *καὶ τοῖς* is uncertain. *μέλλουσι[ν] ὑφαίνειν*: cf. l. 11. *τὴν ὀθόνην τοῦ ἱεροῦ* may have followed, as there; but if l. 11 was also spoken by the syndic, there was probably some slight variation.

11. Either ] *ταξάτωσαν* or a compound is more likely than *π]ραξάτωσαν*. What *τινά* refers to is not clear. If it is masculine, *ἀνα* . [ is probably a future participle in agreement, e. g. *ἀναμ[ε]τρήσοντα τὸ λίνον*, meaning that the cloth-weavers were to appoint a representative to examine the sample. But there may be a reference to the payment which they were to receive for making the cloth; cf. l. 15.

*λιούφοι*: cf. int., ll. 12-16, 1281. 4, 1303, and Reil, *op. cit.* 97. An *ἄμφοδον* at Arsinoë was called *Λινυφείων*, e. g. P. Tebt. 321. 5 (wrongly assigned to Tebtunis by S. Niccolò, *Vereinswesen*, i. 102).

12. For *ἀναγνωσθείσης* at the beginning of a new section cf. l. 19; the restoration suits ll. 19 and 24. In l. 17 (though cf. n.) and 1415. 4, 13, 17 the same participle occurs elsewhere than at the beginning of a line, and *ἀναγ[νωσθείσης]* can be read in l. 11, with *καὶ ἀξ[ιώσεως]* in l. 12, but the arrangement of ll. 11-12 as continuous is not satisfactory. In spite of the mention of *λιούφοι* in l. 11, the *λιούφοι* in l. 12 seem to be distinct, and not concerned with the temple, while with regard to the supply of yarn their arrangements were different from those in ll. 4-11; cf. l. 13, n. *λιούφοι τῆς πόλεως* means the whole guild of cloth-weavers (cf. 1303 and the similar guilds of other trades in 85), this being the first mention of them in the Roman period; cf. S. Niccolò, *l. c.* They must have been the persons responsible for making the cloth required for the city; cf. ll. 1-3 and int.

*αὐτοῖς* was probably followed by [*ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου κρίκου* (cf. l. 15, n.) or whatever the measure of the cloth was; cf. l. 8, n. 200 drachmae are much too small a sum to represent the whole amount due to the cloth-weavers.

13. *πλεοστμίαν τῶν εἰδῶν*: cf. ll. 5-6, n. It is clear that the *λιούφοι τῆς πόλεως* had to find their own yarn, unlike the *λιούφοι* in ll. 10-11; cf. l. 12, n.

*ὑπουργ[ῶ]ν*: cf. e. g. B. G. U. 362. viii. 6 *παιδία* (l. -*δίοις*) 5 *ὑπουργοῦσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκοδόμοις*.

*ὁ π[ρύ]τανις*: *οἱ [βουλευταί]* might be read, and in l. 9 the senators fix the prices; but in l. 16 they give their assent to some proposal, and though one or more changes of speaker may have occurred in the lacunae in ll. 13-15, it is more satisfactory to assign the whole passage following *μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν* as far as *βουλῆ* in l. 16 to the prytanis; cf. l. 16, n.

14. *ψηφ[ί]σασθε*: or, if this line was spoken by the *βουλευταί* (cf. the preceding n.), *ψηφ[ί]ζόμεθα*.

15. *συντε]τιμημένου τοῦ κρίκου*: *κρίκος*, which usually means an iron ring (cf. Reil, *op. cit.* 66), is found in 147. 2 *σχου(ῖον) ἦται κρίκον* in the sense of a coil of rope. Here it seems to refer to a bundle of cloth, perhaps tied by a ring, for *αὐται* refers to the additional drachmae



voted by the senate, and the payment to the cloth-weavers would naturally be made after the valuation of the cloth following its manufacture. With *συντετριμμένου* cf. ll. 1 and 9-10, nn. That the *κρίκος* refers to yarn is unlikely (cf. l. 13, n.); but whether it means the whole amount due, or is a unit of measurement, is not clear. *τοῦ [κρίκου]* might be restored after *τὴν τιμὴν*, where the verb may well have been *ἀπαιτήσθωσαν* (cf. l. 2); but *[λίνου]* is there more likely, though referring to manufactured linen, not to yarn (cf. l. 13, n.). *οἱ τελούντες* are clearly tax-payers, not purchasers, and appear to have been the persons responsible for paying to the senate for the cloth-weavers the value of the cloth, i. e. probably the persons who make money-payments for *ὄθονηρά*; cf. int.

16. *π[α]ρατεθήσεται ὑμῖν*: cf. 1413. 14, 17, nn., 33, which suggest that here too the speaker was a *σύνδικος*: but if *Σεπτίμιος Διογένης κτλ.* (cf. l. 7) be restored, the length of the lacunae at the ends of lines was much longer than seems probable in ll. 9-10, and the assent of the senators suggests that *π[α]ρατεθ. κτλ.* is all part of the speech of the prytanis. Cf. l. 13, n., and 1415. 8, where *παρῆσόμεθα . . . τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ* is spoken by the prytanis.

17. Since ll. 19 and 24 are irreconcilable with the supposition that *ἀναγνωσθέντος* came at the beginning of the line, there was either a blank space before it or more probably e. g. a date. Terentius Arius is possibly the strategus mentioned in 1455. 1, 34 (A. D. 275). *εκα[ ]*; or *εκε[ ]*. A minor official title is expected; cf. l. 19.

18. *[ἔδοξεν ὑπερτεθῆναι]*: cf. 1416. 10.

19. *[ἀναγνωσθέντος ἐπιστά]λματος*: cf. l. 17 and 1415. 17. For *καταπομπῶν* (masc.) cf. 1415. 6 and P. Leipzig ined. *αβ.* Wilcken, *Chrest.* 43. int. *ὑποδέκτης* (l. -as) ἦτοι *καταπομπῶν τῶν κελευσθέντων . . . [.] . ων.* For *με[τὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν]* cf. l. 13.

20. *μάλιστα [δέ:]*: *[.] . πλίστα[ις]* or possibly *ταχίστα[ις]* can be read, with *ταῖς* instead of *τοῖς* before *ἄμα*, but *ἐπιμελητα[ῖς]* is inadmissible.

21. *εἰς ἐπιμελῆ] τόπον* (cf. 1412. 11-12) cannot be read. A similar partial meeting of the senate seems to be meant in B. G. U. 144. ii. 1 (cf. 1416. int.) *ἤρέθη ὑπὸ [τ]ῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς βουλῆς*, where Jouguet (*op. cit.* 382) proposed *τοῦ(του)* for *τοῦ*, but *τόπ(ου)* or *τό(πο)υ* seems more likely.

22. *γ[έ]νηται*: the subject was probably a phrase like *ἐνέδρα* (or *ἐμποδισμὸς*) *περὶ τὴν καταπομπὴν τῆς ἀνώτης τῶν γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν*; cf. 1415. 7.

24. *ὁ νόμος*: "Ἀρι]ος" (cf. l. 17) could be read, but there is not room for *ὁ στρατηγός*, which would rather be expected, if he were mentioned.

25. *σκέψεως* apparently means a resolution of the senate, as in 1412. 13. In 41 the honour to be bestowed upon the prytanis has been supposed by Wilamowitz and others to refer to his re-election, but that is very doubtful since the meeting was of the *δῆμος*, not of the senate; cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 45. 9, n. The appointment of a prytanis seems to have required the confirmation of the praefect; cf. 1252. verso ii. 18-19.

26. Probably *πολ]ῦ* (or *ἐκ πολλο]ῦ*) *γάρ.*

27. *κ]λυτέ*, a poetical word, is unsatisfactory here, though the doubtful *π* might be *τ* and the *δ* might be *λ* or *α*. *ἀτί]μητε* (cf. l. 22) is inadmissible. Whether the scribe wrote the correct vocative *εὐγε[ίς]* is also uncertain. The scribe of 41, who is equally careless, especially with regard to the confusion of *αι* and *ε*, may have intended *εὐτυχη* for a vocative, though Wilcken (*Chrest.* 45. 3, n.) prefers to regard that form as an imperative, i. e., *εὐτύχει*. The vocative of *Λεωνίδης* is *Λεωνίδη* in 1413. 16, but the declension of that word is of course different.

28. The word after *[ὀ]φει[ί]λ[ου]τες* may be a verb ending in *-ουσιν*, but not *[ἀπ]έχουσιν*.

29. *πρόσκλητον βου[λήν]*: cf. 1412. 12, n. But in 1416. 28 *πρόσκλητον* is used in a quite different sense, and the vestiges of *βου[λήν]* are very slight.

## 1415. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

26.2 x 32 cm.

Late third century.

This much damaged papyrus contains the latter part of one column and the beginnings of a few lines of a second from a report of the senate's proceedings similar to 1413-14 but a little later, and probably belonging to the reign of Diocletian or possibly the period 305-23; cf. 1413. int. The mention of an epistrategus, an official who is not elsewhere attested later than 280 (P. Ryl. 114. 35, n.), does not favour a fourth-century date. Two sections (ll. 4-12 and 17-31) are fairly well preserved, and another (ll. 13-16) is partly intelligible; but the other three are quite fragmentary. Lines 1-3 belong to the conclusion of a debate, apparently a speech of the prytanis, declaring his intention of referring the question, which seems to have concerned some kind of transport, to the epistrategus. In ll. 4-12 the subject is the consideration of instructions from the strategus to appoint persons to serve in place of two others, who were responsible for transporting military supplies but had absconded. The prytanis was anxious for the appointment of substitutes without delay, but objection was raised by the senate to nominating beforehand a certain class of persons (or perhaps any one at all), for fear of their flight. The prytanis was therefore reduced to an appeal to the epistrategus on this point, as well as on the question of filling up two other vacant posts, of one of which the description is lost but the holder seems to have absconded, the other being the office of wine-collector, of which the holder, Aristion, had been released from duty by the epistrategus. The mention of Aristion's name was greeted with exclamations of approval by the senate; when, however, the prytanis made another request for filling up the vacant posts, their reply referred to the seizure of the sureties of the defaulters and shows no signs of their consenting to do as they were asked, so that the concluding remark of the prytanis, which is lost, may well have been a repetition of his former declaration that he would appeal to the epistrategus.

The next section (ll. 13-16) began like the one preceding with the reading of an official communication from the strategus, of which the contents are not preserved; a second communication was from a public banker, apparently desiring a substitute for one of his colleagues, whose conduct had been unsatisfactory. A suggestion was then made, probably by the senate collectively, that a richer person should be appointed, after which the prytanis made a speech, apparently occupying the rest of the section, except perhaps for a remark of assent from the senate at the end; but the nature of his observations is obscure

In l. 17 a difficulty arises similar to that in 1414. 12; for, though a fresh series of communications was read, the name but not the rank of the official being given, the topic which gave rise to an animated discussion in ll. 18-31 was the appointment of a public banker, and it is not at all clear that a new section began after l. 16, especially as ll. 15-16 may have been concerned only with the instructions from the strategus, and the question of the appointment of another public banker may have arisen out of the communication in l. 14. The public bankers, however, formed a *collegium* at this period (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 647), and on the whole we are disposed to disconnect ll. 17-31 with the preceding section, and to regard the communications mentioned in l. 17 as parallel to that in l. 14, but referring to a different vacancy. The first speech seems to have come, as usual, from the prytanis, who pointed out that persons already holding a public office were eligible for election to a second, and it was on this question that most of the subsequent discussion turned; for, after a second speech from the prytanis urging an immediate election (cf. ll. 4-12), but leaving the choice of a candidate to the senate, the members of the tribe which by rotation was responsible for the appointments to liturgies (cf. 1413. 12, n.) proposed the election of Ptolemaeus, a chief-priest, one of the lesser municipal officials (cf. 1412. 1-3, n.). The next speech (l. 21) was apparently an objection to the nomination from Eudaemon (an exegetes who intervenes again later in support of Ptolemaeus) on the ground that the burden of two offices was beyond Ptolemaeus' means, as was also pleaded by the chief-priest himself. The prytanis' suggestion that more pressure should be brought to bear upon Ptolemaeus, as being too modest, led to renewed protests from both him and Eudaemon; but though perhaps disposed to make some concession with regard to the office already held by Ptolemaeus, the prytanis would take no refusal on the question of the bankership, and the senators showed their opinion by the acclamations customary in these circumstances (l. 27, n.). A final appeal from Ptolemaeus, supported by a reminder of his past services from his champion, was disregarded, and his election as banker was proposed by the prytanis and accepted by the senate, a last good word for Ptolemaeus being spoken by Eudaemon, acquiescing in the verdict of the majority. This lively and interesting debate presents several points of similarity to the discussion in C. P. Herm. 7. ii; cf. l. 25, n.

Col. ii, belonging to two other sections, contains only one or two letters in most of the lines, but is valuable for its indications of the method of commencing a new section, the beginnings of lines being nowhere else preserved in 1413-15. The lines in 1415 were, as is usual in this class of documents, of great breadth, and in no case can the whole gap between two consecutive lines be filled up with certainty; but in l. 5 not more than about 45 letters need be lost at the



- 13 [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ]ε . . [.]λ[.]ε . . ου καὶ ἀναγινώσκειται ὑμῖν.  
ἀ[ν]αγνώσθεντος ἐπιστ[ά]λμα[το]ς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ [π]ερί τοῦ
- 14 καὶ ἐπιστάλμα[το]ς δημοσίων χρημάτων τραπέδιτου περὶ τοῦ ἀντι  
Πασ[ί]ωνος ? . . . . . καὶ
- 15 ἕτερον δοθῆναι, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ὁ πρύτανις ?]  
εὐπορώτερον ὀνομαζέσθω. ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· δια . . [ . . . ]αι  
. . . . . ἐ[π]είξατε . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . υμῶ ε . [
- 16 ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] τηλικαύτην, καὶ ὑμῖς οὖν ψηφιεῖσθε τὸ ε . [ . . . ] . . α-  
. . . . . οἱ β[ο]υλε[υ]ταὶ εἶπ(ον)· . . . . .
- 17 [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν) ? ἀναγνωσθέντων ἐπισ[ταλμά]των 'Ι[.] . . ρφεσου περὶ  
[το]ῦ φρ[.] . . [ . . . ] . . [ 25 letters
- 18 [μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· εἰς λειτο[υ]ργίαν κατε-  
τάγησαν καὶ ἤδη ἔχοντες λε[ι]το[υ]ργίας. οἱ βουλευ[ταὶ] εἶπ(ον)·  
[ . . . ] . . . . . ]ε
- 19 ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ἀναπληρῶντε τὸ λειτούργημα, δόξε [ . . . . . ]  
[ . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . , ὀ]ρμάσασθε δ[ὲ] βούλεσθαι. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς
- 20 φυλῆς εἶπ(ον)· Εὐδαίμων ἐξηγητῆς εἶπ(εν)· οὐ δύναται ? Π[το]λε-  
μαῖος ἐν[μ]ένειν λειτουργεῖα, τοῦτ[ο] ἐπι . . . . . [ . . . ] [ . . . . . ]  
. . . . . ητος
- 21 ] πᾶσαν ἀναλάβεσθε εἰς ἄλλο τι βαρυτάταις ταῖς ε . . [ . . . ] αιαις  
λειτουργεῖαις καὶ
- 22 Πτολεμαῖος Δαμαρίωνος ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπ(εν)· δέομαι ὑμῶν, οὐ δύναμαι.  
μέτριός εἰμι, παρὰ πατρὶ τρέφομαι,
- 23 ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ἔτι δέετε τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν προτροπῆς Πτολεμαῖος,  
καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπὸ τηλικ[ού]-
- 24 [του λειτουργήματος ἀποφεύγει ? Εὐ]δαίμων ἐξηγητῆς εἶπ(εν)·  
καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μέτριός ἐστιν καὶ οὐ δύναται τὸ βάρος
- 25 [ὑποφέρειν Πτο]λεμαῖος Δαμαρίωνος ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπ(εν)· ὑπὲρ  
ἐμέ ἐστιν τὸ λειτούργημα. ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· εἰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ [
- 26 Πτο]λεμαῖος, οὐ δύναται] ἀντερεῖν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν τραπε-  
διτεῖαν. φανερόν δέ ἐστιν ὅτι οὐκ ἔξεσ[-
- 27 [τι [ . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . . ων. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ἀγναὶ  
πισταὶ Πτο]λεμαῖε, ἱκανὰ αὐτῷ [
- 28 Πτο]λεμαῖος Δα]μαρίωνος ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπ(εν)· δέομαι ὑμῶν, οὐ δύναμαι  
ὑπὸ ἓνα καιρὸν δύο [λι-

- 29 [τουργήματα ὑποστῆναι. Εὐδαίμων ἐξηγητῆς εἶπ(εν)· Πτολεμαῖος  
π]εῖραν τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ πολλάκις δέδωκεν. ὁ πρύτανις  
εἶπ(εν)·
- 30 προβάλλ]λομαι αὐτὸν ὑμῖν. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· οὐκ ἀντιλέξει τῇ  
φυλῇ Πτολεμα[ῖος . .
- 31 ] Εὐδαίμων ἐξηγητῆς εἶπ(εν)· πίστεως ἔνεκεν αὐτὸν  
εἶλασθε. [

## Col. ii.

- 32 ὁ πρύτανις [εἶπ(εν)·  
κε . [
- 33 Beginnings of 7 more lines.
- 41 ὁ πρύτανις [εἶπ(εν)·
- 42 α[
- . . . .

1. ἑαυτῶν. 5. υἱοῦ Π. 6. ἄποδράντος. 7. ἔμποδίζεται . . . γενναιοτάτων.  
9. ὑπο Π. 11. ἀκ ακτιασιωνος COIG. εἴγυαι Π. 14. ἰ. τραπεζίτου. 18. β of  
βουλευτα COIG. 19. ἰ. βούλεσθε. 23. ἰ. δέεται, i. e. δέεται. 26. ἰ. τραπεζίτιαν.  
27. ἰ. ἀγνὲ πιστέ. ἴκανα Π.

4-31. 'The pryтанis said, ". . . and it is read to you.'" Two communications from the strategus having been read, one concerning the appointment of a substitute for Actiasion, senator (?), son of . . ., conveying collectors of wine, who had absconded, the other concerning the appointment likewise of a substitute for Theon, senator, son of . . ., conveying from Arabia (?) collectors of barley, who had absconded, after the reading the pryтанis said, ". . . Appoint persons to do the duty, in order that the carriage of the annona for the most noble soldiers may not be hindered." The senators said, "Let . . . not be (nominated) beforehand . . ., lest they run away." The pryтанis said, "On this point we will refer to his excellency the epistrategus, and we will also add a statement concerning . . ., and concerning a collector of wine in place of Aristion, who has been released by his excellency the epistrategus in another memorandum." The senators said, ". . . Aristion, when he comes, will prosper; a prosperous public servant was Aristion." The pryтанis said, "Appoint the persons to office, in order that there may be no delay . . ." The senators said, "The surety of . . . was already (?) deposited with the strategus, the sureties of Actiasion and Theon were deposited with the strategus." The pryтанis said, . . .

The pryтанis said, ". . . and it is read to you." A communication from the strategus having been read concerning . . ., and one from the banker of public moneys concerning the appointment of a substitute for Pasion, who . . ., after the reading the senators said, "Let the pryтанis nominate a richer person." The pryтанis said, . . .

. . . Communications from . . . esus having been read concerning . . ., after the reading the pryтанis said, ". . . were appointed to a public office although they already held such

offices." The senators said, . . . The prytanis said, "Fill up the office, appoint . . ., nominate whom you will." The members of the . . . tribe said, . . . Eudaemon, exegetes, said (?), "Ptolemaeus (cannot?) remain in the public office . . ." Ptolemaeus son of Damarion, chief-priest, said, "I entreat you, I cannot serve. I am a man of moderate means, I live in my father's house, . . ." The prytanis said, "Ptolemaeus still requires to be pressed by you, for he too shrinks from so great an office . . ." Eudaemon, exegetes, said, "Ptolemaeus too is a man of moderate means and unable to bear the burden . . ." Ptolemaeus son of Damarion, chief-priest, said, "The office is beyond my powers." The prytanis said, "Even if Ptolemaeus . . . in another office (?), he cannot refuse you with regard to the post of public banker. It is, however, clear that it is not permitted . . ." The senators said, "Upright, faithful Ptolemaeus . . ." Ptolemaeus son of Damarion, chief-priest, said, "I entreat you, I cannot undertake two public offices at one time . . ." Eudaemon, exegetes, said, "Ptolemaeus has often given an example of his loyalty." The prytanis said, ". . . I propose him to you." The senators said, "Ptolemaeus will not refuse his tribe . . ." Eudaemon, exegetes, said, "You elected him on account of his good faith."

1. Perhaps ἐπειδὴ φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι; cf. l. 26. For καταφερέτωσαν cf. ll. 5-6.

2. αὐτῷ is probably the epistrategus; cf. l. 8. παρα[θώμεθα indicates the prytanis or syndic as the speaker; cf. l. 8 and 1413. 17, n.

4. καὶ ἀναγεινώσκειται ὑμῖν: cf. l. 13, B. G. U. 925. 1-θην [ἔν] εἰδῆς καὶ ἀναγεινώσκειται. μετὰ τῆν ἀνάγνωσιν κτλ., De Ricci, *C.R. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* 1905. 160 (*W. Chrest.* 27). 9-11 ἀναγνωσθ(ή)τω ἡ διάταξις Πρόκλου. ἀναγνωσθεῖσθ(ης) κτλ. Something like ἐπιστάλματα ἔλαβον, followed by the name of the strategus (cf. l. 17, n.), probably preceded.

5. For the restoration of the name cf. l. 11. For καταφέρωντος cf. ll. 1, 6, 1414. 20; κατάγοντος would also be suitable. For καταπομποί cf. 1414. 19, n.

6. ἐξ Ἀραβία[s]: this probably refers to the district between the Nile and the Red Sea, or else Arabia Felix. Most of the caravans bringing Arabian wares from Philotera, Myos Hormos, Leucos Limen, or Berenice entered the Nile valley at Κωνή (*Keneh*), Coptos, or further south, but Hadrian constructed a road from Antinoë to the coast. 36 (= *W. Chrest.* 273) contains part of a tariff relating probably to wares imported from the Red Sea; cf. Rostowzew, *Archiv.* iv. 298 sqq. The νομός Ἀραβία (cf. 1435. 8) is certainly not meant, and though Ἀραβία is sometimes used merely in reference to that part of an Upper Egyptian nome which was on the east bank (e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 401. 10 Κόχλακος τῆς Ἀραβίας τοῦ . . . Παθυρίτου νομοῦ; cf. Strabo, p. 806), it is very doubtful whether any part of the Oxyrhynchite nome, even the eastern toparchy, was on the east bank; cf. 1421. 3, n.

7. δότε κτλ.: cf. ll. 10-11 and 19. For the *annonna militaris* cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 360. προ[τραπήτωσαν: cf. l. 23, 1413. 9. πρόνομασθήτωσαν (cf. 1417. 8-9, n.) would also be suitable.

9. The person referred to in the early part of this line was probably mentioned also in l. 11, where, if the restoration is correct, he was in the same position as Actiasion and Theon with regard to his surety, a circumstance which suggests that he like them had run away. But δι' ἀλλ[ου ὑπ[ο]μνήματος at the end of the line indicates that a ὑπόμνημα of the epistrategus occurred earlier, and περὶ (title) ἀντι (name) τοῦ ἀπολυθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγον δι' ὑπομνήματος καὶ περὶ can be restored, in which case the first part of l. 10 may have contained some complimentary references to him corresponding to those concerning Aristion, and the words preceding παρὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ in l. 11 would have to be restored differently.

συλλέκτου οἴνου: the first word seems to be the genitive of συλλέκτης, an otherwise unattested form analogous to ὑποδέκτης, rather than of σύλλεκτος.

10-11. ἴνα | [μὴ ἐμποδίζηται: cf. l. 7.

11. ἤδη: cf. l. 18. If *έγγύη* is right, it was preceded by the name of the person described in the first part of l. 9; cf. n. The deleted letter may have been *ς* or *ν*.

παρά τῷ στρατηγῷ: declarations of sureties for pilots or ναύκληροι in the public service were usually addressed to the strategus, e. g. 1554; *έγγύαι* probably means the documents, not the actual money.

12. The final remark of the prytanis may well have been παραθυσόμεθα καὶ περὶ τούτου τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ; cf. l. 8 and int.

13. καὶ ἀναγινώσκειται: cf. l. 4, n. The word ending in -ου is probably a proper name, στρατηγού being inadmissible. *ν* can be read for *ε* before . . ου, but the name seems to be different from that in l. 17.

14. ἀντὶ Πασιώνος κτλ.: cf. l. 5 and 1416. 11-12 ἀντὶ . . .] τ[ο]ῦ ὀνομασθ(έντος) καὶ μὴ συνλει[ο]υργήσαντο[ς]. The word before καὶ does not seem to be λειτουργήσαντος, but all the readings in this line after τοῦ are very uncertain. ἐπὶ πᾶσι is possible.

15. ὀνομαζέσθω is apparently middle, as in l. 19; the active occurs in 1413. 4, 9. The speaker can be the senate collectively or an individual, but not the prytanis, who generally opens the discussion after the reading of documents. ὀνομαζέσθαι (which would be passive, depending on περὶ τοῦ in l. 14) cannot be read, and an aorist infinitive is expected after περὶ τοῦ. For the prytanis as nominator cf. l. 30; but the subject might be e. g. the λειτουργοῦσα φυλή; cf. l. 19, n.

16. τηλικαύτην: cf. ll. 23-4. λειτουργίαν may well have occurred earlier in the line, but not immediately before τηλικ. At the end of the line οὔτω would be suitable (cf. 1414. 16), but the reading οἱ βο[υ]λε[υ]ταί[ς] is very doubtful, especially as ντα was on a separate fragment, which is not certainly placed here.

17. If a new section began in this line (cf. int.), the prytanis probably made an introductory remark, as in ll. 4 and 13. The word after ἐπισ[τα]λμάτων is apparently a proper name, not a title, and may well refer to the strategus; cf. 1414. 17.

18. For the initial restoration cf. l. 6; that εἰς λειτουργίαν κτλ. belongs to the ἐπιστάματα is less likely. Instances of persons holding more than one public office are not uncommon: a βασιλικὸς τραπέζιτης in B. G. U. 121 (A. D. 194) is also ἔναρχος γυμνασιάρχος, the εὐθηνιάρχια was often combined with other offices (1412. 1-3, n.), and cf. l. 25, 1416. 5, nn.

19. ὁότε [τὸν λε]ι[του]ργό[ν] (cf. l. 10) cannot be read. For ὀνομασθε cf. l. 15, n., and for οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς [(number) φυλῆς] l. 30 and 1413. 12, n.

20-1. ἀναλαβεσθε may be for ἀναλαβέσθαι. The reference to βαρντάταις λειτουργίας suggests that, in l. 21 at any rate, Eudaemon (cf. int.) was the speaker, rather than the prytanis or the tribe, and if e. g. οὐ δύναται (cf. ll. 26 and 28) occurred before Πτολεμαῖος, that sentence too may belong to Eudaemon. The members of the tribe may have said προτραπήτω Πτολεμαῖος Δαμαρίωνος ἀρχιερέυς: cf. 1413. 9.

23-4. Cf. P. Ryl. 77. 38-9 ἀναδεξάμενος τὴν μείζονα ἀρχὴν οὐκ ὀφείλει τὴν ἐλάττον' ἀποφεύγειν.

25. ἐν ἄλλῃ [; or ἐναλλά[ς, i. e. some part of ἐναλλαγὴ (cf. 1413. 22, 23) or ἐναλλάσσειν. In any case there is probably a contrast between Ptolemaeus' ἀρχιερωσύνη, which might be got rid of in some way, and the bankership, which he could not refuse; cf. l. 30, and 1627, which is concerned with a change of λειτουργία. A somewhat similar situation occurs in C. P. Herm. 7. ii, where Heraclammon, who is pressed to undertake an ἐπιμέλεια, desires to vacate his position of eutheniarch first (perhaps he was gymnasiarch also, for ἐκ τῶν γυμνασιαρχ[ι]ν in ll. 8-9 apparently refers to Heraclammon, and his name may have occurred in l. 2 as one of the two gymnasiarchs instead of Paniscus' as restored by Jouguet, *op. cit.* 383).

27. For ἀγνὲ πιστέ cf. 1413. 11, n. ἱκανά might mean 'bail', and a word like ἀνίεμεν can be restored; cf. P. Ryl. 77. 30 ἱκανὸν ἀνεθῆναι. But it may well have its commoner sense



28. Δα]μαρίωνος: or, possibly, ] 'Ωρίωνος.

29. For ὑποστήναι cf. e. g. C. I. G. 1365 γυμνασιάρχίαν ὑποστ. For Eudaemon as Ptolemaeus' supporter cf. ll. 24, 31, and 20-1, n. The senate also might be the speaker.

30. προβάλλομαι: cf. C. P. R. 20. i. 6-7 τοῖς προβαλομένοις τὸν ἡμέτερον υἱὸν . . . εἰς κοσμητείαν. The letter before ο (which is nearly certain) can be γ, λ, π, σ, or τ.

31. πίστεως ἔνεκεν: cf. 1413. 11.

#### 1416. MEMORANDA OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

27·2 × 12·4 cm.

About A. D. 299.

On the recto of this papyrus is a list of official persons (1498). The verso contains a valuable list of subjects discussed by the senate of Oxyrhynchus, and is to some extent parallel to B. G. U. 144, a fragment of what seems to be official memoranda of a prytanis (cf. Preisigke, *Beamtenwesen*, 53). Col. i of that papyrus is, however, too imperfect to show its contents, and of Col. ii ll. 1-5 refer to a person appointed to an office by the prytanis after an informal meeting of senators (cf. 1414. 21, n.), leaving only ll. 6-9, which are part of a list of individuals apparently appointed to some λειτουργία by the senate. 1416 was clearly drawn up by or for a prytanis, and that it refers to the *acta*, not the *agenda*, of the senate is indicated by the use of past tenses throughout, especially in l. 1 εἰσηγήσατο. The different subjects are normally introduced by the phrase π(ερὶ) τοῦ followed by an infinitive, but in l. 27 there was apparently some variation, perhaps owing to the commencement of a separate section. On the right-hand side there is an almost vertical break, and the ends of lines are mostly lost. Probably at least twenty letters are missing; cf. l. 6, n. The arrangement of ll. 19-26, which are not likely to form one paragraph, is uncertain. The writing on the recto bears considerable resemblance to 1412, which belongs to the reign of Probus, and 1416 must be assigned approximately to the close of the third century on palaeographical grounds. The mention of the praefect Publius indicates a date about A. D. 299, though only one emperor is referred to; cf. l. 29, n. On the general question of the subjects debated by the senate see 1413. int.

εἰσηγ(ητής) [. . .] εἰσηγήσατο Τείρων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος βουλευτής). [ π(ερὶ) τοῦ ἡρῆ[σ]θ(αι) [εἰ]ς τὸ καλέσαι τὸν ἐπιστρά(τηγον) εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν. π(ερὶ) τοῦ ἀπὸ βουλευτικῶν προχρεῖαν γενέσθαι εἰς τὰς χώρας [ εἰση- γήσατο

εἰσηγ(ητής) Σεπτίμιος Ὀρίων ὁ καὶ Διογένης.

5 π(ερὶ) τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομασθ(έντων) εἰς ἀρχὰς ἀγωνοθέτην προτρα[πῆναι.

- π(ερὶ) τοῦ προτραπήναι γυμνασιαρχῆσαι Φαρμουθι κθ [ τοῦ  
καὶ Ἡρακλείδου αλ ἡμέρ(αν) καὶ τοὺς κληρονόμ[ους] λ, Παχῶν .  
υἶὸν Διονυσίου, η Ἰέρακα Ἐρμίου, θ Η[ , ι Ἡλιό-?  
δωρον, ια ιβ Δωρίωνα τὸν καὶ Πλούτα[ρχον].
- 10 π(ερὶ) τοῦ ἀ ἡξίωσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰς τὴν ἐξ(ῆς) βουλὴν ὑπερτεθ[ῆναι].  
[π(ερὶ) τοῦ] ἡξιωκέναι Δίδυμον τὸν καὶ Εὐδαίμονα καὶ [ ἀντὶ  
τ[οῦ] ὀνομασθ(έντος) καὶ μὴ συνλειτ[ο]υργήσαντο[ς] προτραπήναι  
Ἡρα-  
κλέωνα καὶ Σερῆνον γεουχ(οῦντας) ἐν Σέσφθα [  
[κ]αὶ Ἐρμόφιλον καὶ Ὀννώφριν ἐκ δοχῆ[ς]  
15 [ν]υνεῖ ἱερέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὀνομασθ(έντας) [ εἰς τὸ  
αὐτοὺς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ ἡρῆσθ(αι) [ Σερῆνον ?  
ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἡρακλέωνα αὐτὸν παραστῆσαι ?  
[π(ερὶ) τοῦ] ἡρῆσθ(αι) [ἀν]τὶ Σιλβανοῦ Ἀνεικῆτου κοσμητ(ῆν) ἐφ' ἡ[μέρας] .  
[π(ερὶ) τοῦ] ἐποι[. . .]θ(αι) ἀπόφασιν Αἰμιλιανοῦ Ἀσκληπι[άδου]  
20 [ Χαιρήμο ?]να καὶ ὀνομάσθ(αι) υἱ[ὸν] Ἀβ[σ]κάντου ? ἐπὶ τῷ  
[ . . . . . ν]ομικάριον Χαιρήμονα παρα[στ]ῆσαι ?  
[π(ερὶ) τοῦ] ? . . τῶν δη]μευθέντων καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς π[ροσ]όδου (?)  
[ . . . . . ] συσταθῆναι τῇ ἐξῆς βουλῇ κα[ὶ]  
[ . . . . . ]ς Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Νεῖλου γυμνασιαρχ )  
ἐπι[. . .] ρ[  
25 [ . . . . . Π]τολεμῆιον ἐξηγ(ητ ) ἐν ἀλλ[α]ι[ς] ἡμέραι[ς]  
[ . . . ]  
[π(ερὶ) ? . . .]γ[ε] . . καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ δημοτελῆ εἶναι πα[ρ]  
[π(ερὶ) ?] τοῦ πρόσκλητον λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου.  
[π(ερὶ) τοῦ . . . ] . . . αὶ τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ Πούπλιον ἡγεμό(να) καὶ ε[

3. τ of του corr. απο added above the line.  
1. 15 ἱερεα. 23. θ of συσταθῆναι corr.

8. ἱερακα Π.

10. ἱερεῖς Π ; so in

1-18. ' . . . Proposed by Tiron also called Apollonius, senator.

Concerning the appointment of some one to invite the epistrategus to the festival.

Concerning the making of an advance from the senatorial funds for the posts of . . . Proposed by Septimius Horion also called Diogenes.

Concerning the urging of one of the nominees to offices to become steward of the games.

Concerning the urging of . . . son of . . . also called Heraclides to be gymnasiarch on Pharmouthi 29 (-30?) for 1½ days, and the heirs of . . . for ½ (?) day, . . . son of Dionysius

on Pachon ., Hierax son of Hermias on the 8th, . . . on the 9th, Heliodorus on the 10th, Dorion also called Plutarchus on the 11th and 12th.

Concerning the postponement of the petition of the priests until the next meeting.

Concerning the petition of Didymus also called Eudaemon and . . . that in place of . . ., who was nominated and failed to serve as their colleague, Heracleon and Serenus, land-owners at Sesphtha, should be urged to take office . . . and Hermophilus and Onnophris . . . in succession to . . ., now priest, and those who were nominated with him . . . for (superintending) the festival, and the election of Serenus (?) . . . on condition that Heracleon should be bail for his appearance.

Concerning the election of a *cosmetes* (?) in place of Silvanus son of Anicetus for . . . days.'

1. *εισηγήσατο*: cf. int. and 1413. 2, n. *εισηγη(η)τής* added later in the margin here and against l. 4 serves apparently to emphasize the insertion of the name of the proposer, which seems to be omitted in the later sections. This Tiron is probably mentioned in 1515. 4.

2. *πανήχυριν*: cf. l. 16, 41. 1 ]*αρίας πανηγύρεως οδοσης*, where Wilcken (*Chresl.* 45. 1, n.) has suggested *ἐξτραορδιν*]αρίας, and 705. 34-5 *ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν τῶν ἐπινεικίων ἡμέραν ἐκάστου ἔτους πανηγυρίζοντας* (sc. the Oxyrhynchites). A tax [. . . .] *πανηγύρεω(ς)* occurs in P. Ryl. 213. 374. It is possible that a name is lost at the end of this line and l. 5.

3. *ἀπὸ βουλευτικῶν προχρείαν*: cf. 1418. 20 *ἀς ἐκ προχ[ρε]ίας πεποιήκειν γυμνασιαρχίας ἡμε[ρ] . . .*, and 1501, which is concerned with a loan by a *ταμίης βουλ(εντικῶν) χρη(μάτων)*. The *βουλευτικά*, which are not mentioned elsewhere, seem to be a private fund of the senate, distinct from the *πολιτικός λόγος* administered by them, on which see Jouguet, *op. cit.* 416.

The name of some office or offices, e. g. *τῆς γυμνασιαρχίας*, probably followed *χώρας*, for which cf. 1413. 1, n.

5. *ἀγωνοθέτην*: this official, who is often met with in some of the provinces (Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung*, 542), is rarely mentioned in Egypt; but cf. 1284. 8-9, where the order *κοσμητεύσαντος [καὶ ἀγωνο]θετήσαντος* indicates that he ranked above the *cosmetes* (cf. 1412. 1-3, n.), Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* ii. 713, where his office at Alexandria was combined with that of gymnasiarch (cf. *εἰς ἀρχάς* here), P. Ryl. 117. 18.

6. After *καθ[ ]* at least one more day (i. e. λ, followed perhaps by *Παχὼν* . .) must have been mentioned, if l. 7 refers to this date; but that is far from certain. The occurrence of (Pachon) 8 in l. 8 would suit the view that the lacuna at the end of ll. 6 and 7 extends to 30 or 40 letters, but at the end of l. 8 only one name is necessary before *ι*, and though a father's name may have been added and *ι . . . τὸν καὶ Ἡλιόδωρον* is possible, a lacuna of more than 20 letters is unlikely. Probably several of the early days of Pachon were omitted; cf. 1413. 24, n. Gymnasiarchs only held office for a few days in the year, so that a large number of them was required; cf. 1418. 15, n.

8. H[ ]: *κ[ληρονόμους]* (cf. l. 7) is improbable.

10. Cf. 1414. 18 and 1413. int.

11-12. *προτραπήναι*, for which cf. ll. 5-6, or *δοθῆναι* (cf. 1415. 5, 14-15) is to be restored either in l. 15, in which case the liturgy in question was connected with the *πανήγυρις* (l. 2, n.), or in l. 12, in which case it may have been different and *εἰς τὸ . . . πανήγυριν* may depend on *ὀνομασθ(έντας)* in l. 15. It is curious that so many names were apparently suggested, for there seems to have been only one defaulter (*τ[ῶν]* cannot be read in l. 12), and only one substitute (*αὐτόν* in l. 17), with another person as surety. Possibly the persons mentioned in ll. 14-15 were not coupled with Heracleon and Serenus.

13. *Σέσφθα* (or *Σέφθα*, as in P. Hibeh 45. 5) was in the lower toparchy (1285. 136), probably close to the Nile since a *κυβερνήτης* in 1554. 6 came from it, and a place of some size since in 1285 it paid more than any other village in its toparchy. The boundary

between the lower toparchy and the Heracleopolite nome was probably somewhere between *Feshn* and *Fent*, and nearly opposite *Hibeh*, which lies on the east bank. That town, perhaps identical with Hipponon (cf. P. Hibeh, p. 10), was in the Heracleopolite nome, but the papyri from its cemetery were mainly written either in the *Καίτης* toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome, or in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite. *Ψύχαις* and *Ταλαή*, two Heracleopolite villages often mentioned in them, and, as P. Hibeh 117. 8 indicates, near each other, may well correspond to the modern *Absûg* and *Tala* to the north-west of *Feshn*, in which case the *Καίτης τόπος* was the southern portion of the Heracleopolite nome. This is on the whole more probable than the view suggested in P. Hibeh, *l. c.*, that it was all on the east bank, for unless the Nile has shifted its course since Roman times, there was hardly any cultivation on the east bank between *Wasta* and *Fent*. *Tala*, however, might be the Oxyrhynchite village of *Ταλιώ*. *Shenra*, which is near the edge of the desert west of *Fent*, may be the Oxyrhynchite *Συναρύ*, often mentioned in the Hibeh papyri, and *Talt*, a little south-west of *Tala* might be another, *Θῶλθαις*. The Ptolemaic papyri found in recent years at *Gamhûd*, between *Shenra* and *Talt*, are likely to throw more light on the question. *Τακόνα*, another village in the lower toparchy, is stated by the Iterin. Anton. to have been twenty-four Roman miles from Oxyrhynchus. Since *Sesphtha* was in the 10th pagus in the fourth century (P. Giessen 115), it was probably in the extreme north of the toparchy, of which other villages belonged to the 8th and 9th pagi, i. e. further south in the direction of *Maghâgha*; cf. 1425. 4, n., and 1448. int. The boundary of the Oxyrhynchite and Heracleopolite nomes was perhaps slightly altered in Roman times, for *Ἀσσία*, which is found in a taxing-list of Heracleopolite villages in P. Hibeh p. 8, occurs in 1529 along with villages of the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, unless a different village is meant.

14. *ἐκ δοχῆς*: cf. 1265. 17 *ἐκ διαδοχῆς τοῦ . . . πατρὸς* in a declaration by a priest (cf. [ν]υνεὶ *ἱερέα* in l. 15).

15. For *εἰς τό* followed by an infinitive (*ἄγειν* ?) cf. ll. 2 and 11-12, n.

16. Perhaps *τὸν προκείμενον Σερήνον* should be restored; cf. l. 13.

17. *παραστήσαι*: cf. l. 21 and e. g. 1554. 8 *ὄν καὶ παραστήσω σοι*.

18. *κοσμητ(ήν)*: concerning this office not much is known, and whether it was normally held for only a few days at a time like that of gymnasiarch (cf. ll. 6-9) is uncertain. *κοσμητ(οῦ)* or *κοσμητ(εύσαντος)* would apparently yield the same sense as *κοσμητ(ήν)*, if *ἐφ' ἡμέρας* be retained; cf. l. 2 for the absence of an expressed subject of the infinitive. *ἐφ[ί]βων* followed by a title, which would be the subject of *ἡρῆσθαι*, is less likely.

19. *π[ε]πο[ῆ]σθ(αι)* does not seem the right verb if the genitive *Διμίλιανου* is correct, and there is hardly room for another letter besides *π(ερι) τοῦ* in the lacuna. *a* can be read for *o*, and *κ* or *η* for *ι*. *ἀπόφασις* means a sentence of a judge, but what rank Aemilianus Asclepiades held is uncertain, except that he was not praefect; cf. l. 29, n.

21. [ν]ομκάρτων: *νομκάρτιος* seems to be a late variant for *νομικός*, which can mean either a legal adviser, as in C. P. R. 18. 22-5 (= M. *Chrest.* 84) *Βλαίσιος Μαριανὸς . . . συναλήσας Ἀρτεμίδ[ῶ]ρον τ[ὸ]ν νομικῶ περι τοῦ πράγματος ὑ[π]ηγόρευσεν ἀπό[φ]ασιν ἣ καὶ ἀν[ε]γ[γ]νώσθη[ν]*, or a *tabellio*, as in 34. iii. 3 (cf. Koschaker, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xxix. 15-19). In Byzantine papyri *νομκάρτιος* occurs in 136. 10, 154. 10, P. Iand. 45. 1. The proximity of *ἀπόφασιν* in l. 19 suggests the meaning 'lawyer' here, but l. 20 refers to an election to some office and may belong to a new section. The doubtful second *a* of *παρα[ ]* can be *ω*, but l. 21 may well correspond to l. 17.

22-5. That these lines were connected with ll. 19-21 seems improbable. They can be reconstructed [*περι τοῦ ἐκ (οἱ ἀπό) τῶν δη[μ]ευθέντων καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς π[ρ]οσόδου τὰ περιγινόμενα (?) συσταθῆναι τῇ ἐξῆς βουλῇ καὶ ἡρῆσθαι ἀντι (cf. l. 11) ]ς Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Νείλου γυ(νασιαρχήσαντος) ἐπι[τ]ηρ[ητὴν] . . . Π[ρ]ολεμίων κτλ. But *π[ρ]οσόδου* is very doubtful; the vestiges would suit *ν* at least as well and can be *γ* . [ , and parallels for the phrases in l. 22*

are lacking. Line 25 might be [περὶ τοῦ προτρο(ἀπῆναι) Π]τολεμῖνον ἐξη(ητεῦσαι) κτλ.; cf. l. 6. ι[ can be read after ἡμέραι[s] in place of the supposed ρ at the end of the line above.

26. Possibly the supposed ι (or ρ) belongs to l. 25, and the space between ll. 25 and 27 was blank. If there was a line there, it may well have been a heading, possibly a date; cf. the next note.

27. This section seems to have begun somewhat differently from the rest, for, though π(ερί) τοῦ can be supplied, the word before τῆς is not an infinitive. γν. can be read for γε[.]; the word shows no sign of having been abbreviated. A substantive to which δημοτελής would apply is expected.

28. του is written a little higher than the rest of the line and might be a marginal note (cf. ll. 1 and 4), but this line is more probably a new section than a continuation of l. 27. πρόσκλητον λαβεῖν seems to refer to receiving a judicial summons from the ἐπίτροπος, though πρόσκλησις (for which cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* 16) would be expected. For trials before an ἐπίτροπος involving the senate cf. 1413. 17, n., 1417. int. It does not seem practicable to interpret πρόσκλητον here in the same sense as in 1412. 12 πρόσκλητον βουλῆν.

29. The word before τόν is presumably an infinitive (ῥιμαί, κισαί, ῥαθαί, or ῥεῖναι is possible), but can be ῥαι καί. It is remarkable that only one Emperor is mentioned, though two were reigning if 1416 is contemporary with 1204, which mentions the same praefect (Aelius) Publius (Aug. 19, 299). He came after Flavius Valerius Pompeianus, who was in office from October 287 (888. 6) to Sept. 15, 289 (1252. recto 28), and Aemilius Rusticianus, deputy-praefect in 298 (1469. 1), and before Clodius Culcianus, who held office from Feb. 28, 303 (71. 23) to May 29, 306 (1104. 10). Of the three other praefects assigned to this period by Cantarelli (*Préfetti di Egitto*, ii. 13-16), Sallustius (P. Amh. 137. 4) was shown by 1191 to belong to the 6th year of Probus (280-1); Aurelius Antinoüs (B. G. U. 13. 3) was not a praefect, but the π(ραι)π(όσιτος), or at any rate a subordinate, of an unnamed praefect, while Πόσ[τουμ]ος or Ποσ[είδιο]ς, the praefect mentioned on Pompey's pillar at Alexandria (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* ii. 718. 3), was probably our Πούβλιος, Salt having in fact read ΠΟΥΒΛΙΟΣ and Köhler ΠΟΥΒΛΙΟΣ. On the praefects preceding Valerius Pompeianus see 1456. 1, n.

## 1417. REPORT OF A TRIAL CONCERNING THE SENATE.

21.8 x 26.8 cm.

Early fourth century.

The trial reported in this fragment was an action before a strategus, brought by the senate of Oxyrhynchus through their σύνδικος (cf. 1413. 17, n.) against Nilus, probably Thonius (l. 33), and perhaps other persons (cf. l. 28), who had after election by the senate failed to perform the duties of eutheniarchs. A somewhat similar action before an ἐπίτροπος, brought by the senate of Hermopolis against gymnasiarchs, is mentioned in C. P. Herm. 53 (W. *Christ.* 39); fragments of other trials in which the senate was represented by σύνδικοι are extant in C. P. Herm. 23, 25-6. The office of eutheniarch, a magistrate responsible for the grain supply of Oxyrhynchus, was difficult to fill, and, as 1252. verso shows, for some years before 289 it was in abeyance. In the present case one of the persons nominated (Nilus?) threatened to resign his property and appeal to the praefect, as not infrequently happened in connexion with the nomination to municipal

offices; cf. 1405, 1642, and C. P. R. 20. The judge, as might be expected, exhibited a desire to carry out the resolutions (ψηφίσματα) of the senate (cf. ll. 16, 23, 28-32); but the lines were of considerable length, though the writing is large, and are too incomplete to permit a reconstruction of the dialogue, which was chiefly between Nilus and the strategus. The papyrus probably belongs to the early part of the fourth century rather than to the end of the third; a date towards the middle of the fourth century, though palaeographically possible, is hardly compatible with the prominence of the strategus, for that office after the establishment of the logistes and *defensor* (cf. 1426. 3, 4, nn.), and *praepositi* of the pagi (1425. 4, n.) rapidly waned in importance; cf. 1430 and 1470. intt.

## Col. i.

. . . . .

ἀ]δ[ι]κα τὰ πλῆστα  
 ] ὀφείλομεν συνεδρεῦ-  
 [σαι ] δ[ι]γματι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι  
 ] καὶ ἐπίτροποι αὐτὰ τὰ [.]. ἀμαρ-  
 5 τῶν] ὑπαρχόντων καὶ πάντα μου τὰ ὑπάρ-  
 [χοντα βο?]υλή, ἐξίσταμε αὐτοῖς  
 ]ειαν. Πλουτίων σύνδικος εἶπ(εν).  
 Νεῖλο?]ς εἶπ(εν). ὅσα ὑπάρχοντα ὑπόκειται ταχῦ  
 ]ω τὴν ἔξοδον ποιοῦμαι ἐπεὶ τδ[ν] κύριόν  
 10 [μου ἡγεμόνα ἐὰ]ν ὁ σκρέιβας φαίνη [τ]ὴν ὑπὲρ ν[.]. υτου  
 ]τε οὐ βούλονται, ἀκολουθῶς ἡμεῖς προο-  
 ] ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τηρήσομεν τὸ δί-  
 [καιον τῆ]ς εὐθηνιαρχίας. τῶν συνδίκων ηγίνο-  
 Νεῖλον τὴν εὐθηνιαρχίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ κεχορηγηκέμαι, Νεῖλος εἶπ(εν).  
 15 ὁ στ]ρατηγὸς εἶπ(εν). τέως οὖν τινα δεήσει ἐκ  
 ] ὀφείλει αὐτὸς τὴν χορηγίαν ποίη-(σασθαι)

## Col. ii.

. . . . .

[. . . . . βασ]ιλικ[  
 [. . . . .]ων καὶ πρ. [  
 ο[. .]. ας περιέχει ἡ ἀναδ[οχή? αὐτο]ῦ. ὁ στρατη[γὸς εἶπ(εν).  
 20 σαντο οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μετατεθῆναι τὸ ὑπο[.]. ο[

σοῦ τοῦ τῆς εὐθηνιαρχίας λειτουργήματος εἶ . [   
 Νεῖλος εἶπ(εν)· μάτην οὖν θέλω διὰ σοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ο[   
 ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπ(εν)· τέως τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψήφισμα [ Νεῖλος ? εἶπ(εν)· πε-   
 ρὶ γυμνασιάρχιας μόνον διελάλησεν τῇ βουλῇ τ[ εὐθηνιαρ-   
 25 χίαν. ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπ(εν)· οὐ ταυῦν περὶ γυμνασί[αρχίας δια-   
 γινώσκει δύναται, ἢ ὁ κύριός μου [ὁ] διασ[ημ]ότατος ἡγεμὼν   
 Νεῖλος εἶπ(εν)· παρὰ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχειν τὰ δόγμα[ατα ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπ(εν)·   
 ὑμεῖς οἱ ἔνθεσμοι παραδοθέντες εὐθηνίαρχοι τ[ τοῦ κυρίου   
 μου ἡγεμόνος φανερά σοι προειρήκα[μ]ε[ν]   
 30 ἐν τῇ ἐξετάσει καὶ ἐπηκτῆσεται τῶν λε[ι] δ-   
 ρίζεται τῷ τῆς βουλῆ[ς] ψηφίσματι . [ τῆς χο-   
 ρηγίας παρὰ τινος γειγνομένης . [   
 Θώνιος εἶπ(εν)· σοὶ . . . γε[ι] . . . . ] . . [

5. ὑπαρ Π ; so in l. 8. 6. ἐξίσταμε Π. 1. -μαι. 8. ὑποκειται Π. 10. ὑπερ Π.   
 28. ὑμεις Π. 30. 1. ἐπικτῆσεται.

2. ὀφείλομεν συνεδρεῖ[σαι] may be spoken by the strategus (cf. l. 16 ὀφείλει αὐτός), or by the syndic (l. 7).

3. δ[ὲ]γματι : cf. l. 27 and P. Fay. 20. 22, where the word is used by the Emperor (Julian?) for an edict, i. e. the papyrus in question. In 1417 it may refer to an edict of the praefect, who is mentioned just before l. 27, while ἡγεμόνες] καὶ ἐπίτροποι is not unlikely in l. 4, as e. g. in 237. vii. 14.

5-6. Cf. 1405. 5-6 and 24-5 ἐξιστανόμενος αὐτῷ, and, for πάντα, 1405. int. αὐτοῖς refers to the nominators, and φ[υ]λή may be substituted for βο[υ]λή (which may of course be dative); cf. 1413. 13.

8-9. It is not clear whether Nilus or the strategus is the speaker; but if ἐπέι in l. 9 is for ἐπί, as is probable (cf. l. 25 περὶ), l. 9 suits Nilus, and ll. 11-13, if there is no change of speaker in l. 10, can be restored προσ[νο]μασθέντες . . . ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς] ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τηρήσομεν τὸ δ[ί]καιον τῆς γυμνασιάρχιας (cf. l. 24), ἀπολυθήσομεθα (?; cf. l. 20, n.) δὲ τῆ]ς εὐθηνιαρχίας. On the other hand, if εὐθηνιαρχίας depends on τὸ δ[ί]καιον, ll. 11-13 at any rate are best assigned to the strategus, and it is he who refers to the praefect in ll. 26 and 29. If ἐπέι is retained, ἔξοδον might mean 'issue', not 'voyage', and the speaker be the strategus, but the instances of appeals to the praefect for release from liturgies (P. Amh. 82 and 1642. 21) favour the view that l. 9 refers to a voyage to Alexandria. The line drawn above l. 10 was perhaps intended to indicate deletion, as e. g. in 843.

10. Perhaps τὸν διασημάτατόν μου ἡγεμόνα; cf. l. 26. The σκριβας was the secretary of the senate; cf. 1191, a regulation that appointments of ἐπιμεληταί by the senate should bear his signature. The letter after ὑπέρ is either ν or π, and that before ντου is apparently not α.

11-13. Cf. ll. 8-9, n. After τῶν συνδίκων a participle like προσφωνησάντων is expected, but ἡτιω[μ]ένων (i. e. ἡτιαμένων) does not suit the vestiges, for the second letter seems to be γ or σ and the fourth to be ν, though whether any letter at all followed is very doubtful. ἡ γινω[μ]ένη does not suit the context.

19. ἀναδ[οχή: cf. 1418. 18, n. ἀνάδ[οσις would also be suitable with αὐτοῦ; with μο]υ or σο]υ a longer word (ἀνάδ[εξις ?) is necessary. ἐδεή[σαντο is more likely than ἐψηφί[σαντο.

20. ὑπέ[μ]νη[μα is unsuitable. At the end of the line a participle, possibly ἀπολυθέντος (cf. ll. 8-9, n.), is expected.

22. μάτην: the fourth letter begins more like ε than η, but μάτεον for μάταιον cannot be read.

24. The subject of διελάλησεν is perhaps the praefect. On the combination of the offices of gymnasiarch and eutheniarch cf. 1418. 14, n.

26. After δύναται is a blank space. ἦ is more likely than ἡ (referring to the βουλή), for ll. 25-6 may well be restored οὐ τανῦν περὶ γυμνασι[αρχίας διαλήψομαι (cf. 1420. 5). περὶ τούτου ὁ (e. g.) ἐπίτροπος διαχεινώσκειν δύναται, ἢ ὁ κύριός μου [ὁ] διασημότατος ἡγεμών. The last three words are not quite certain, for it is not necessary to suppose that a letter is lost after μοσ; but δια[γνώσεται is inadmissible, θ being the only alternative to σ, and the omission of ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμών would be unsatisfactory.

27. δόγματα: cf. l. 3, n.

30. Perhaps λει[τουρημάτων (cf. l. 21); but λα . [ can be read.

33. This line is lower than l. 16, which corresponds to l. 32, and perhaps ll. 28-32 contained the concluding judgement of the strategus.

#### 1418. APPLICATION TO THE SENATE.

Fr. I 30.6 × 13.3 cm.

A. D. 247.

On the recto of this papyrus is part of a Latin list of soldiers (1511). On the verso are the ends of lines of what must have been an interesting application to the senate through the prytanis from a certain Aurelius Pasion, who had combined the offices of gymnasiarch and eutheniarch, and apparently wished for some kind of relief in connexion with the gymnasiarchy of his youthful son; but the initial lacunae, as is indicated by the certain restorations in l. 1, probably exceeded 70 letters in ll. 1-3 and 9-13, and 65 in the rest, so that hardly any connected sense is obtainable. The first thirteen lines seem to be mainly concerned with an account of the writer's services and the difficulties of his financial position, while ll. 14-30 are a complaint against a former prytanis, Asclepiades, with reference to the days on which the writer and his son had been or were to be in office. Asclepiades by his failure to fulfil his promises had apparently caused them to undertake more than had been agreed upon or was just. The details are for the most part obscure, but 1418 supplies some useful information about the length of tenure of municipal offices; cf. l. 15, n. It was written in Thoth (l. 23) of the 5th year (l. 26) of the Philippi, as is shown by the mention of the praefect Valerius Firmus (l. 4, n.). A small detached fragment with the beginnings of four lines can belong to a second column. The papyrus is no doubt a draft or copy of the document actually sent to the senate.



## Fr. 1.

- [Ὄξυρυγχιτῶν τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης πολέως τῇ κρατίστη βουλῇ  
 διὰ ἐν]άρχου πρυτάνεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πασίωνος] . . . . .  
 ]γ παρ' ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς γενομένης ὀνομασίας τοῦ . . . . .  
 παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέ]ραν δύναμιν ὁπώσοῦν διαπέπρακται . [ . . . . .  
 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡμ]ῶν ἡγεμόνος Οὐαλερίου Φίρμου ἐπὶ ὑπομογ[ . . . . .  
 5 ]ε . [σ]υντηρήσαι τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ταῖς] . . . . .  
 ] ὄρου τοῦ δοθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἡγ]εμονίας  
 ]στῆ]ναι καὶ ἔπεισεν παρὰ δύναμιν οὐ κατὰ [ . . . . .  
 τῆς πληρω]θείσης ὑπ' ἑμοῦ ναυκληρίας καὶ ὧν ἄλλω]ν . . . . .  
 ὑπέρ(?) τὴν ἡμ]ετέραν περιουσίαν ἐστίν, κα[μ]οῖ νῦν ὑπάρ]χει . . . . .  
 10 ]ειν ἐστίν. ἀπάρκει οὖν [ . π]ρὸς τὰ ὑπάρ]χοντα . .  
 κα]θεστάναι, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστίν νῦν [ . . . . .  
 μ]ου τὰς δυνάμεις προτρέποντος μὲν τ[οῦ] . . . . .  
 ] . ἐν ὑμῖν πλέον τι καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων μ[ου] . . . . .  
 ]σας [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδου πρυτανείας γυμνασιαρχίας τε καὶ εὐ-  
 15 [θνιαρχίας ]ας κατ' ἔτος γυμνασιαρχῆσαι με ἡμέρας πέντε εὐθη-  
 [νιαρχῆσαι δὲ ἡμέρας πέντε παρ]ὰ δύναμιν βιασάμενος ἑμαυτόν, εὐχομαί  
 τε δύνασθαι [  
 ]ντες ἠθελήσατε καὶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνι [  
 ἀν]αδέξομαι τῷ παιδί τετραμήνιον γυμνασιαρχίαν κα[.  
 ]σετε μὲν τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου πρυτανείας ἄς αὐτὸς Ἀσκλ[η-  
 20 ]ριῷ ἔφη ἄς ἐκ προχ[ρε]ίας πεποίηκεν γυμνασιαρχίας ἡμέ[  
 [ρας ]διῷ ὧν ἦδη τὸ ἀνάλωμα πεπλήρωκα καὶ τῷ Ἀσκλη[  
 [πιάδῃ ἡμέρας τρεῖς], ιη ιθ κ, ἄς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπ[.  
 ]ο τῷ μὲν ὄντιμηνι Θῶθ τὸ τρι[ί]τον, τὸ δὲ δίμοιρον  
 ] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ αὐτ[ῷ] παιδί μου, ἀπολαμβάνοντος μὲν α[.  
 25 τὸ τρίτον, τὸ δὲ δίμοι]ρον τῷ τῆς συ[γκ]ομιδῆς καιρῷ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ε[.] . . [ .  
 τῷ ἐνεστώ]τι ε (ἔτει) Ἐπειφ [ἡμέρας] δύο, ια ιβ, τῷ δὲ εἰσιού]τι ς (ἔτει)  
 ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐπ[ὶ δὲ τῆς] αὐτοῦ πρυτανείας Θῶθ[ . .  
 ἡμέρας πέντ]ε τῆς γυμνασιαρχία]ς καὶ ἡμέρ]ας πέντ[ε τ]ῆς εὐθη[νιαρχίας  
 ] ἀποδιδό]ναι ἕως ἀν [ 16 letters ]ση[ . . . . .  
 30 ] τὴν γυμ[νασιαρχίαν] τῷ υἱῷ μ[ου 13 letters ]αι ετ[ . . . . .

## Fr. 2.

<sup>1</sup> ασ[,    <sup>2</sup> γενο[,    <sup>3</sup> σου χ[,    <sup>4</sup> λξεξ[

2. ὕμιν Π; so in ll. 13 and 22. 3. α of ] . αν corr. from ι. 8. ὕπ Π. 14. ου of [ασκ]ληπιαδου corr. from η. 20. as above the line. 23. διμοιρα[ν corr.

2. Perhaps τοῦ νιοῦ μου or παιδός; cf. ll. 5, 18, 24, 30. For minors as gymnasiarchs cf. 1274. 13, n.

3. παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν: cf. ll. 7, 12, 13.

4. Οὐαλερίου Φίρμου: cf. 1466. 2 (May 21, 245), 1271. 6 (April 26?, 246), P. Amh. 72 (June 16, 246), 720. 1 (Jan. 5, 247), P. Amh. 81. 5 (March 26, 247). The present mention (Sept. 247; cf. ll. 23-5) is the latest; cf. 1466. int.

6. ἄρου: cf. 1409. 15, 1414. 4.

7. Possibly οὐ κατὰ [λόγον: cf. 1405. 23 οὐκ ἀνὰ λόγ(ο)ν.

8. πληρω]θείσης; cf. l. 21. On the ναυκληρία, which became a liturgy, see 1412. 14, n.

9. Cf. 1415. 25 ὑπὲρ ἐμέ ἐστὶν τὸ λειτούργημα.

14. For the combination of the offices of gymnasiarch and eutheniarch cf. 908, 1252. verso ii. 32, 1417. 24.

15. κατ' ἔτος: this indicates that the γυμνασιαρχία was held for a longer period than a year, though the holder was only ἔναρχος for a few days in each year; cf. 1413. 17, n., 1410. int., and ll. 25-8 below, where at least two consecutive years of office are implied (l. 26), and, if the πρυτανεία in l. 27 refers to a preceding year, three or more.

ἡμέρας πέντε: in ll. 22-3 there is a question of three days, in l. 26 of two, and in ll. 27-8 of five again, l. 28 perhaps referring back to l. 15. This evidence (cf. also 1416. 6-9) is in accordance with that of the contemporary Hermopolis papyri; cf. C. P. Herm. 57-62, and 53. 13 (W. *Chrest.* 39) τὰς ἐπιβαλλούσας αὐτ[αῖς τ]ῆς γυμνασιαρχίας ἡμέρας [τρεῖ]ς.

16. For the initial restorations cf. ll. 28 and 7.

18. ἀν[αδέξομαι: cf. 1417. 19 ἀναδ[οχή? The meaning seems to be that Pasion would undertake for four months in a year (i. e.  $\frac{1}{3}$ ) the responsibilities of gymnasiarch on behalf of his son; cf. ll. 23-5, where there is a question of the division of three days between different months (in l. 22 they are consecutive). παρ[αδέξομαι 'remit' seems less suitable.

19. ]σσε: or ]σετα[ι].

20. Possibly ἐν συνεδ]ρίῳ; cf. l. 22 ἐν ὑμῖν. For ἐκ προχ[ρε]ίας cf. 1413. 20 and 1416. 3.

21. Perhaps παι]δίῳ; cf. l. 5.

22. Perhaps ἵπ[ε]ρ[σχερο. Asclepiades seems to have undertaken certain days himself; cf. ll. 19-20 and 1252. verso ii. 18-21, where a prytanis becomes eutheniarch. ἀνεδεξάμην (cf. l. 18, n.) can be restored before ἡμέρας τρεῖ]ς.

24. The line may have begun [τῷ τῆς συγκομιδῆς καιρῷ (cf. l. 25), and ended αὐ]τῷ.

25. ἐ]ὶθρη]ι[αρχίας does not suit the vestiges at the end of the line, which may have concluded with a proper name, followed by πρυτανείας; cf. l. 27.

26. Cf. l. 15, n.

27. αὐτοῦ (or αὐτοῦ) is probably Asclepiades; but Θώ[θ can hardly refer to the 5th year and be the month in which 1418 was written (cf. l. 23), for the prytanis in l. 1 was a different person.

#### 1419. ORDER FROM A PRYTANIS TO A TAX-COLLECTOR.

16.8 × 12.4 cm.

A. D. 265.

An order from a prytanis of the senate to a tax-collector called a πρᾶκτωρ πολιτικῶν (l. 2, n.), to pay the prytanis 1,500 drachmae credited by the tax-collector to another revenue official, and 300 drachmae required for military

supplies. The document was written by a clerk (across the fibres), and signed by the prytanis, who also added a line after l. 5. Since the writing is not earlier than the middle of the third century, the 12th year in the date presumably refers to the reign of Gallienus (cf. 1407. int.); for though in the last year of Diocletian's reign instances occur of Maximian's year being ignored (895. 6 and P. Leipzig 84. vii; cf. 1416. 29, n., and 1410. int.), there is no example of the omission of both Maximian's and the Caesars' years in a contemporary document. 1499, written in 309, is very similar to 1419; but that the latter was dated by the Oxyrhynchite era beginning in 307 (cf. 1431. 5, n.) and belongs to the year 319 is improbable, not only on palaeographical grounds but also because the sums mentioned are too small to suit the period of great depreciation of the coinage, and the financial powers of the prytanis were much circumscribed in the fourth century. The technical terms present several points of interest, especially as the evidence for the changes in the revenue administration caused by the establishment of senates in A.D. 202 is still scanty.

Π(αρά) τοῦ πρυτάνεως

Θωνίῳ πράκτορι πολιτικῶν χαίρειν).

ἔξο[δία]σόν μοι ἀφ' ὧν ἀπήτησας

τε[λω]νικῶν ἐν τῷ νομῷ ἄς

5 μετεβάλου δι(ὰ) δημοσίας τραπέζης)

Ἵπενάτορι ἄπαι(τητῆ) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ

(δραχμᾶς) Ἄφ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας εἰς λόγον

ἀννώνης λεγιωναρίων

πεμφθ(έντων) ἀπὸ Ἡρακ[λ]άμ[μ]ωνος μετὰ

Ἵσχυρίωνος διώκ(του) σίτ(ου) (δραχμᾶς) τ, γ(ίνονται) ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (δραχμαὶ) Ἄω.

10 ἐξοδίασον τ[ᾶ]ς δραχμᾶς

χιλ[ί]ας ὀκτακοσίας.

(ἔτους) ιβ Παιῦνι δ.

'From the prytanis to Thonius, collector of city-dues, greeting. Pay me from the tax-farming contributions which you have exacted in the nome the 1,500 drachmae which you credited through the public bank to Opinator, exactor of wheat equivalents, and further on account of the *annonæ* of the legionaries sent from Heraclammonos with Ischyron, corn-collector, another 300 drachmae, making 1,800 dr. in all. (Signed) Pay the 1,800 drachmae. The 12th year, Pauni 4.'

2. πράκτορι πολιτικῶν): cf. 1444 (A.D. 249), where πολιτικά are contrasted with κωμητικά, both being collected in corn by a δεκάπρωτος in a village, and P. Strassb. 45, where the payments of κτήτορες are divided into those of πολῖται and those of κωμηταί. In Justinian, *Edicl.* 13. 13 τὰ τε πολιτικά καὶ σολέμνια τέλη τῆς μεγάλης τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως καὶ τὰ ἐκατέρας

Αἰγύπτου (cf. 13. 14 *δαπανήματα ποιῆσαι ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως τῶν δημοσίων βαλαειῶν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς σολεμνίοις ἅπασιν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς*) are distinguished from *δημόσιοι φόροι* (13. 9), and Gelzer, *Archiv*, v. 363, followed by Wilcken, *Chrest.* 297. int., connects these *πολιτικά* with the *ἀστικόν* and *κωμητικόν* in P. Cairo Maspero 67060 (W. *Chrest.* 297), regarding them as communal taxes, like Maspero. It is, however, very doubtful whether *κωμητικόν* even in the Byzantine period ever meant a tax levied for the benefit of a village (i. e. public works). That is certainly not the meaning of *κωμητικά* in B. G. U. 802. xi. 23 (A. D. 42), P. Tebt. 340 (A. D. 206) which is parallel to 1444, Ryl. 221. 29 (early 3rd cent.) *κωμητικά διοικήσεως*, and C. P. Herm. 120. recto iii. 12 (3rd cent.), where *κωμητικά* are contrasted with *μητροπολιτικά* (i. 4). In all those cases *κωμητικά* is a general expression for 'village-dues'; cf. P. Tebt. 340. int. The same meaning will also suit *κωμητικόν* in P. Cairo 67060, and it is noteworthy that *δημόσια ἀστικά* in P. Cairo 67045-6 (cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1419. 439 *ἀστικ(ῶν) ἄνταιον*) are in P. Cairo 67047 called *δημόσια* simply, so that there is no need to refer *ἀστικόν* to a communal as distinct from an imperial tax. *πολιτικά* in 1444 is clearly to be explained in the light of P. Strassb. 45 and C. P. Herm. 120 as simply equivalent to *μητροπολιτικά*, i. e. the ordinary State taxes of the metropolis, which in earlier times were often collected in villages (e. g. 1283. 4, 1433. 8, 38); and with regard to 1419 the fact that the *πράκτωρ πολιτικῶν* was concerned with *τελωνικά* (l. 4, n.) and paid them in the first instance to a *δημοσία τράπεζα*, just as the earlier *πράκτορες μητροπολιτικῶν* did, indicates that he was dealing with State, not with communal, taxes. For the separate existence of the latter there is in fact no very clear evidence: the results of Jouguet's investigation in *Vie municipale*. 432 sqq. are mainly negative, and even in C. P. Herm. 101 it is not certain that the *ἐξήκοιτάδριχος μερισμός* was paid to the *πολιτικός λόγος*. The metropoleis even before the third century had property of their own, called *οἶκος πάλεως* in P. Fay. 87. 5, *τῆς πόλεως λόγος* in 54. 15, and after the establishment of senates we hear of land belonging to the *πολιτικός λόγος* (C. P. R. 39. 8), which is also often mentioned in papyri concerning public works. This fund was at first administered by the senate through the *prytanis*, who in 55. 4 (A. D. 283) is called *διέπων καὶ τὰ πολιτικά*, and below him by the *ταμίας πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* (55. 14; cf. 1501. 2). After the establishment of the logistes at Oxyrhynchus in the reign of Diocletian or just after (cf. 1426. 3, n.) the *πολιτικά* were controlled by him and an imperial *ἐπίτροπος*, to whom the *prytanis* had to apply before obtaining a grant for repairs of the public baths (1104; A. D. 306). From C. P. Herm. 92-3 (A. D. 265-7) it appears that at Hermopolis the *πολιτικός λόγος* supplied  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the expenses of public works. At Oxyrhynchus in A. D. 316 payment for *δημόσια πολιτικά ἔργα* was made by a *δημοσίων χρ[η]μάτων* (not *λη[μ]-μάτων*; cf. 1430. 9, n.) *τραπέζης* (*τῆς*) *Ὁξ(υρ)ρχίτου* *πολιτικῆς τραπέζης* (84. 8), and *πολιτικῆ τράπεζα* there is considered by Preisigke and Wilcken (*Grundz.* 167) to be the communal as opposed to the State bank (*δημοσία τράπεζα*), and the outgoings are supposed by them to have come from the city not the State funds. We think, however, that the contrast drawn by Wilcken between *δημόσιος* and *πολιτικός* is too sharp: certainly in 84, as the employment of both terms with reference to *ἔργα* shows, there is no essential incompatibility between them, and instead of regarding *δημόσιος* there as used loosely (so Wilcken), we prefer to regard *πολιτικός* both in the phrase *Ὁξ(υρ)ρχίτου πολιτ. τράπεζα* and *δημόσια πολιτ. ἔργα* as simply meaning 'of the city', without implying any reference to the commune as distinct from the State; cf. 892. 11 *πολιτικὸν ἔργον*. In P. Strassb. 28 (A. D. 305) a *πολιτικός* *τραπέζης* issues a receipt for *φόρος προσβάτων*, which in earlier times was an ordinary State impost (Wilcken, *Osl.* i. 286), and it is very unlikely that this tax was ever made over to the *πολιτικός λόγος* in the sense in which that phrase is used in C. P. R. 39. The senate became largely responsible in the third century for the collection of taxes through *ἐπιμεληταί* and *δεκάπρωτοι* (Jouguet, *Vie municipale*. 387 sqq.), and even in 55 and 1104 *πολιτικά* may possibly have the sense found in 1444 and not refer to the city's own funds; cf. Jouguet, *op. cit.* 281

and P. Leipzig 64. 21-2 (A. D. 368) τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν χρεωστηθέντα κανόνα προσήκει σῶον ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς ταμιακοῖς λόγοις (sc. the imperial fiscus). πολιτικός is, we think, primarily contrasted with κωμητικός, not with δημόσιος, at any rate in 1419; cf. the next note.

4. τε[λω]μικ(ῶν): the traces of the second letter would also suit ι, but τι[ρω]μικ(ῶν) is unsatisfactory, for the tail of a ρ, if there had been one, ought to have been visible, and though the χρυσὸς τιρώνων is often mentioned in fourth-century documents (cf. 1103. int.), the word τιρωνικά is unattested in papyri. τε[λω]μικ(ῶν), moreover, is confirmed by the mention of an ἀπαιτητής; cf. an ostrakon *ap.* Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 610 ἀπαι(ητής) μερισ(μῶν) ἐνλ(είμματος) τελωνικῶν. Here too the ἀπαιτητής may have been collecting arrears, which would account for his presence in connexion with taxes which were farmed and for his rank being apparently higher than that of πράκτωρ. During the earlier Roman period in the case of taxes collected directly ἀπαιτηταί are found interchanging with πράκτορες (Wilcken, *l. c.*), and where taxes were farmed they are only known to come in when it was a question of arrears; but their position may have been altered by the middle of the third century; cf. 1413. 29, where the senate appoints ἀπαιτηταί, and 1461. 13. In *Ost.* i. 581<sup>1</sup> Wilcken in connexion with B. G. U. 10 expressed a doubt whether τελωνικά necessarily implies the farming of a tax; but in the present case there is no reason to suppose that the word is used loosely, for τιμὴ πυροῦ in *Ost.* No. 1587 was collected by a τελ(ώνης) θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερῶ(ν). What particular tax was meant by τιμὴ πυροῦ is uncertain, but probably the ordinary land-tax is referred to; cf. the πολιτικά in 1444 and P. Thead. 42. 6, 9 (A. D. 312). In any case a State impost is probably meant; cf. l. 2, n.

8. ἀπὸ Ἑρακ[λ]ίμ[μ]ωνος: κώμης is probably to be supplied, but this is not known as a place-name, and was probably outside the Oxyrhynchite nome, like the place from which the soldiers in 1543. 4 came.

### III. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

#### 1420. REPORT OF A TRIAL.

16.2 x 20.5 cm.

About A. D. 129.

The recto of this papyrus contains some traces of obliterated second-century writing. On the verso is the concluding column of an account of a trial before the strategus Asclepiades, whose date is known from 1024. 1. The contending parties were Heradion and Agathinus, and the dispute concerned the administration of some property of which they were, apparently, joint ἐπίτροποι (ll. 9-10, n.). A final judgement was postponed by the strategus pending an examination of the accounts to be presented by the two parties.

[οὐδ]᾽ ἔπω κατακεχώρισται. Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ στρατηγὸς  
σκεψάμενος εἶπεν· ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ πρότερον τοὺς  
λόγους καταχωρισθῆναι, ἵνα γνωσθῆ̄ τίνα μὲν ἐστὶν τὰ  
καταλειφθέντα, τίνα δὲ τὰ περιγεγονότα, καὶ τίνα τὰ  
5 χρε[ο]λυτηθέντα. τότε γὰρ[ρ] καὶ περὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν διαλήμ-

ψομαι καί, εἴ τί ἐστιν ἀκόλουθον, κριθήσεται. Ἡραδίον  
 εἶπεν· εὐθέως καταχωρίω τοὺς λόγους· οὐ παρ' ἐμὴν δὲ αἰτίαν  
 οὐ κατεχωρίσθησαν. ἀλλ[ὰ] μέντοι καὶ τὸ[ν] Ἀγαθεινον συν-  
 [κα][τα]χω[ρίσ]αι δεῖ, μέχρι [κριτ]ηρίου μήτε λαβέσθ(αι) τῆς ἐπιτρόπου  
 10 [χρείας? μή]τε Ἀγαθεινοῦ συνεχομένου. ὁ στρατηγὸς  
 [έκέλευσεν σ]ύνολα λη[μ]ματισθῆναι. ἀνέ[γ]ρων.

3. ἴνα Π. 5. ω of χορηγιων corr. from α.

“ . . . has not yet been presented. Asclepiades, strategus, after consideration said, “ It appears to be necessary that the accounts should first be presented, in order that it may be ascertained what has been left, what there is over, and what debts have been paid. I will then decide about the allowances, and, if there is anything required, judgement shall be given. Heradion said, I will present the accounts immediately; but it is not my fault that they have not been presented. Agathinus too, however, must join in presenting them, and until judgement is given I will not undertake the post (?) of guardian myself or in combination with Agathinus. The strategus ordered the whole amount to be accounted for. Read by me.”

9-10. The construction is harsh, but there is little doubt about the reading λαβέσθ(αι), with which ἐμέ is to be supplied. ἐπιτροπου[μένης might be read (sc. γῆς or οὐσίας), but the form ἐπιτροπεῖν for ἐπιτροπέειν is not certainly attested. συν[δ]εχομένου or συν[ι]σχομένου or παρασχομένου can be substituted for συνεχομένου; we suppose that a space between ν and ε or σ was blank. The doubtful χ can be λ, and the next letter might be α. ἐπιτρόπου [χρείας (for which cf. e.g. P. Iand. 33. 12 ἀντιλήψεσθαι χρείας) seems to refer to a private guardianship rather than an official post, which would be less likely to be concerned with χρεολυτηθέντα and χορηγία (or χορηγία); cf. P. Ryl. 182. 1 ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἀφεθέντων . . . ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν γ ἐπιτρόπ(ων).

#### 1421. ORDER FROM A STRATEGUS TO COMARCHS.

11.9 × 9.2 cm.

Third century.

On the recto of this papyrus is part of a list of land-holders, written in the late second or early third century (1533). On the verso, written along the fibres, is a brief order from a strategus to the officials of two villages, situated in different toparchies but probably near each other (l. 3, n.), concerning the embarkation of some acacia-wood belonging to the government (l. 4, n.). P. S. I. 213, an order to the πεδιοφύλακες of Nesmimis to keep some chaff, is similar; cf. also the common orders for arrest, e. g. 1505-7.

Π(αρά) τοῦ στρατηγού  
 κομάρχαις καὶ δημοσίοις κομῶν  
 Τααμπέμου καὶ Σερύφ[ε]ως.

τὸ ξ[ύ]λον τὸ ἀκάνθινον τὸ κε-  
 5 κομμένον ἐν τῇ Εἰόνθει ἐξαυτῆς  
 [πέψατε] εἰς [τὸ . . . π]ροθμῶν,  
 [καὶ ἐμβάλεσθε αὐτὸ] εἰς τὸ ἐνταῦ-  
 [θα παρασταθὲν δη]μόσιον πλοῖον.  
 [ ]

2. ων of κωμων corr. from ης.

‘From the strategus to the comarchs and officials of the villages of Taampemou and Seruphis. Send at once the acacia-wood which has been cut at Ionthis to the . . . ferry, and put it on board the State boat which is stationed there.’

2. δημοσίους: cf. 1411. 2, n. Here too there is nothing to indicate that police were specially meant, though the δημόσιοι would probably consist mainly of guards; cf. the Leipzig papyrus mentioned in 1465. 8, n.

3. Taampemou was in the eastern toparchy (1285. 88); Seruphis was in the western (1285. 71), and probably a place of considerable size, for it paid 1,940 drachmae, i. e. much more than any other village in 1285, where only three villages paid over 1,000 dr. Since Oxyrhynchus itself was in or adjoined the western toparchy (1475. 22, n.) and Taampemou was further east and probably near both the Nile (cf. l. 6) and Seruphis (cf. 1545. 3, where it comes next to Seruphis), the modern village of *Ashrúbah* four miles east of Oxyrhynchus, is perhaps to be identified with Seruphis, and *Tanbauwah*, between *Ashrúbah* and *Beni-mazár*, with Taampemou. The area of cultivation on the west bank is exceptionally broad in this part, and the eastern top. may have run north and south between *Mataï* and *Tanbadi* (near *Maghághah*), which strongly suggests *Ταμπετί*, also in the eastern top. (612). On the west would be the western and probably part of the middle top. The order of the toparchies in 1285 is (1) upper (i. e. southern), (2) western, (3) eastern, (4) middle, (5) Thmoisepho, (6) lower (i. e. northern), and since the same order from south to north is traceable in the arrangement of the villages in pagi, which were substituted for toparchies in the fourth century (cf. 1425. 4, n.), probably the bulk of the middle top. was north of the western and eastern. That the eastern top. extended to the east bank of the Nile is improbable; for behind *Shékh Fadl*, which is opposite *Beni-mazár*, is the cemetery of Cynopolis (cf. *Arch. Rep.* 1902-3, p. 4). That town according to Ptolemy was on an island, but its site is fixed by a Graeco-Coptic-Arabic list of equivalents (Amélineau, *Géogr.* 396) at *el-Kés*, on the west bank about two miles south-east of *Tanbauwa*. Ptolemy's account of the Cynopolite nome is not satisfactory, for *Κώ*, which he places west of Cynopolis and calls the metropolis of the nome, is not found in papyri or ostraca mentioning Cynopolite villages, and the *Κώτης τόπος* was in the Heracleopolite nome, i. e. much further north (cf. 1416. 13, n.), while *Tenis* (*Tehnah*), which Ptolemy assigns to the Cynopolite nome, was really in the Hermopolite (cf. P. Ryl. 207 a. 13, n.). But his statement that Cynopolis was on an island is confirmed by its absence from the *Itiner. Anton.*, indicating that it was off the main road, and the ‘island’ may well have been the bend of the Nile between *Mataï* and *Abū Girgeh*, if the *Derwīsh* canal corresponds to an ancient branch. The ‘ferry’ (l. 6) might then be over this canal, and all the land to the east of it would belong to the Cynopolite nome, which is likely to have also included the whole of the existing east bank between the Heracleopolite and Hermopolite nomes. That the ‘ferry’ was over the *Bahr Yusuf* is improbable, seeing that a village in the eastern toparchy is mentioned. In

P. S. I. 80. 21 Ταμπείον is probably a misspelling or misreading of Ταμπέμον; cf. the spelling Ταμπέμον in 1491. 13.

4. ἀκάνθινον: cf. 1112, where fallen acacia-trees situated on embankments were sold by the government for 13 drachmae each and 1188, where in a similar connexion the price was 4 dr. each. Acacia-wood was used for houses, boats, water-wheels, &c.; cf. Reil, *Beiträge*, 72, P. Brit. Mus. 1177. 191.

5. ἐν τῇ Εἰόνθει: no village of this name is known, unless it is identical with κόμην Εἰώ. . . . in P. Giessen 30. 10 (from Oxyrhynchus, as appears from l. 7 ἀμφόδου Πλατείας). Possibly Ἴονθις was a τόπος at a village, especially as it has the article. Ἴονθῶν(ος) (gen.) occurs as a personal name in P. Leipzig 99. ii. 6.

6. ἐκεῖ, ἄνω, or κάτω, but not ἐνθάδε, would suit the lacuna.

8. For παρασταθέν cf. 1542. 2. παρακείμενον is possible; ἐφορμοῦν (1412. 11) is too short.

9. The main document probably ended at πλοῖον, but this line may have had ἐσημειωσάμην (cf. P. S. I. 213. 7) or a date.

## 1422. LETTER OF A STRATEGUS.

16.2 x 6.4 cm.

About A. D. 128.

A short letter to Agathodaemon, an Oxyrhynchite strategus mentioned also in 1452. 1, from the strategus of another nome (l. 3, n.) concerning an individual, whose arrest was required on the charge of harbouring a fugitive slave. Owing to the loss of the beginnings of lines a few points remain in doubt, but apparently the person wanted could not be found in the writer's nome; cf. the declaration of *riparii* in 897, which probably corresponded to the reports of the local officials mentioned in ll. 9-11 here. Other papyri concerning fugitive slaves are 1423, 1643, and P. Par. 10.

[ ] ἐλ(άβομεν) Μεχ(εῖρ) ιδ. (2nd hand) πζ.

3rd hand [. . . Δ]ημήτριος στρατηγός

[Γυναι ?]κοπολείτου Ἀγαθῶ Δαίμοι[ι

[στρατη]γῶι Ὁξυρυγχείτου τῶι

5 [ ] φιλτάτωι χαίρει[ν.

[. . . . .] Ἀχιλλεύς ὃν ἐδήλωσας [έν-

[κεκληῆσθαι] ὑπὲρ ὑποδοχῆς δοῦ[-

[λου . . . . . ἐδη]λώθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν [

[κωμογρα]μματέων τοῦ ἵ[ομοῦ

10 [καὶ τῶν τῆς μη]τροπόλεως γραμ-

[ματέων ἀφανῆ ?]ς εἶναι. (4th hand) ἐρρῶσθαί σε

[εὔχομαι . . . . .] τ[αμιο( ) γρ . κ( ) .



3rd hand [(ἔτους) ιβ ? Αὐτοκράτορος Κα]ίσ[α]ρος Τραιανοῦ  
[Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τ]ῦβι κ.

5th hand? 15 [ Τῦβι ?] κδ.

1. ζ of πζ over an expunction.

‘ Received on Mecheir 14. No. 87.

. . . Demetrius, strategus of the Gynaecopolite nome, to his dearest Agathodaemon, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. . . Achilles, who, as you stated, was accused of harbouring a slave . . ., has been stated by both the village scribes of the nome and the scribes of the metropolis to be missing. I pray for your health . . . The 12th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Tubi 20.

Tubi 24 (?)’.

1. ἐλ(ἀβομεν) : cf. P. Tebt. 19. int.

3. The Lycopolite nome was much nearer than the Gynaecopolite (on which see 1380. 21, n.) to the Oxyrhynchite nome, and Δυ]κοπολείτου would make l. 3 correspond to l. 2, if there the writer wrote a rather large Δ and the space before it was blank, as is possible; but there is not room for στρα-| at the end of l. 3, so that l. 4 in any case corresponded to ll. 6 sqq., where the length of the initial lacuna is fixed by ll. 9–10. The remains of the letter before σπολείτου consist of a long horizontal stroke coming below the line; this does not happen to occur elsewhere in 1422, but suits κ very well.

6. ἐδήλωσας [ἐν-|κεκλήσθαι] or ἐδήλωσας | [ἡτιᾶσθαι] can be read.

7. For ἵποδοχῆς cf. 1408. 23. δοῦ[λου] (or δοῦ[λων] |, followed by a number) is a possible, but less likely, division. A name, either that of the slave or his master (σοῦ?), probably followed δοῦ[λου].

11. ἀφανῆς: cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 342. 9 ἀφανείς ἐγένοντο.

12. γρ . κ( ) : or π . κ( ). The last letter is written above the line and the preceding one is more like σ or γ than α.

13. The year is restored from 1452. 14; cf. int.

15. The meaning of this addition is obscure. If κ is right, the hand is probably different, and the note, if a date, may be due to a ὑπηρέτης (cf. 1409. 23). The date of the receipt of the letter is, however, given in l. 1, being nearly three weeks later. (ἄρουραι) δ could be read and possibly assigned to the third hand, in which case there might be a reference to Achilles' property and a word like ἐπιοροῖς might be substituted in l. 11 for ἀφανῆς. But an addition by the third hand after the date is unlikely.

### 1423. AUTHORIZATION FOR THE ARREST OF A SLAVE.

27.3 × 11.4 cm.

Fourth century.

A formal authorization, addressed by one *officialis* on the praefect's staff to another, for the arrest of the writer's slave, who had run away with some of his property; cf. 1422 and 1643. The papyrus belongs to the middle or latter part of the fourth century. P. Gen. 79, a ὑπομνηστικόν of a *ducenarius* to his

*contubernalis* concerning the search for and arrest of a debtor, is somewhat similar; P. Brit. Mus. 233 (W. *Chrest.* 44) is a parallel *ἐντολή* on a different subject in A.D. 345.

Φλαού[ιος] Ἀμμωνᾶς ὀφφικιάλιος  
 τᾶ[ξ]εως ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου  
 Φλαοῦίω Δωροθέω ὀφφικιαλίω  
 χαίρειν. ἐντέλλομαί σοι  
 5 καὶ ἐπιτρέπω δοῦλόν μου  
 Μάγγρον κ[α]λούμενον δράσαν-  
 τα καὶ ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλι διατρίβοντα  
 καὶ τινά μου εἶδη ἀφελόμενον  
 δι[α]δήσας δέσμιον ἀγαγεῖν  
 10 με[τ]ὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Σέσφθα.  
 κυρία ἢ ἐντολή καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς  
 ὁμολόγησα. Φλαούιος Ἀμμο-  
 νᾶς ὀφφικιάλιος τάξεως  
 ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου πεποιήμαι  
 15 τήνδε τῆ[ν] ἐν]τολήν.

9. 1. δι[α]δήσαντι. 12. 1. ὁμολόγησα.

‘Flavius Ammonas, *officialis* on the staff of the praefect of Egypt, to Flavius Dorotheus, *officialis*, greeting. I order and depute you to arrest my slave called Magnus, who has run away and is staying at Hermopolis and has carried off certain articles belonging to me, and to bring him as a prisoner together with the head-man of Sesphta. This order is valid, and in answer to the formal question I gave my consent. I, Flavius Ammonas, *officialis* on the staff of the praefect of Egypt, have made this order.’

6. δράσαντα is apparently a novel form of the aorist of *διδράσκειν*, not from *δρᾶν*. The only alternative to *δρ* is *φ*, but *φυγόντα* cannot be read, and *φ(θ)άσαντα* is unsatisfactory.

9. δι[α]δήσας: or δι(α)δήσας.

10. τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Σέσφθα: i. e. the comarch. Sesphta was in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. 1416. 13, n.

#### 1424. LETTER OF A CENTURIO PRINCEPS.

25.5 × 14.2 cm.

About A.D. 318.

A letter from a *centurio princeps* (l. 2, n.) to his brother Heras, asking him to obtain the release of a *γεωργός*, i. e. tenant, of the writer from the post of tax-collector to which he had been appointed; cf. P. Grenf. ii. 82. The papyrus

was found with 1425 and 1448, and Heras was no doubt the *praepositus* of the 8th pagus, Aurelius Heras also called Dionysius, to whom 1425 is addressed.

Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἡραῖ  
 [Ἀμμώνιος (ἐκατόνταρχος) [ ] χαίρει[ν].  
 Φ[. .]. [· ὁ ἀ]π[ο]διδοῦ[ς σοι τὰ] παρ' ἐμ[οῦ]  
 [γ]ράμμα[τ]α γεωργός μο[υ] τυγχάνει.  
 5 φησὶν προβεβλήσθαι εἰς λειτουργίαν  
 τῆς κώμης Δωσιθέ[ο]υ, τουτέστιν  
 εἰς ἀπαίτησιν στιχαρίων καὶ παλλίων,  
 μηδέπω δὲ ἐγκεχειρίσθαι τὴν ἀπαί-  
 τησιν. σπούδασον τοίνυν, ἀδελφέ,  
 10 τοῦτον ῥύσασθαι τοῦ λειτουργήματος,  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ δεξιῶς αὐτῷ προσ(σ)χεῖν,  
 τὰ μεγάλα μοι χαριζόμενος ἐν τούτῳ,  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπι-  
 τρέπειν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης  
 15 ἀδικῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 μηδ' εἰς ἑτέρας λειτουργίας προ-  
 βάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα μοι μαρτυρήσῃ  
 τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως  
 αὐτῷ ὑπαρχθέντα. ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι  
 20 πολλοῖς χρόνοις,  
 κύριε ἀδελφέ.

On the verso

κ[υ]ρί[ω] μου ἀδελφῷ Ἡραῖ Ἀμμώνιος πρίγκιψ.

2. χχ Π. 6. τουτ' Π. 17. ἵνα Π. 21. ad of ἀδελφε corr. from μ (i.e. the beginning of μου).

'To my lord and brother Heras Ammonius, centurion, greeting. Ph . . ., the bearer of my letter, is my tenant. He states that he has been appointed to a public office at the village of Dositheou, namely the collectorship of tunics and cloaks, but has not yet been entrusted with the collection. Accordingly use all your efforts, brother, to rescue him from the office, and also to give him your favourable consideration, thereby conferring a great favour upon me, and further not to allow in future the people of the village to injure him in other respects or appoint him to other offices, but let him testify to the benefits gained by your good will. I pray for your continued health, my lord and brother. (Addressed) To my lord and brother Heras from Ammonius, *princeps*.'

2. (ἐκατόνταρχος): cf. l. 22 *πρίγκιψ*, and *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* ii. 894 *κεντυρίων ὁ καὶ πρίγκιψ σπέρας Θρακῶν*; in C. I. L. iii. 7631 two *centuriones principes* occur in the same cohort; cf. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, 56.

3. The first letter had a long tail, i. e. either ι, ρ, φ, or ψ.

6. *Δωσιθέου*: cf. 1425. 4, n.

7. *στιχαρίων καὶ παλλίων*: cf. 1448. int.

#### 1425. APPOINTMENT OF A WORKMAN AT PELUSIUM.

13.8 × 14.1 cm.

A. D. 318.

An official return, addressed to the *praepositus* of the 8th pagus (l. 4, n.), nominating a person to act as donkey-driver at Pelusium in connexion with the State transport service. Such returns were generally written by comarchs, e. g. 1254. 14 sqq., 1426, P. Amh. 139, Flor. 2, P. S. I. 219 (cf. 162. 21), P. Brit. Mus. 1246-8; the present return is from a *tesserarius* (l. 5, n.).

Ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικ[ι]ννίου

Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε καὶ Κρίσπου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου

Καίσαρος τὸ α.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡραῖ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ πραιπ(οσίτῳ) ἡ πάγου νομ(οῦ)

Ὁξί(υρυγχίτου)

5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀτρήτος Ἱερακίωνος τεσσαλαρίου  
κώμης Δωσιθέου τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ πάγου. δίδομι τῷ ἰ-  
δίῳ μου κινδύνῳ πρὸς ἄμιψιν τοῦ ἐν τῷ Πη-  
λουσίῳ ὀνηλάτου ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκὶ ὄντος τὸν ἐξῆς  
ἐνγεγραμμένον [δ]ντα εὔπορον καὶ ἐπιτή-

10 διον πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν· ἔστι δὲ

Αὐρήλιος Ὁρ[ο]ς Παθώθου ἀπὸ τῆς

αὐτῆς κώμ[η]ς.

ὑπατίας τῆς [προκιμ]ένης Φαρμουθι ἡ.

2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Ἀτρ[ῆ]ς ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιος

15 Ἀμμωνᾶς [ἔγραψα] ὑπ(ἐρ) μὴ εἰδὸτος γράμματα.

1. ὑπατίας Π.

5. ἱερακίωνος Π. 1. τεσσαραρίου.

6. 1. δίδωμι. ἴδιω Π.

11.

1. Παθώθου.

‘In the consulship of our lords Licinius Augustus for the fifth time and Crispus the most illustrious Caesar for the first time. To Aurelius Heras also called Dionysius, praepositus of the eighth pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Hatres son of Hieracion, *tesserarius* of the village of Dositheou in the pagus under your charge. I present

at my own risk in relief of the donkey-driver at Pelusium in place of the one now there the person below written, who is a man of means and suitable for the duty, namely Aurelius Horus son of Pathotes, of the said village. In the consulship aforesaid, Pharmouthi 18. I, Aurelius Hatres, presented this. I, Aurelius Ammonas, wrote for him as he is illiterate.'

4. Ἀρχηλίφ Ἡρά: cf. 1424. int.

ἡ πάγ(ου): the arrangement of villages by pagi instead of toparchies (cf. 1285) was introduced by 310; cf. Gelzer, *Studien*, 57. Dositheou (l. 6), which was in the lower toparchy, occurs with Teis, Paomis, Palosis, and Kesmouchis, which were all in the Thmoisepho top., in a list of villages of the 8th pagus in P. Giessen 115, and the same five villages are grouped together in 1448 along with Souis, which was in the lower top., Tholthis (either that in the lower top. or that in the Thmoisepho top.), and several apparently smaller villages, all of which are likely to have been in the 8th pagus. The Giessen papyrus assigns Iseum Tryphonos, which was in the lower top., Psobthis (probably that in the lower top.), and three other villages, of which the names are imperfectly preserved, to the 9th pagus, and Sesptha (also in the lower top.) to the 10th. Nigrou and Sadalou, both in the upper top., were in the 2nd pagus (1426. 6-7); Lile (67. 5), Sarapionos Chaeremonos (1190. 19, where no correction of the text is required), Taampemou (901. 4), and Phoboou (1041. 4), all villages of the eastern top., were in the 5th pagus. Paneui, which was in the western top., perhaps belonged to the 3rd pagus (1559. 9). There were six toparchies in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and, as far as the evidence goes, the numbering of the pagi seems to correspond with the order of the toparchies in 1285, which begin with the upper and end with the lower (cf. 1421. 3, n.), so that the villages of the western top. may well have belonged to the 3rd and 4th pagi, and those of the middle top. to the 6th and 7th, while the 1st pagus was presumably part of the former upper top., like the 2nd. It is probable, but not certain, that the Oxyrhynchite nome had only ten pagi; the Hermopolite nome, which was larger, had apparently seventeen (cf. P. Flor. 71. 71 where *ἑξ πάγων* occurs, but the figures in ll. 69-71 are not in the right order, and P. Cairo Preisigke 46. 14).

5. τεσσα(ρ)αρίου: for military *tesserarii* at Oxyrhynchus cf. 43. ii. 21. In 1430. 4 a *tesserarius* of a village takes precedence of comarchs, but in P. Goodsp. 12. 6 a *κοιναδράριος*, who seems to be identical with our *τεσσαράριος*, is mentioned after an *ἔφορος* and comarchs. The village *tesserarii* bear Egyptian names, and are perhaps different from the military ones, though the *tesserarius* was not a very high officer, ranking below the *signifer* and *optio*; cf. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, 43. Preisigke's *S. B.* 2267 is a similar return by a *ληστοπιαστής*.

8. ὀνηλάτου: on the *δημόσιοι ὀνηλάται* see Wilcken, *Grundz.* 377.

#### 1426. APPOINTMENT OF A WORKMAN ON TRAJAN'S RIVER.

26.3 × 8.7 cm.

A. D. 332.

A return, similar to 1425, addressed by the comarchs (cf. 1425. int.) of two villages in the 2nd pagus (cf. 1425. 4, n.) to an interesting collocation of officials (ll. 3-4, nn.) who had taken the place of the strategus and basilicogrammateus. At the end only the date giving the month and the signatures are missing; cf. 1425. 13-15. The workman nominated was required for repairs of Trajan's river, which connected Babylon with the Gulf of Suez.

- Ὑπατ[ε]ί[α]ς Οὐλπίου Πακατιανοῦ τοῦ  
 λαμπροτάτου) ἐπάρχου καὶ Μεκιλίου Ἰλαριανοῦ.  
 Φλαουίῳ Ἑρμείᾳ λογιστῆ καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ  
 Ἀχιλλίῳ ἐκδίκῳ καὶ Πτολεμίῳ γρα(μματεῖ) Ὀξυ(ρυγχίτου)  
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρᾶ Σ[. .]τρος κωμάρχ(ου)  
 Σαδάλου καὶ Φιλιστίου Δι[ον]υσίου κωμάρχου  
 Νίγρου β' πάγου. δίδομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν  
 [κι]νδύνῳ τὸν ἐπιμερισθέντα ταῖς  
 [κ]ώμαις ἡμῶν ἐργάτην τῶν ἀποσ-  
 10 [τ]ελλομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Τραιανὸν ποτα-  
 [μ]ὸν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὸν κατελθῖν καὶ  
 [τ]ῆν χώραν ἀποπληρῶσαι μὴ ἀπο-  
 [λι]νπανόμε[ν]ον ἄχρις ἂν ἀπολυθῆ,  
 ὃν καὶ ἐγγυώμεθα ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ  
 15 ἐκτελοῦντα τὴν χρεῖαν εἰς τὸ ἐν μη-  
 δευὶ μεμφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ Α[ὐ]ρήλιος  
 Ἀτρῆς Φαβούλου [  
 ἀπὸ κώμης Νί[γ]ρου [  
 [            ] ὄ[ς] (ἐτῶν ?) [ . .  
 . . . . .

2. 1. Μακιλίου.  
14. ἐγγυώμεθα Π.

4. τ of πτολεμω corr. from λ.

7. ἴδιω Π.

10. τραϊανου Π.

'In the consulship of Ulpius Pacatianus, the most illustrious praefect, and Maecilius Hilarianus. To Flavius Hermias, logistes, and Aurelius Achillion, *defensor*, and Ptolemius, scribe, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Heras son of S . . ., comarch of Sadalou, and Aurelius Philistius son of Dionysius, comarch of Nigrou, in the 2nd pagus. We present at our own risk the workman apportioned to our villages out of those to be sent to Trajan's river, on the understanding that he is to make the journey and fill the post without deserting it before he is discharged, and we are sureties of our own free will for his performance of the duties to complete satisfaction. His name is Aurelius Hatres son of Fabulus, of the village of Nigrou, aged about . . . years. . . .'

1. Οὐλπίου Πακατιανοῦ: the name of this consul (in P. Cairo 10515 Πακατιανός simply) is given variously by Athanasius as Papinius Pacatianus and Fabius Pacatianus; cf. Liebenam, *Fasti consulares*, 35. Οὐνίου is a less satisfactory reading.

3. λογιστῆ: the earliest mention of a logistes (= *curator*; cf. P. Leipzig 40. ii. 8) at Oxyrhynchus is in A.D. 305 (895. 3), the latest in 363 (1116. 3). At Heracleopolis a logistes occurs in 288, if the lost B. G. U. 928 is rightly assigned to that year; but the reading and correction of the date there are uncertain. Wilcken (*Chrest.* 80), following Mommsen, considers him to be not, as the curator was in earlier centuries, an extraordinary

magistrate belonging to the central administration, but a permanent municipal officer appointed by the senate. We do not, however, think that that view suits 1104, where a λογιστής is requested by a prytanis to ask an ἐπίτροπος to make a payment from the πολιτικά (1419. 2, n.), or the other evidence concerning Egyptian λογισταί; and that they were officials of the central government appointed from outside seems more probable for the fourth century. Later they may have been appointed by the senate; cf. P. Flor. 352. 2 (fifth century) πολιτευόμενος καὶ λογιστής. The logistes apparently succeeded to many of the functions of the strategus; cf. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 463. For another instance of a nomination addressed to him see 1116, written by a συστάτης. In earlier times such nominations were sent to the strategus, c. g. 1254.

4. ἐκδικῶ: this is the earliest mention of the ἔκδικος (*defensor*) in Egypt, the next being in 336 (901. 3 διοικούντι ἐκδικίαν Ὀξυρυγχίτου); cf. Druffel, *Papyrol. Stud.* i. 35 sqq., and 902. 1, n. He here ranks below the logistes (*curator*), with whom he is not elsewhere associated in Egyptian texts.

γρα(μματεῖ) Ὀξυ(ρυγχίτου): Ὀξυ(ρυγχίτου) refers to all three titles, not to the last only. The γρα(μματεῦς) of the nome (though the papyrus is damaged, there is little doubt about the reading) seems to correspond to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεῦς of former centuries, but has not occurred previously in fourth-century papyri.

10. Τραιανὸν ποταμόν: cf. Ptol. iv. 5. The Τραιανῆ διώρυξ, of which an ἐργάτης and ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς ἀνακαθάρσεως are mentioned in P. S. I. 87 (A. D. 423, from Oxyrhynchus), is likely to be identical, rather than a canal in the Oxyrhynchite nome, as supposed by the edd.

## 1427. ORDER TO WORKMEN ON DELTA EMBANKMENTS.

5.1 × 6.5 cm.

Third century.

The recto of this papyrus, which is incomplete at the bottom, is blank. On the verso is a short order from a scribe of diggers employed by the government in repairing canals to work for fifteen days on the river Talu, which according to Ptolemy diverged from the main western branch at Hermopolis Parva (*Damanhūr*) and issued at the Bolbitine mouth. Kore (l. 1) is likely to have been a village in that part of Egypt. The work in question was paid for (ll. 4-5), and is to be distinguished from the *corvée* for working at canals, on which see 1409. The handwriting is small and very cursive with numerous abbreviations, some of which are obscure. The 3rd year in the date (l. 6) refers to a third-century reign, probably not later than that of Valerian and Gallienus.

Αὐρήλ(ιος) Τιθοητίων γρα(μματεῦς) π(ο)τ(αμιτῶν?) Κορῆ δι'  
 ἐμοῦ Μέλανος φίλου συγγρα(μματεῦν)τι καὶ π(ο)τ(αμίταις?)  
 χαίρειν. συνεχ(ῶς?) ναυβ(ίων) μάλιστα τὸ κε(φάλαιον?)  
 ἐργάσασθαι ἐν ὕδασι Τάλου τοῦ συνήθ(ους)

5 φόρου ἡμερῶν δεκάπεντε, / ιε.

(ἔτους) γ Παῦνι κς.

4. 1. ἐργάσασθε? ὕδασι Π.

‘Aurelius Tithoëtion, scribe of the river-workmen of Kore, through me, Melas, his friend, to his colleague and the river-workmen, greeting. By continuous labour dig the whole amount of naubia in the waters of Talu at the customary rate of payment for fifteen days, total 15. The 3rd year, Pauni 26.’

1.  $\pi(\circ)\tau(\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon)$ : for  $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$  cf. 1053. 2 and n. The word suits the context, but the reading here is not certain and  $\pi(\circ)\tau(\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\upsilon\upsilon)$  in l. 2 is even more doubtful. The first letter is more like  $\pi$  than  $\gamma\rho$ , but the supposed  $\tau$  may in both places be a stroke representing abbreviation.

2.  $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha(\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota)$ : the flourish representing  $\alpha$  is written somewhat differently from that in  $\gamma\gamma\alpha(\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma)$  in l. 1, and the first letter might be  $\alpha$  instead of  $\sigma$ ; but no proper name suggests itself, and the reading adopted gives an appropriate sense.  $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$  is apparently not found elsewhere.

3-4. If  $\nu\alpha\upsilon\beta(\ )$  is right, the scribe has run the  $\alpha\nu$  together, as not infrequently happens in the cursive writing of this century; cf. 1410. 1-2, 10, nn., and 1475. int. The  $\nu\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\beta\iota\omega\upsilon$  at this period was a cube of 1  $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega\upsilon$  or 3 royal cubits (669 and 1053. int.), and digging 5  $\nu\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\beta\iota\alpha$  perhaps constituted an average day's work (Milne, *Theban Ost.* p. 146), but receipts for much smaller amounts of  $\nu\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\beta\iota\alpha$  are also common. Though the supposed  $\epsilon$  at the end of the line may be nothing more than a stroke over the  $\kappa$ , it is not satisfactory to connect  $\bar{\kappa}$  with  $\nu\alpha\upsilon\beta(\ )$ ; for 20 naubia are too small an amount for fifteen days' work by at least two persons, and more probably a considerable number (l. 2), and  $\tau\omicron$  would then be left unaccounted for,  $\tau\bar{\kappa}$ , i.e. 320, being inadmissible. The construction of  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$  is not clear. If it is an infinitive, the only place for the main verb would be  $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi(\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon)$  or  $-\chi(\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\epsilon)$ , which does not combine suitably with the following words, whether  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$  depends on it or on e.g.  $\kappa\epsilon(\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon)$ ; hence we prefer to regard  $-\theta\alpha\iota$  as a misspelling of  $-\theta\epsilon$ .  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$  is also not quite certain, the third letter possibly being  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$ .  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$  however, which seems to be the only alternative, does not suit the context, though the  $\nu\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\beta\iota\omega\upsilon$  varied in size, being  $\frac{1}{3}$  smaller in Ptolemaic times than in late Roman (Jouguet, P. Lille 1. int.).

#### 1428. LETTER OF A PRAESES (?) TO AN EXACTOR.

24 x 21.3 cm.

Fourth century.

A letter from Nicon, a high official, to the *exactor* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, ordering him to help in expediting the manufacture of clothing required by the State, for which cf. 1414. int. and 1448. On the office of *exactor*, which is first mentioned in the fourth century and was sometimes identified with that of strategus (*Archiv.* iii. 348  $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}\hat{\nu}$  [ἦ]τοι ἐξάκτορι Ἐρμοπολίτ[ου]), see Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* vi. 1542 sqq., Gelzer, *Studien*, 50 sqq., Wilcken, *Grundz.* 229. In the present text, as often elsewhere, he seems to be concerned with the collection of arrears; cf. l. 2, n. The fact that Nicon sends an *officialis* (l. 12; cf. P. Leipzig 64. 15), and speaks of a centurion as a subordinate (ll. 7-8) and of Alexandria as if he were not there himself (ll. 3-4), combined with the general resemblance to P. Leipzig 64, strongly suggests that he was a *praeses* of the province Herculia or, as it was called after 341 (cf. 1559. 8 and Gelzer, *op. cit.* 3 sqq.), Augustamnica, the head-quarters of which are likely to have been



at Memphis or Babylon. The script is a large clear cursive, probably of about the middle of the fourth century; the document was apparently a copy made by a clerk, but signed by Nikon himself.

Ἀ(ντίγραφον).

. . .]s Νίκων ἐξάκτορι Ὀξυρρυχίτου χαίρειν.  
 [ἦλθ]εν εἰς ἐμὴν γνῶσιν ὡς Πτολεμ[αίου]ν τοῦ ἐπίκτου  
 [τῆς] ὀθόνης εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδριαν ἀπαντήσαντος.  
 5 [ὑπ]έρ τοῦ τοίνυν μὴ ἐνέδραν ἐπακολουθῆσαι περὶ τὴν  
 [ἐξυ]φήν τῆς αὐτῆς ὀθόνης, φρόντισον τὴν ἀποτε-  
 [ταγ]μένην τῷ μέρι βοήθειαν παρασχεῖν Σαραπίωνι τῷ  
 [ἐκα]τοντάρχῳ καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὀφφ(ικιάλιον) πρὸς τὸ καταναγ-  
 [κασ]θῆναι τοὺς ὑπευθύνους τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀνεπι-  
 10 [κλή]τοις τοῖς ὑφάσμασιν κατασκευάσαι, ἄχρις ἂν  
 [ὁ π]ροειρημένος Πτολεμαῖος ἀπαντήσῃ. διὰ  
 [δὲ] τοῦτο ἀπέστिला τὸν προειρημένον ὀφφικιά-  
 [λιον]. (2nd hand) ἐρρῶσθ[αί σ]ε εὐχομαι.

5. Second *ν* of *ενεδραν* corr. from *ς*. 9. *υπευθυνους* Π. 10. *υφασμασιν* Π. 12. *α* of *οφφικια*[λιον] corr. from *ο*.

‘Copy. . . s Nikon to the *exactor* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. It has come to my knowledge that Ptolemaeus, the collector of linen, has gone to Alexandria. So to prevent any deception from occurring in connexion with the completion (?) of the weaving of the said linen, take care to provide Sarapion the centurion with the assistance assigned to your division, and with the services of Antonius the *officialis*, in order that the persons responsible may be compelled to manufacture the clothing in irreproachable (?) materials, until the aforesaid Ptolemaeus comes. For this reason I have sent the aforesaid *officialis*. I pray for your health.’

1. *ἀντίγραφον* is abbreviated *α/*, as here, in 1470. 8; cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1073. 1.

2. . . ]s: there is barely room for even Γάιο]s, if this line was uniform with those following; but it may have projected by three or four letters.

ἐξάκτορι Ὀξυρρυχίτου: there was probably only one *exactor* for each nome when 1428 was written; cf. P. Leipzig 51. 3 ἐξάκτωρ Ὑψ[ηλ]ίτ(ο)υ and *Archiv*, iii. 348 quoted in int. Late in the fourth century two or more *exactores* are found acting together; cf. P. Leipzig 62. i. 9 and Flor. 95. 60. Gelzer, followed by Wilcken, regards these as a quite different and much lower grade of officials, on the level of *πράκτορες*, but the evidence for that is inconclusive. If the *exactores* came in towards the end of the process of tax-collecting and were specially concerned with arrears, as Seeck supposed, the smallness of the sums collected by them as compared with those collected by *ὑποδέκται* in P. Leipzig 62 would be explained, and 1428 rather supports Seeck's view, which Gelzer and Wilcken reject. Concerning B. G. U. 1027. xxvi. 10 (late fourth century), where ἐξάκτορες rank above *πρόεδροι* and seem to be just as important as in the earlier P. Leipzig 64 or 1428, Wilcken (*Grundz.* 229<sup>o</sup>) is

disposed to abandon his former explanation (*op. Gelzer, op. cit.* 50) that ἐξάκτορες of different years are meant. *Griech. Texte* 18 is too incomplete to show the character of the ἐξάκ(τωρ).

3. [ἦλθ]εν εἰς ἐμὴν γνώσιν: cf. P. Leipzig 64. 29 (*W. Chrest.* 281) ἦλθεν εἰς γνώσιν τῆς ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως in a letter of the *praeses* of the Thebaid (cf. int.), who proceeds, more correctly than Nikon, with ὅτι and the indicative.

ἐπίκτου [τῆς] ὀθόνης: this title is new, but cf. 1257. 13 τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπέικτου δημοσίου σίτου, 1413. 25 ἐπ. χρυσοῦ στεφάνου, and 1412. int.

6. [ἐξν]φήν: a compound of ὑφή is required (cf. l. 10 ὑφάσματος), and [ἐξν]φήν, though not attested, suits the size of the lacuna much better than [λν]υφήν (also unattested) or [σνν]υφήν.

9-10. ἀνεπι[κλή]τοις: ε can be read for α and π or γ for τ, while the last letter is more like ο than σ; but ἐν ἐπι[τηδ]είοις is inadmissible and ]ποισοις (for ]ποιητοις?) suggests no suitable word. The second τοῖς may be a dittography.

#### 1429. LETTER OF A LESSEE OF THE ALUM-MONOPOLY.

5.5 × 6.6 cm.

A. D. 300.

A short letter in the reign of Diocletian from a lessee of the alum-monopoly, probably at Oxyrhynchus, to one of his agents, announcing the dispatch of some alum and nasturtium-powder. Concerning the alum-monopoly the only evidence hitherto has been B. G. U. 697 (*W. Chrest.* 321), an acknowledgement by ἐπιτηρηταί at Arsinoë of the receipt of alum transported from the Small Oasis, upon which they paid the octroi duty and carriage. 1429 confirms Wilcken's interpretation of B. G. U. 697 and throws some light on the nature of the monopoly; cf. ll. 1-2, n.

Αὐρήλ(ιος) Μακρόβιος μισθωτ(ῆς) ἀσχολ(ήματος)  
 στυπτηρίας δι' ἐμοῦ Καισαρίου  
 γρα(μματέως) Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσακ χι(ριστῆ) χαίρειν. ἔπεμ-  
 ψά σοι στυπτηρίαν μίαν Ἰτ(αλικήν) δι(ὰ)  
 5 Ἰσιδώρου, καρδάμου ο(ὐ)γκίας β (κεράτια ?) η.  
 (ἔτους) ις καὶ ιε καὶ (ἔτους) η  
 Τῦβι κη.

1. ρ of αὐρηλιος corr. from υ.      3. ἴσακ Π.      5. ἰσιδωρου . . . 4 Π.

‘Aurelius Macrobius, lessee of the administration of alum, through me, Caesarius, clerk, to Aurelius Isaac, agent, greeting. I have sent you one Italian pound of alum through Isidorus, and 2 ounces, 8 carats of nasturtium-powder. The 16th, 15th, and 8th year, Tubi 28.’

1-2. μισθωτ(ῆς) ἀσχολ(ήματος) στυπτηρίας: cf. 977, a receipt of the φόρος of an ἀσχόλημα which was clearly parallel to, possibly even identical with, that mentioned here, P. Fay. 93. 5-6 (*W. Chrest.* 317) βούλωμαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν μυροπωλακὴν καὶ ἀροματικὴν ἐργασίαν,

and Wilcken, *Grundz.* 257. The use of the word ἀσχόλ(η)μα is consistent with the view that Macrobius was engaged in the production as well as the sale of the alum, which was probably obtained from the Small Oasis (cf. int.). In 44. 6 οἱ τὸ ἐγκύκλιον ἀσχολούμενοι means the tax-farmers, and in P. Grenf. ii. 46 (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv.* v. 282) the ἀσχολούμενος τὸ γραφεῖον (cf. P. Tebt. 524) apparently corresponds to the δημοσιῶναι of the ἀγορανομεῖον in 44. 8 (cf. also P. Ryl. 95. 15 τῶν ἀσχολουμένων τὴν ἀνὴν ταύτην); but οἱ ἀσχολούμενοι τοὺς καταλοχισμοὺς in 45-6 seem to be government officials (cf. 1463. 22, n.), and in B. G. U. 1202. 4 a topogrammateus speaks of the λόγος of his ἀσχολία, i. e. office, so that the word is not confined to the farming of revenues; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 388. On the use of alum in antiquity see Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 610; to judge by its association with κάρδαμον, it was here probably going to be used for medical purposes rather than dyeing (467. 7).

4. στυπτηρίαν μίαν is for στυπτηρίας λίτραν μίαν, as is shown by the following Ἴτ(αλικήν) : for λίτραι Ἰταλικαί cf. e. g. 43. recto iii. 13, P. Leipzig 84. vii. 10. In B. G. U. 697 alum is measured by talents.

5. The οὐγκία is usually divided into 24 γράμματα, but the symbol before η resembles that for κεράτια in later Byzantine papyri, and is not in the least like the abbreviation of γράμματα, e. g. in 1430. 17. The κεράτιον (*siliqua*) was  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a γράμμα.

## 1430. PAYMENT FOR MAINTENANCE OF A PUBLIC BATH.

24.8 × 9.2 cm.

A. D. 324.

An acknowledgement, similar in character to 84 (A. D. 316), addressed to a strategus by village-officials, of the receipt of 12 talents 4,575 drachmae for charcoal supplied by them to the public bath of Oxyrhynchus. Payment was made as the equivalent partly of tow, a common article of commerce in the Byzantine period (cf. P. Giessen 103. 11, n.), partly of fine gold, of which  $10\frac{1}{2}$  γράμματα were valued at 7 talents 3,720 drachmae. The solidus of Constantine and his successors, being  $\frac{1}{72}$  of a pound, weighed 4 γράμματα (cf. P. Leipzig 62. ii. 31, Flor. 95. 10), and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  γρ. thus = a little over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  solidi. In the nearly contemporary papyrus 1653. 22-3 (A. D. 306) 58 γρ. are equated to 12 ὀλοκότῳα (aurei), but the gold in the case of 1653 may have been impure, and the aurei of Diocletian, which were  $\frac{1}{50}$  or  $\frac{1}{60}$  of a pound, were somewhat larger than the solidi of Constantine. The ratio between the value of gold and billon in 1430, in which about 3 talents = 1 solidus, is not nearly so high as in four Hermopolite papyri of the fourth century (Wessely, *Ein Altersindizium im Philogelos*, 41-2), in which a solidus is valued at 36, 100, 120, and  $183\frac{1}{3}$  talents; but it is much higher than the ratio fixed by Diocletian in his edict concerning the maximum tariff (cf. Babelon, *Traité de monnaies*, i. 611), where a denarius is reckoned as  $\frac{1}{50000}$  of a λίτρα of gold, so that only about 2,764 drachmae would be the worth of the metal in a Constantinian solidus. The fall in the value of the billon tetradrachm or denarius, which ceased to be coined in Egypt after 297 (Wilcken, *Grundz.* lxvi), was greatly accelerated in the reign of Constantine;

cf. 1431. int. and 1223. 32, where a solidus is valued as high as 2,020 μυριάδες (13,466 $\frac{2}{3}$  talents) near the end of the fourth century.

1430 was written during the civil war between Licinius and Constantine, when the names of the consuls were in doubt (l. 1, n.). The waning power of the strategus is shown by his being addressed like the praepositus of a pagus (l. 2, n.). The scribe of the body of the document was rather careless, mistakes, especially of omission, being frequent.

Τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ δ'.

Ἐρμεία στρατηγῶ Ὁξ(υρ)υγ(ί)του

παρὰ Ὀννώφισος Πεκύσιος

τεσσαλαρίου καὶ Παταήσιος Ταχ-

5 ὑρ(ι?)ος καὶ Παελένου Ἀρ(ά)χθου

κ(ωμ)άρχων, τῶν πάντων κ(ώ)μης

Ἐρακλείδου (τοῦ ὑπὸ) σὲ πάγου. ἀπέσχο-

μεν καὶ ἠριθμέμεθα παρὰ

Παύλου δημοσί(ων) χρημάτων τραπεξί(τ)ου

10 [[ε]] ἐξ ἐπιστάλματός σο[υ] ἃ τετάγ[με-

θα ἐπισταλῆναι ἐξοδισθῆναι

ἡμῖν (ὑ)πὲρ τιμῆν ἀντρακος χωρ(οῦ)ντος

εἰς τὸ δημόσιον πανίδιον

σιππίου κεν(τη)ναρίου α δεσ(μῶν) γ

15 (τάλαντα) ε (δραχμας) Ἰ, ὧν προ(α)πέσχομεν(?) (δραχμας) Βρμε, τὰ λοιπὰ

(τάλαντα) ε (δραχμας) ωνε, χρυσοῦ ἐρο(β)ρο(ο)ίζου

γρα(μμάτων) ιλ (τάλαντα) ζ (δραχμας) Ἰψκ, / ὁμοῦ {(τάλαντον) α}

(τάλαντα) ιβ (δραχμαί) Δφοε, πλήρη. κυρία

ἢ ἀποχή καὶ. [ἐπερ]ωτηθέντ[ε]ς ὠμολ(ογ)ή-

20 σαμεν.

ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Μεσορῆ ζ.

2nd hand Ὀννώφρις καὶ Παῆσις καὶ Παε[λένης]

ἠριθμήμεθα ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται. Ἰσίδωρος ἔγρα(ψα)

ὑπ(ερ) αὐτ(ῶν) μὴ εἰδ(ότων) γρά(μματα).

On the verso

25 ἀπό(δος) Ἐρμ(εία). [[. . .]]

3. l. Ὀννώφριος (cf. l. 22).

4. l. τεσσαραρίου . . . Παῆσιος (cf. l. 22).

7. o of

απεσχομεν corr. from } (sign of abbreviation). 8. 1. ἡριθμήμεθα. 12. 1. τιμῆς ἄνθρακος.  
 13. 1. βαλανίδιον. 15. ων ρ' Π. 16. 1. ἐνο(β)ρῦζον. 18. υ of κυρια corr. from ρ.

'Under the consuls to be appointed for the 4th time. To Hermias, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Onnophris son of Pekusis, *tesserarius*, and Paësis son of Tachuris (?), and Pahelenes son of Harachthes, comarchs, all of the village of Heraclides in the *pagus* under your jurisdiction. We have received from and been paid by Paulus, banker of public moneys, by your order the sums concerning which we were notified (?) that orders should be given for them to be paid to us, on account of the value of charcoal supplied to the public bath, for 1 hundredweight and 3 bundles of tow, 5 talents 3,000 drachmae, of which we have already received 2,145 dr., remainder 5 tal. 855 dr., for 10½ grammes of fine gold 7 talents 3,720 drachmae, in all 12 tal. 4,575 dr., in full. This receipt is valid, and in answer to the formal question we have given our consent. In the aforesaid consulship, Mesore 7. We, Onnophris, Paësis, and Pahelenes, have been paid, as aforesaid. I, Isidorus, wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate. (Addressed) Deliver to Hermias.'

1. The question which year is meant by *τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ δ'* is bound up with that concerning the date of the 6th consulship of Licinius and 2nd of Licinius Caesar, since the year *τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπ. τὸ γ'* apparently corresponded to the year following that consulship; cf. 42. 9 (as restored by Seeck [μετὰ τῆν ὑπατίαν] τῶν) and Jouguet's latest discussion in P. Thead. p. 212. The evidence of the present volume confirms Jouguet's view, based on the Theadelphia papyri, that the consulship in question was 322, not 323 as proposed by Mommsen and Viereck, and that *τοῖς ἐσ. ὑπ. τὸ δ'* (cf. P. Thead. 34 and 50. 28) means 324, not 325. The ordinary consuls of 325 occur in 1626. 23 (Pauni 1), as in 52. 1 (month lost), P. Thead. 7. 26 (month uncertain), 35. 11 (Epeiph 4); Mesore, in which month 1430 was written (l. 21), is much more likely to be ten months earlier than 1626. 23, than two months later. Even before the end of 324 the regular consuls of the year were recognized in Egypt (Preisigke, *S. B.* 5615. 16 *Χοῖακ κη*), and concerning the consuls of 325 no doubts are traceable. The latest extant dating which mentions Licinius' regnal years is 1574. 4, Tubi 26 of his 16th year, the 18th of Constantine (Jan. 22, 324), which shows that Constantine's conquest of Egypt was not effective before 324. The system of dating *τοῖς ἐσομένοις* (or *ἀποδειχθησομένοις*) *ὑπάτοις* in a series must have begun in Egypt in 321, if the 4th year was 324, and was apparently the result of Licinius' refusal to recognize the consuls of 321 appointed by Constantine, Crispus II and Constantine Caesar II; cf. Seeck, *Rhein. Mus.* lxii. 534. The consuls of 320, Constantine VI and Constantine Caesar, seem to have been accepted in Egypt without question; cf. P. Cairo 10567 verso. There is as yet no evidence from papyri of datings in 321, and whether Licinius appointed opposition consuls in that year is unknown. In 322, the 6th consulship of Licinius and 2nd of Licinius Caesar, covering the 10th–11th indiction in Egypt (C. P. R. 10; cf. *Führer*, 292), a curious phrase *μέλλουσι ὑπάτοις δευτέρα ἄμοιβῆ* occurs in P. Cairo 10622 after the consuls' names, and seems to be equivalent to *τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ β'*, a figure not yet attested. It shows that for some reason the dating by the consuls in office was insufficient, although these were known, and indicates either a doubt about the validity of the 6th consulship of Licinius and 2nd of Licinius Caesar (who were of course not recognized by Constantine), or else an attempt to start dating by an era. That many efforts were made in the early part of the fourth century to substitute eras for consular datings is now clear from 1431, and the year 321, in which the system of dating by consuls broke down in Egypt probably much more completely than in any year since the introduction of that system by Diocletian, may have been chosen as the starting-point of an era *τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις*, which survived for four years, and possibly represents a deliberate attempt on the part of scribes to simplify the official calendar.

2. Ἑρμεία στρατηγῶ: cf. 60. 1, written in Mesore τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ'. A strategus is found in the Oxyrhynchite nome as late as 362 (1057. 2), and no instance from that nome has occurred in which he is identified with an *exactor* (cf. 1428. int.). In l. 7, if (τοῦ ὑπὸ) σὲ πάγου is more than a phrase taken from the customary address to a *praepositus* (cf. e. g. 1425. 6), the strategus had become one of the *praepositi* of the 10 pagi of the nome (cf. 1425. 4, n.); but without corroborative evidence we are rather disposed to regard σὲ πάγου as due to a reminiscence, and not really inconsistent with Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου). The strategus is still found exercising judicial powers in 66 (357) and probably 1470 (336).

4. τεσ(σ)α(ρ)αρίον: cf. 1425. 5, n.

5. Ἀρ(ά)χθου: cf. Ἀράχθης in e. g. a contract of sale to be published in Part xiii.

7. Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον, as this κώμη is generally called, was in the western toparchy (1285. 72), and probably in the 3rd or 4th pagus (1425. 4, n.). For (τοῦ ὑπὸ) σὲ πάγου cf. l. 2, n. σὲ πάγου is inadmissible.

9. δημοσί(ων) χρημάτων τραπεζί(του): these words are very badly written, but the reading is confirmed by 84. 8-9 δημοσίων χρ[η]μάτων (so Wilcken, *Chrest.* 197. int. for λη[μ]μάτων τραπ(εζίτου).

10. τετάγ[με]θα: cf. 84. 12. The precise meaning is not clear. An equivalent to αἰτούμεθα in 55. 6, C. P. Herm. 56. 3-5 would rather be expected.

12. χωρ(οῦντος): cf. e. g. 84. 15, 890. 8.

13. πανίδιον is apparently a mistake for βαλανεῖον or βαλανίδιον; cf. e. g. 53. 6, 1499. 3.

14. For σίππιον, i. e. στύππιον, see Reil, *Beiträge*, 123, P. Giessen 111. 3, n. The relation of a δέσμη to a κεντηγάριον, which is used also for measuring iron in 84. 14 and charcoal in P. Amh. 138. 13, is unknown.

15. ὦν προ(σπέσχομεν?): the abbreviation (cf. the critical n.) is similar to that used for ἑκατοσταί (e. g. 1286. 6) or προσδιαγραφόμενα (e. g. 1436), but since the sum in question is deducted from the main sum, not added to it, and the payment was made by, not to, the government, neither of those words is suitable here. In 1449. 19, 48, 52 it is used for προ(σ). For προσπέχειν cf. P. Tebt. 399. 14.

τὰ λοιπά: the use of the accusative here indicates that the symbols for talents and drachmae in ll. 15-17 are in the accusative, and the abbreviations in l. 14 in the genitive, not vice versa. The original arrangement was for payment in tow and gold, for which the government substituted billon.

16. ἐνο(β)ρ(ύ)ζου: cf. P. Leipzig 62. 7 μετὰ τῆς ὀρισθείσης ὀ{μ}βρύζης.

#### 1431. PREPARATIONS FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT.

8.3 × 25.8 cm.

A. D. 352.

An order to an agent (χειριστής; cf. e. g. 1429. 3) to pay a carpet-manufacturer the price of a carpet required for the approaching visit of the *dux*, who was the supreme military authority in Egypt in the middle of the fourth century; cf. P. Brit. Mus. ii, p. 270. That the writer occupied an official position is not certain, but he must have been a fairly rich man, for the carpet cost 1,500 talents, a considerable sum even though the billon coinage was much depreciated; cf. 1430. int. The equivalent amount of δηναρίων μυριάδες is stated, and the meaning of that phrase, which has been misinterpreted (l. 3, n.), becomes clear. Another interesting point in the papyrus is the three-fold date, which is fortunately

explained by 1632. It refers to three local eras, starting in the years 307, 325, and 341, and distinct from the two well-known Oxyrhynchite eras beginning in 324 and 355, which soon superseded the rest; cf. l. 5, n.

The writing is along the fibres of the verso, the recto being blank.

Ἀθανάσιος Σαραπίωνι χ(ειριστῆ) χαίρειν.

δὸς Γενναδίῳ ταπηταρίῳ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ταπητίου ἐν τῇ ἐπι-

δημίᾳ τοῦ δουκὸς ἀργυρίου δηναρίων μυριάδας διακοσίας

εἴκοσι πέντ[ε,] ἃ ἔστι (τάλαντα) Ἀφ. (2nd hand) ἐρρῶσθαι σε εὐχομαι.

1st hand 5 με (ἔτους) κς (ἔτους) ια (ἔτους) [T]θ[β]; η.

Ἀthanasius to Sarapion, agent, greeting. Give Gennadius the carpet-maker for the price of a carpet on the occasion of the visit of the *dux* 2,250,000 denarii, equivalent to 1,500 talents. I pray for your health. The 45th, 27th, and 11th year, Tubi 8.

2. For ταπητάριος cf. B.G.U. 1082.2 : in 999 it seems to be used as a proper name. The form ταπιτᾶς occurs in 1517. 3. The price of a τάπης Αἰγύπτιος in the Éd. Diocl. 19, 21 is only 1,750 denarii; cf. 1430. int.

ἐπιδημία : cf. 1261. 7, n., P. Brit. Mus. 1159 (iii. 112), Wilcken, *Archiv.*, iv. 374.

3. δηναρίων μυριάδας : this phrase first occurred in P. Brit. Mus. 248 (ii. 306), where items of 675 talents (l. 13), 90 talents (l. 15), 140 (δηναρίων) μυριάδες (l. 19), and perhaps another (ll. 16-17) make a total of 259 δηναρίων μυριάδες (ll. 21-2; τ[ετρα]κόσιε in l. 21 is incorrect; l. διακόσιαι). Kenyon regarded 459 μυριάδες as a conversion of only the two items in talents, ignoring the 140 μυριάδες, which, as he supposed, were accounted for in the mutilated lines 16-18. Hence he deduced the equivalence of the denarius and drachma, which was accepted by Wessely, *Ein Altersind. im Philog.* 30. But the conversion in 1431, which corresponds to the conversion of 300 δην. μυρ. into 2,000 talents in B. G. U. 1049. 13 (A. D. 342), indicates that the denarius was reckoned, as would be expected, at the usual rate of 4 drachmae, and the sums mentioned in ll. 16-19 of the British Museum papyrus are clearly to be included in the total, of which the 675 + 90 = 765 talents (nearly 115 δην. μυρ.) formed only a part (in l. 17 l. καὶ εἰς λόγον ἔργων).

5. Cf. 1632. 9, dated in 353, where the 47th, 29th, and 2nd years correspond to the 12th indiction (i. e. 353-4). The first two of these eras, separated by eighteen years and dating from 307-8 and 325-6 respectively, are also now to be recognized in 92. 4, where the third is to be read δ (ἔτους), as suggested in the int. That papyrus equates the 31st, 13th, and 4th years, and belongs to the year 337, not to 335, as doubtfully explained by reference to the years of Constantine and Constantius. A fourth example of a triple dating, in which the first two eras are probably the same as in the other three instances, is 1575. 4; but the figures are uncertain. The variation with regard to the third era is striking: in 1431 it dates from 341, in 1632 from 352, in 92 from 334. Since eras at Oxyrhynchus dating from 324 and 355 (cf. 125. int.) were known previously from numerous examples, of which the earliest so far is 1056 (37th and 6th year, 360-1), there are now no less than seven different eras attested between 307 and 355. With regard to the month in which they began, in 125. int. we supposed that the eras of 324 and 355 began on Thoth 1 (Aug. 29) like regnal years, and this view was confirmed by 1116. 11-15 ἐφ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα τῶν ἀπ[ὸ] ν[ε]ομηνίας Θῶθ ἕως Μεσορῆ ἐπαγ. πέμπτῃς . . . τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους μ (ἔτους) θ (ἔτους). But the years on the eras of 307, 325, and 352 apparently coincided with the indiction-year (cf. 1632. int.),

which commenced in one of the summer months Pachon, Pauni, Epeiph, or Mesore (in the case of 1632 on or before Mesore 1) and varied from year to year, and P. Flor. 325 raises a difficulty with regard to the eras of 324 and 355. That papyrus is dated on Pachon 25 of the year after the consulship of Longinus, 12th indiction, and speaks of the 165th and 134th year (i. e. 488-9) as *ἐνεστὸς*. The year after the consulship of Longinus is 487, and Vitelli proposed to insert τὸ β' after the consulship (cf. 1130. 3, n., for a parallel instance of the omission of τὸ β'). Pachon 25 can belong either to the beginning or the end of an indiction; but if the year in question was 488, the 12th indiction had begun and the new year by the two eras of 324 and 355 had apparently begun with it. If the papyrus belongs to 489, the indiction was ending, and there would be nothing to show whether the years by the eras ended with it or at the end of Mesore; but it is then necessary to insert τὸ γ', which is unsatisfactory. Hence the starting-point of the year on the various eras remains in doubt, especially as it need not have been the same in each era.

The following table combines the evidence of the years by Oxyrhynchite eras in use up to 360, after which date only the eras of 324 and 355 are found.

	Year	Day	Eras						
			307	324	325	334	341	352	355
92	337	Oct. 15	31	..	13	4	..	..	..
1575	339	May 26	32?	..	[14]	5?	..	..	..
1431	352	Jan. 4.	45	..	27	..	11	..	..
1632	353	July 25	47	..	29	..	..	2	..
1056	360	Oct. 10	..	37	..	..	..	..	6

From 325-360 there seem to have been two contending parties, one dating by the eras of 307 and 325, and after 334 by a third which varied and was certainly not a cycle like the indictions, the other dating by the era of 324 and later by that of 355. To suppose that the eras of 324 and 325 are really the same is incompatible with the evidence of 1632, and no alteration of the figure of the indiction is there admissible owing to its accordance with the consular dating. The choice of particular years as starting-points of these eras probably depended in most, perhaps in all, cases upon purely local considerations. The only eras which suggest a connexion with events of great importance are those beginning in 324 and 325. With regard to the earlier of these we suggested in 125. int. that it might possibly be connected with the Council of Nicaea. Hohmann (*Chronol. d. Papyrusurk.* 46), in objecting to this, treats Thoth 1 323 and 354 as the 'Epochetag' of the two eras beginning in 324 and 355 by an error due to a curious misapprehension of the nature of ancient eras; these begin with a year 1, not with a year 0, e. g. that by the *Καίσαρος κρήνησις*, which corresponds to the regnal years of Augustus, or the Diocletian era, of which the 1st year was 284-5, i. e. his 1st regnal year. The Oxyrhynchite era of 324, of which the 1st year was 324-5, cannot possibly be related, as Hohmann proposes, to events in the year 323-4, during most of which Licinius was still in possession of Egypt. The change of sovereigns, so far as Middle Egypt was concerned, is now fairly well fixed in the period between Jan. 22 and December, 324 (cf. 1430. 1, n.), and the Council of Nicaea, which began in May according to some authorities and ended in September, 325, can be connected with either the era of 324 or that of 325. Possibly the era of 324 is to be connected with the triumph of Constantine, and that of 325 with the Council of Nicaea. These two rival eras may have commended themselves to different religious parties in the city, and the supporters of the era of 324 in any case proved victorious. But the absence of any specially notable events in the years 307-8, 334-5, 341-2, 352-3, 355-6 rather indicates that all these fourth-century eras at Oxyrhynchus were suggested by events of local interest.



## IV. TAXATION.

## 1432. REPORT OF A TAX-FARMER TO A STRATEGUS.

14.8 x 6.7 cm.

A. D. 214.

A monthly return of receipts of taxation, similar to those addressed to the strategus by *πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν*, e.g. 1433, but written by the farmer of a tax upon sellers of two different kinds of pulse. The impost is no doubt the *χειρωνάξιον*, a tax levied at varying rates on different trades, but uniformly upon members of the same one; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 321 sqq., *Grundz.* 188. The rate on individuals is not stated in the present case, 80 drachmae in all having been paid. For other instances of *χειρωνάξιον* in this volume cf. 1436. 4, 1518 (on *κουρέϊς* at 6 drachmae each, *κλειδοποιοί*, &c.), and possibly 1517 and 1519 (different trades?).

<p> <i>Ἀύρηλίῳ Ἀνουβίῳ(νι) στ(ρατηγῷ)</i>  <i>Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου)</i>  <i>παρὰ Ἡρακλᾶτος Σαρᾶ τ[ο]ῦ</i>  <i>Ἄκου μητρὸς Νικαίᾶς</i>  <i>ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως</i>            5 <i>ὑποσχεσαρίου ὠνῆς</i>  <i>ἀθηροπολῶν καὶ ὄρβιο-</i>  <i>πολῶν. μηνιαῖος λόγος</i>  <i>τοῦ Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος</i>  <i>κβ (ἔτους) Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίῳ</i>            10 <i>Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου</i> </p>	<p> <i>Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.</i>  <i>ἔστι δέ· παρὰ ἀθηρο-</i>  <i>πολῶν καὶ ὄρβιοπολῶν</i>  <i>δραχμᾶς ὀγδοήκοντα,</i>            15 <i> / (δραχμαὶ) π, αἶ καὶ δια-</i>  <i>γράφοι τ[αι]</i>  <i>εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τόπων</i>  <i>δημοσίαν τράπαιζαν.</i>  <i>(ἔτους) κβ Ἀύτοκ[ρ]άτορος</i>  <i>Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίου</i>            20 <i>[Σεουήρου] Ἀν[τ]ωνίνου</i>            . . . . .         </p>
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1. *αυρηλιῷ ανουβιῷ Π.* 6-7. 1. *ἀθηροπολῶν καὶ ὄρβιοπολῶν*: so in ll. 12-13.  
 13. *ορβιοπολῶ Π.* 17. *τραπαιζᾶ Π.* 1. *τράπεζαν.*

‘To Aurelius Anubion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Heraclas son of Saras son of Akous, his mother being Nicaea (?), of the city of Oxyrhynchus, contractor for farming the tax on pulse-sellers and vetch-sellers. Monthly account for Pauni of the present 22nd year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar the lord, as follows. From the pulse-sellers and vetch-sellers eighty drachmae, total 80 dr., which were paid into the local public bank.’ Date.

1. Aurelius Anubion is also mentioned in 1196. 1 (211-12; om. Aurelius), 1474. 1 (Jan. 31, 216), 1525. 1 (about Sept. 216).

2. Σαρᾶ τ[ο]ῦ : Σερήν[ο]ν might be read, or Σαρᾶτ[ο]ς.

3. Νικαίας : or, perhaps, Νικάτος, but that would be expected to be a man's name.

5. ὑποσχεσάριος is a new form : for a ὑπόσχεσις in connexion with the purchase of land cf. 1633. The χειρωναξίον was frequently farmed, e. g. the τέλος γερδίων and the imposts ἡπητῶν, κοπῆς τριχὸς καὶ χειρωναξίου, but instances of its collection by πράκτορες also occur; cf. 1436. 4 and Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 575-82.

6. ἀθηροπ(ω)λῶν καὶ ὄρβιοπ(ω)λῶν : ἀθήρη or ἀθάρη, the form used by classical writers, was according to Pliny, *N. H.* xxii. 25. 121 an Egyptian word, *olyram arincam diximus vocari. hac decocta fit medicamentum, quod Aegyptii atheram vocant, infantibus utilissimum, sed et adultos inlinunt eo.* It is rarely mentioned in papyri (P. Leyden 3. 25). ὄροβος is frequently found in documents concerning traffic between the Fayûm and Memphis, e. g. P. Fay. 69. The form ὄρβιοπῶλης occurs in 1037. 4, ὄρβοπῶλης in 1323; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1445. 7, n.

### 1433. TWO REPORTS OF TAX-COLLECTORS TO A STRATEGUS.

12.3 × 7.8 cm.

A. D. 238.

These two returns in the same hand, addressed to a strategus by collectors of money-taxes at a village in the Thmoisepho toparchy (cf. 1436. 35, n.) concerning their receipts in successive months, form nos. 31 and 32 of a long series of documents, which were joined together and numbered probably in the βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων. Nos. 33 and 34, two returns of unirrigated land, addressed more than a year later to a basilicogrammateus and comogrammateus respectively, are also extant (1549). Since the taxing-returns belong to the troubled year 238, the references to the reigning Emperors have a special interest. The conclusions of both documents with the dates are lost; but Col. i, which gives the account of Mesore, the last month of 'the past 1st year' (l. 15), was clearly written in Thoth of the 2nd year of Pupienus and Balbinus Augusti and Gordianus Caesar, while Col. ii, which gives the account of Thoth in the 2nd year of Gordianus Augustus, was no doubt written in the next month Phaophi. Part of the names of Pupienus and Balbinus in Col. i has been deleted, but whether the news of their death was received before or after the dispatch of the document is uncertain. 1433 thus harmonizes with the evidence of other papyri, &c., concerning the short reign of those two Emperors; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 805 (in P. Flor. 98, which was published later, neither the year nor month of the reign is preserved). At Thebes on Epeiph 27 of the 1st year (July 21) Gordianus Caesar is ignored in an ostrakon; but he is mentioned in the dating on Thoth 11 of the 2nd year (Sept. 8) in a Vienna papyrus from the Arsinoïte nome, while on Thoth 24 (Sept. 21) Gordianus Augustus alone occurs in another Vienna papyrus; 1433. i was therefore probably written before Thoth 24.

Similar monthly returns by collectors of money-taxes are common in Fayûm papyri; cf. P. Fay. 41. int. The instances in which the individual payments are detailed, as here (B. G. U. 42, 392, 639), are less numerous than those in which

the totals for different taxes are given (B. G. U. 25, 41, 199. recto, 652-3, P. Fay. 41-2, 239; cf. 42 (a)). In the other Oxyrhynchite examples, 1046 and 1283, both systems are employed. In Col. i only the total is preserved (l. 29); in Col. ii the payments are all for beer-tax (l. 52, n.). Probably other πράκτορες also sent in similar reports, for those extant in the papyri referred to seldom give the impression of being complete returns for the month; cf. 1436. int.

## Col. i.

[        λ α        ]  
 [Φλαυίφ Ἄρποκρα-]  
 [τίωνι στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχι(ίτου)]  
 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίων]  
 5 [Νεχθενίβιος]  
 [κ]αὶ [τῶν σὺν αὐτ(ῶ)]  
 [π]ρακ(τόρων) ἀργυρικ(ῶν)  
 [μ]ητροπο(ολιτικῶν) λημμά[τ(ων)]  
 [Θ]μοισεφῶ τοπ(αρχίας)  
 10 [Κ]εσμούχεως τόπ(ων).  
 [κα]τ' ἀνδρα εἰσπ[ρά-]  
 [ξ]εως ἀριθμή-  
 [σε]ως μηνὸς Με-  
 [σο]ρῆ τοῦ διελ-  
 15 [θ]όντος α (ἔτους)  
 [Α]ὐτοκρατό[ρων]  
 [Κα]ισάρων Μά[ρκου]  
 [Κλ]ωδίου [[Μαξί]μου]  
 [κ]αὶ Δεκίμ[ο]ν  
 20 [Κ]αιλίου Καλονί[ου]  
 [[Β]αλβίνου] Εὐσεβῶ[ν]  
 [Ε]ὐτυχῶν Σεβαστ[ῶ]ν  
 καὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου  
 [Γ]ορδιανοῦ  
 25 [τ]οῦ ἱερωτάτου  
 [Κ]αίσαρος. ἔστ[ι] δέ.  
 [δι]εγράφη(σαν) ἐπὶ τῆν  
 [δ]ημοσίαν τρά-

## Col. ii.

λ[β]  
 Φλαυίφ Ἄρποκρα-  
 τίωνι στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχι(ίτου)  
 35 [π]αρὰ Αὐρηλίων Νε-  
 χθενίβιος καὶ τῶν  
 σ[ὺν] α[ὐτῶ] πρακ(τόρων) ἀρ-  
 γυρικ(ῶν) μητροπο(λιτικῶν)  
 λημμάτ(ων) Θμοισε-  
 40 φῶ τοπ(αρχίας) Κεσμούχε-  
 ως τόπ(ων). κατ' ἀνδρα  
 εἰσπράξεως ἀρι-  
 θμήσεως μηνὸς  
 Θῶθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 45 β (ἔτους) Μάρκου  
 Ἀντωνίου  
 Γορδιανοῦ  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
 [Σε]βαστοῦ. ἔστι δέ.  
 50 [δι]εγράφη(σαν) ἐπὶ τ(ῆν)  
 δημοσίαν τρά-  
 [πεξ]αν ζυτηρᾶς,  
       ῶν τὸ κατ' ἀνδ(ρα).  
 [κλ]ηρονόμοι  
 55 [. .]ωνιδος Π[αυ-]  
 [σιρ]ίωνος (δρ.) μ,  
 Σαραπίων ὁ κ(αὶ)  
 Διονύσιος καὶ  
 Ἀριστόκλεια

[π]εξαν (δραχμαί) τις, 60 [ή] κ(αι) Ἀρσινώη (δρ.) μ,  
 30 ὦν . . . . .  
 [Διο]γενὶς [. . .]

20. καλονῖ[ου Π. 25. ἱερωτατου Π. 35-6. νεχθενίβιος Π.

i. '1-31.

To Flavius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Necthenibis and his associates, collectors of money-revenues of the metropolis in the Thmoisepho toparchy, district of Kesmouchis. List of individual receipts paid in the month of Mesore of the past 1st year of the Emperors Caesars Marcus Clodius [[Maximus]] and Decimus Caelius Calvinus [[Balbinus]] Pii Felices Augusti and Marcus Antonius Gordianus the most sacred Caesar, as follows. Paid to the public bank 316 drachmae, of which the items were: Diogenis . . .

1-5. Cf. ll. 32-6 and, for the restoration of the figures, int.

8. [μ]ητροπ(ολιτικῶν): cf. 1405. 20, 1419. 2, nn.

18. [[Μαξίμου]]: the traces suit Μαξίμου better than Που[πίου], which is also rather long. Μαξίμου is omitted in P. Rainer, *Mittheil.* ii. 31.

31. There is a blank space at the end of the line, and perhaps nothing was written after [Διο]γενίς.

52. ζυτηράς: cf. P. Tebt. ii, p. 335, Reil, *Beiträge*, 169. In Roman times it was apparently a tax on beer-manufacturers, being generally called ζυτηρά κατ' ἄνδρα (but not here; κατ' ἄνδρα in l. 53 corresponds to κ. ἄ. in l. 41). The two payments preserved, both of 40 drachmae (ll. 56 and 60), are much higher than the amounts paid by individuals in previous centuries (4 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. 2 chal. in P. Tebt. 353, 7 dr. 4 ob. in Amh. 121. 3, 10 dr. 2 ob. in Fay. 47 (a). 5 and 262, 8 dr. in Tebt. Ost. 1, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. in Tebt. Ost. 2); a payment of 80 drachmae by tax-collectors occurs in P. Ryl. 196. 11 (A. D. 196). In the third century the depreciation of the coinage was making itself felt; cf. P. Strassb. 61. 5, where 28 dr. are paid for ζυτηρά in A. D. 228.

55. Probably [Θε]ώνιδος or [Λε]ώνιδος.

59. This Ἀριστόκλεια [ή] κ(αι) Ἀρσινώη is probably mentioned again in 1537. 4.

#### 1434. REPORT OF A COMOGRAMMATEUS CONCERNING REMISSIONS.

28.7 x 21 cm.

A. D. 107-8.

The recto of this papyrus contains most of the first column, and beginnings of a few lines of the second, from the beginning of a report concerning abatements of taxation (κουφοτέλειαι), drawn up by a lately appointed comogrammateus of several villages in the upper toparchy (cf. 1425. 4, n.), and probably intended for the strategus. P. Fay. 40, an ἀπαιτήσιμον τελωνικῆς ἀτελείας (which does not imply complete exemption from taxation; cf. P. Fay. 82. 14) drawn up by a comogrammateus, is somewhat similar. The scribe wrote a clear semi-uncial hand but in a very compressed style, and, owing to the loss of both the ends of lines at

the bottom of Col. i and a few letters at the beginnings, the technical details, which are of a rather interesting character, are not very clear. Lines 9–17 are concerned with the estate formerly belonging to Gaius Julius son of Gaius Julius Theon, an Alexandrian official of high rank. This property was originally acquired from the Emperor Augustus, but underwent several changes of ownership (ll. 9, 15, nn.). After l. 17 there is a blank space of a line; but ll. 18 sqq. seem to be concerned with the same estate, giving details as to its present condition, not to constitute a new section. With regard to *κουφοτέλεια* little was known apart from a passage in the edict of Tiberius Alexander, which provides some interesting parallels; cf. ll. 3, 7, 15, nn.

On the verso is the conclusion of an undertaking to provide bread, written nine years later (1454).

## Col. i.

[Παρά] Ἀπο[λλ]ωνίου νεωστὶ καθεσταμένω  
[κωμο]γρα(μματέως) Μονίμου ἐποικίου καὶ ἄλλων κωμῶν  
[τῆς] ἄνω τοπαρχ(ίας). λόγος [κουφ]οτελειῶν τοῦ [ι]α (ἔτους)  
[Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

5 [Γερμ]ανικοῦ Δακικοῦ.

εἶναι δέ·

[κουφ]οτελειῶν [[τ]]ῶν τὰ ἀργυρικὰ καὶ σειτικὰ καθ(ήκοντα)  
[ἐν]θάδε λογίζεται·

[Γαί]ωι Ἰουλίῳ υἱῷ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Θέωνος

10 [γε]νομένου ἀρχ(ι)ερέως καὶ ὑπομνημα-

[το]γράφου) ἐν τῷδε τῷ νομῷ ἱερῶς Ἰσιδος

[Τα]ποσειριάδος ἐπε[[α]]χώρησεν Ἀκύλας κατὰ

[τ]ὸ ἀναφόριον ἐπιδοθὲν ὑπὸ Γαίου [Ἰου]λίῳ

[Θέ]ωνος πατρός, καθὰ καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ διὰ[-

15 [τ]αγμα ἐπεχώρησεν αὐ(τῷ) Γάιος Τυράννιο(s) ἀπὸ [

[λό]γου Καίσαρος ἐφ' ᾧ τελέσει ἐπὶ πόλ(εως) ὑπὲρ τε-

[λῶ]ν καὶ ἐτέρων (τάλαντα) β (δραχμὰς) .[.

[.]θις ἐκ τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πιο[.] . . ( ) κλή(ρου) (ἀρούρας) . . ,

[ῶ]ν ἀσπόρου) καὶ χέ(ρσου) καὶ κατεξ(σμένης) [(ἄρουραι) . . ,

20 [νο]μῶν οὐσίας τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ (ἄρουραι) . . ,

[ἀ?]νθ' οὗ ἀπὸ ἐλ(αιῶνος) μέχ(ρι) κ (ἔτους) ἐν λόγῳ [.] . . . . .

[λο]γιζόμεναι) [(ἄρουραι) . .

[Ψώ]βθ(ιος) ἀνὰ α (ἀρουρα) α (ἀρτάβη) α, [ἀνὰ . . . δ' ιξξδ,  
 [Ἰ]δν( ) λβξδ, / αδ' ιξξδ, Ἰδν( ) [λβξδ.  
 25 [ἀρ]γυ(ρικῶν ?) ναυ(βίου) ἐκ χαλ(κοῦ) σ ἀλ(λαγῆς ?) . [ . . . . . . . . .  
 [να]υ(βίου ?) σκα, ὦν (δραχμαὶ) η[ . . . . . . . . .

Col. ii.

4 lines lost

31 πρ[.] . . . [ 32 [ 33 [ 34 ἀργυ(ρικὰ) τ[ 35 καὶ ἐν  
 ἐποχ(ῆ) . [ 36 οὐ ἀλλαγ(ῆ) 37 [ . . . ]λ( ) . . [

10. αρχιῆρεως Π.

11. ἱερας Ἰσιδος Π.

19. ε of χε(ρσου) CORR. from ω.

‘From Apollonius, lately appointed comogrammateus of the Monimou farmstead and other villages in the upper toparchy. Account of abatements of taxation for the 11th year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, as follows. Abatements of which the due amounts in money and corn are reckoned here : to Gaius Julius, son of Gaius Julius Theon, formerly chief-priest and hypomnematographus, of the land in this nome sacred to Isis of Taposiris Aquila conceded in accordance with an application presented by Gaius Julius Theon the father, in accordance with the concession made to him by Gaius Tyrannius by an edict, from the account of Caesar, on condition that he should pay at the city for taxes and other charges 2 talents . . . drachmae, at . . . this in the holding of Demetrius son of Po . . . . arurae, of which . . are in the category of land that is unsown or dry or worn away, . . in the pastures in the estates of the lord Augustus, in place of which there are planted with olives (?), reckoned up to the 20th year in the account of . . . , . arurae; at Psobthis taxed at 1 artaba 1 arura, making 1 artaba, taxed at . .  $\frac{2}{64}$  arur., at Idu . . .  $\frac{3}{64}$  arur., total  $1\frac{2}{64}$  arur., at Idu . . .  $\frac{3}{64}$  arur.; money-taxes, for naubion at 200 dr. of copper, for exchange (?) . . . , for naubion (?) 221 (?) dr., of which 8 (?) dr. . .’

2. Μονίμου paid 872 drachmae in 1285. 62, being probably one of the larger villages in the nome. The ἄλλαι κῶμαι apparently included Psobthis (l. 23) and the villages mentioned in ll. 18 and 24. In 1285 the villages mentioned next to Μονίμου (all probably small) are Ξενάρχου, Νέσλα, [Σ]ενῦρις, and Ἀρχιβίου.

3. [κουφ]οτελειῶν: cf. l. 7 and the edict of Tiberius Alexander (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* ii. 669), 26 sqq. ἐνετεύχθη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν καὶ κουφοτελειῶν ἐν αἷς ἔστω καὶ τὰ προσοδικά, Wilcken, *Archiv.* i. 148, Dittenberger's commentary, and Rostowzew, *Röm. Kolonat.* 109. On the edict of Hadrian lightening (κουφίσειν) the taxes on γεωργοὶ see P. Giessen 4-7. int., and on a remission of taxes in the Mendesian nome B. G. U. 903. 21.

ι|α (ἔτους): since Trajan has the title Dacicus (l. 5), the year cannot be earlier than the 6th, and the absence of ἀριστος and Παρθικός (cf. 1454. 12) indicates a year earlier than the 18th. All that remains of the number is the tip of an upward stroke joining the sign for ἔτους, and this suits ι|α better than ς, θ, ι|γ, or ι|ε.

7. For [κουφο]τελειῶν cf. l. 3, n., and for καθ(ήκοντα) ll. 29-31 of the edict of Tib. Alexander ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος λόγου (cf. l. 15, n.) πρα{χ}θέντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ περὶ ὧν ἐκφόρια κατεκρίθη, ὡς Οὐρηστίνος ἐκέλευσεν τὰ καθήκοντα τελείσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἴσημι ἀπολελυκῶς τὰ μηδέπω εἰσπραχθέντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον μένειν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθήκουσι. ἄδικον γάρ ἐστιν τοὺς ὠνησαμένους κτήματα καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἀποδόντας ὡς δημοσίους γεωργούς ἐκφόρια ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τῶν

*ιδίων ἐδαφῶν*. Wilcken formerly (*l. c.*) identified τὰ καθήκ. there with the *προσοδικά* in l. 26 (cf. l. 3, n.), supposing that the persons in question paid a *vectigal*, as distinct from an *ἐκφόριον*, to the State upon confiscated land bought by them; but in *Grundz.* 297 he withdrew the explanation of γῆ προσόδου (cf. 1446. int.) as confiscated land, in deference to Rostowzew's criticisms (*op. cit.* 135 sqq.).

9. Gaius Julius was contemporary with Aquila (l. 12), i. e. G. Julius Aquila, praefect in A. D. 10-11 (cf. Cantarelli, *Prefetti*, i. 20), his father G. Julius Theon with G. Tyrannius (l. 15), praefect in 7-4 B. C. (Cantarelli, *op. cit.* 19). The property, which belonged to the Emperor Augustus (l. 15, n.), was ceded by Tyrannius to G. Julius Theon, who apparently made it over to the temple of Isis of Taposiris (l. 11, n.), his son subsequently recovering it from Aquila. That it was in A. D. 107-8 still in the possession of Gaius Julius' heirs is very doubtful. That portion to which l. 20 refers apparently belonged to an *οὐσία* of Trajan, while ll. 18-19 and 23-4 seem to be concerned with βασιλική γῆ. Possibly the space left below l. 17 indicates that the section was not completed and ll. 18 sqq. belong to a new section altogether, but in that case it is strange that the land in ll. 18 sqq. was not further characterized.

10. ἀρχ[ι]ιερέως καὶ ὑπομημα[το]γρά(φου): on the order, which implies the superiority of the second office, see 1412. 1-3, n. ὑπομηματογράφοι at this period probably existed only at Alexandria, and ἀρχιερεύς here probably means the ἀρχ. Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Λιγύπτου πάσης, especially as he bears a Roman name. Theon who was ἀρχιδικαστής late in the first century B. C. (P. Ryl. 257) might be identical with G. Julius Theon here, and another Theon, ἀρχιδικαστής in A. D. 58 (268. 1), and G. Julius Theon γενόμενος ἀρχιδ. καὶ ὑπομν. in the reign of Hadrian (P. Tebt. 286. 13) may well have belonged to the same family, as perhaps Theon ἀρχιδ., father of G. Julius Dionysius ἀρχιδ. in 130 (C. I. G. 4734), who might be identical with the Theon in P. Tebt. 286; cf. also B. G. U. 832. 16 (A. D. 113) Θέωνος τοῦ Θέωνος τῶν γεφυ[μνασιαρχ(ηκότων) referring to a judge at Alexandria.

11. ἱεράς Ἴσιδος [Τα]ποσειριάδος: cf. ll. 9, 15, nn. Ταποσειριάς may refer either to Taposiris Magna in the Libyan nome or Tap. Parva near Alexandria; cf. 1380. 67, n. The number of arurae to which ἱεράς refers was not expressed anywhere in ll. 11-17, but seems to have been accounted for in ll. 18 sqq.

12. ἐπεχώρησεν: cf. l. 15 and P. Amh. 68. 7 *συνκεχωρημένου εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπολόγου*; a sale is meant here also, apparently. For Ἀκύλας cf. l. 9, n.

14. καθὰ καὶ αὐτός: as it stands, αὐτός must refer to Γάιος Τυράννιος, not the πατήρ, but we think that the sentence began as if ἐπεχωρήθη ὑπὸ Γαίου T. was going to follow, and for this the writer substituted ἐπεχώρησεν αὐ(τῷ) Γάιος T. There is no point in καὶ αὐτός if applied to Tyrannius.

15. For Γάιος Τυράννιος(s) cf. l. 9, n. At the end of the line [ἰδ(ίου)] might be supplied, but for λόγον Καίσαρος cf. the passage from the edict of Tib. Alexander quoted in l. 7, n. Καίσαρος here happens to mean Augustus (cf. l. 9, n.), but it there refers to no particular Emperor, Augustus being elsewhere in the edict called θεὸς Σεβαστός. Whether Καίσαρος λόγος = ἴδιος (or οὐσιακός) λόγος, or is a general expression for the *fiscus* like κυριακός λόγος (edict of Tib. Alex. l. 18), is left doubtful by Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 645. Dittenberger adopts the latter view, but the present passage on the whole favours the former. Possibly a comma should be placed after Τυράννιος(s), and ἀπὸ [λό]γου connected with ἐπεχώρησεν Ἀκύλας. If so, the land was, although ἱερά, in the Καίσαρος λόγος when Aquila assigned it to Gaius Julius the younger, and the nature of its tenure before Tyrannius assigned it to Gaius Julius the elder, who in any case seems to have been responsible for its becoming ἱερά (cf. l. 9, n.), was not stated in ll. 9-17. From l. 18 it appears that part of it had once been cleruchic. For an instance of cleruchic land reverting to the Emperor in the Augustan period cf. 721. An example of the conversion of ἱερά γῆ by Augustus into βασιλική on a large scale occurs

in P. Tebt. 302 (W. *Chrest.* 368). But the construction adopted in the text, according to which ἀπὸ [λό]γον is connected with Tyrannius, not Aquila, is preferable. The temple lost the land in either case.

16. πάλ(εως) probably means Oxyrhynchus (cf. l. 11 τῶδε τῶ νομῶ) rather than Alexandria.

ἵπὲρ τε[λῶ]ν καὶ ἐτέρων: this form of paying for land acquired from the Emperor or the State is unusual. Extant papyri concerning the sale of land by the government, whether from the ἵπολογον βασιλικῆς (e. g. 721. 4, P. Amh. 68), or ἀπρατα τῆς διοικήσεως (e. g. 513. 7 and 1633. 7), or confiscated land under cultivation (B. G. U. 462), refer to a τιμή with, occasionally, προσδιαγραφόμενα (513. 14). But the τέλη καὶ ἕτερα may include the τιμή, or a composition of future taxes may have been substituted for the price, which in the case of ἵπολογον was generally low (12 drachmae per arura in 721, 20 dr. per arur. from A. D. 61–246; cf. P. Amh. 68. 20 and Brit. Mus. 1157. verso).

18. [.]θις: if [Ψῶβ]θις (for -θιος) be restored (cf. l. 23, n.), this line projected by one or two letters, which is quite legitimate, since in any case there is a change of subject. But a different village is expected in l. 23.

20. That an οἰσία of the reigning Emperor should be subject to κονφοτέλεια is natural; cf. Preisigke, *S. B.* 4226 . . . οἰσίας τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράταρος ἀτελῆν καὶ ἀνεργάρευτον. There is no clear evidence for the taxes paid by οἰσία, for in P. Brit. Mus. 195 it is uncertain in what relation the Emperor Tiberius (l. 2) stood to the κτήσις in question. For νομαί in the οἰσιακά cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 299. [.]κων might equally well be read, but suggests no suitable word. Usually οἰσία of the Emperor were called after their first owners simply; but cf. P. Ryl. 134. 7 Τιβερίου Καίσ. Σεβ. οἰσία Γερμανικιανή.

21. [ἀ]ρθ' οὐδ' ἀπὸ ἐλ(αιῶνος): with [ἀ]ρθ' οὐδ' the line was slightly indented; with [ἀκά]ρθου it would project slightly. For ἀντί in a somewhat similar context cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 343. 23 ὥστε ἀντί ἐλαιῶνο(ς) φο(ρίμου). οὐδ' can be explained by supposing that the number at the end of l. 20 was a fraction of an arura. The objection to [ἀκά]ρθου is that this word is not found applied to land; in P. Tebt. 343. 6, &c., ἀκανθ(ος) is to be read on the analogy of σκακάμνος in l. 86; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv.* v. 239. Possibly [.]ρθου was a place-name. ἀπὸ ἐλ(αιῶματος) can be restored in place of ἀπὸ ἐλ(αιῶνος); cf. C. P. Herm. 120. recto iii. 11 καὶ ἀπὸ ἐλασσώμ(ατος) τῆς (αὐτῆς) δη(μοσίας) ἐσπ(αρμῆνης). The 20th year presumably refers to the current reign. At the end of the line [ἵπο]λόγ(ου) or [ἀτελ(ών)] is more likely than e. g. Καίσαρος (cf. l. 16) or στικῶν. In the case of ἵπολογον sold by the government three years' ἀτέλεια was sometimes accorded; cf. 721. 15.

23. [Ψῶ]βθ(ιος): a village of this name in the upper toparchy (cf. l. 3) is known from 343. Three other villages called Ψῶβθις in different toparchies occur in 1285. One artaba per arura is a common rate for land-tax upon cleruchic or private land (e. g. in 1459), including ἵπολογον bought from the government (P. Amh. 68. 22). As a rent of State land it would be exceptionally low (cf. e. g. 1446), and ἵπολογον may well be meant here.

24. [']δου( ): the papyrus has ]δ, with ἰδ later, and [.] γ νᾶ in l. 25; but there is no certain instance in 1434 of strokes over figures and several cases occur of figures without strokes, so that the horizontal line apparently represents ν, as it does certainly in l. 19 κατεξυ(σμένης), and probably in l. 15 αὐ(τῶ) and l. 25 [ἀρ]γυ(ρικῶν) ναυ(βίου), and perhaps l. 26 [να]υ(βίου?). [']δου( ) or [.]δου( ) is regarded by us as a new place-name; but the repetition of 'Ιδου( ) is uncertain, and the fractions at the end of l. 23 may have been δλ'β', in which case 1 $\frac{21}{64}$  arurae in l. 24 refer to the whole amount, not to the two Psobthiς items only.

25. [ἀρ]γυ(ρικῶν): cf. ll. 7 and 34. For the naubion-tax cf. 1409. 20, 1436. 6, nn. 200 (copper) drachmae (per arura) is not a rate attested elsewhere. If ἀλ(λαγῆς) is right, a figure corresponding to the usual κῶλλυβος of about  $\frac{1}{6}$  would be expected. If the beginning



of the next line also refers to the naubion, 21 drachmae remain to be accounted for at the end of l. 25.

26. Cf. the preceding note. It is not certain that the column ends here. [.]v( ) can be another place-name, or [/] Γσκα is possible. With the latter reading δν (δρ.) η[ might be a conversion of copper into silver; but the usual rate of exchange of copper drachmae was 300 : 1 where the naubion was concerned, so that a rate of about 400 : 1 is not very suitable, and α', not δν, would rather be expected, if a conversion is meant.

35. ἐν ἐποχ(ῆ): cf. P. Tebt. 337. 2, n.

36. οὐ ἀλλαγ[ῆ]: cf. 1437. int.

## 1435. TAXATION-RETURN CONCERNING PASTOPHORI.

18.3 × 29.9 cm.

A. D. 147.

The recto of this papyrus contains part of apparently the last two columns of a very carefully written return addressed by tax-collectors or tax-farmers (l. 6 ἡμ[ῶν]; cf. 1432-3) to a strategus (ll. 7-8 ἐξείς πράξι[μῶν] ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλ[ικου] γραμ.) concerning payments by παστοφόροι, who belonged to the lower ranks of the priesthood. The two entries which are preserved in Col. i and the entry immediately preceding, which is included in the total in l. 5, uniformly recorded payments of 4 drachmae for the main tax and 1½ obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, but owing to the uncertainty attaching to the termination of ὑπὲρ ἐρ[σοῦ] in l. 6, and the ambiguity of ὑπέρ, it is not clear what the precise title of the impost was, or even whether it was stated at all. That it was connected with the τέλος ἐρσοῦ in P. Fay. 39. 2 or ἱ[ε]ρωῶν in P. Fay. 42 (a). ii. 10, or the early Ptolemaic φόρος ἐρῶν is not unlikely, but other obscure payments, ἐρατ(ι)κ(ῶν) ἐπι( ) and ὄω( ) ἱερευτικῶ(ν) are also known; cf. P. Tebt. 354. 23, n., Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i. 364. In any case the impost was levied upon priests, whether for the benefit of the temples or not. Of the two παστοφόροι one belonged to a temple of Apollo (i. e. Horus) at the Oxyrhynchite village of Teis (cf. 1436. int.), the other to a temple of an unknown deity, Saphthis, at a village which was in the Arabian nome (ll. 8-10, n.). The sums due are stated first, being followed by the dates of the payments to a bank; but the second set of entries seems to have been written at the same time as the first, the papyrus being a fair copy, not like P. Ryl. 188, in which the second set of entries was inserted later. Col. ii, of which only the beginnings of lines are preserved, belongs apparently to a summary, carrying over arrears to a future account, and below l. 19 is a considerable blank space, indicating the end of the document. The reign was that of Antoninus (l. 18), and the year the 10th (l. 4). A different taxing-account on the verso (1436) was written in the 17th (or 19th) and 20th years of the same reign.

## Col. i.

[            ] ψζβ

Πλήνης Φθομώνθου τοῦ Παποντ[ῶτος] παστο(φόρος) ἱεροῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
θεοῦ μεγίστου κόμης Τήεω[ς (δραχμαὶ) δ, προ(σ)διαγραφόμενων] (ὀβολός)  
(ἡμιωβέλιον), / (δρ.) δ [(ὀβ.)] (ἡμιωβ.).

τραπ(έξη) ι (έτους) Παχῶ(ν) αἱ προκείμεναι (δρ.) δ, προ(σδ.) (ὀβ.)  
(ἡμιωβ.), / [(δρ.)] δ (ὀβ.) (ἡμιωβ.).

5 γίνονται καὶ τούτων (δρ.) η, προ(σδ.) (τριώβολον), / (δρ.) η (τριωβ.).

ἄλλου παστοφόρου δηλώσαντος ἡμ[ῶν] διαγεγραφέναι ὑπὲρ ἱερ[οῦ]  
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐξῆς παρακείμενον αὐτῶι κεφάλαιον ὅπερ ἕξεις πράξι[μον]  
ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλ(ικοῦ) γραμ(μ)ατ(έως) ἀνα λ(όγον?) Ἀραβίας ἄνω τόπ(ων).

Πασάφθις Πασάφθιος τοῦ Ψενμώνθου [πασ]τοφόρος ἱεροῦ Σάφθιος κ[ώμ]ης  
10 [. . .] ψάμεως (δρ.) δ, προ(σδ.) (ὀβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), / (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) (ἡμιωβ.).

τραπ(έξη) ι (έτους) Ἐπειφ αἱ προκείμεναι (δρ.) δ, [προ(σδ.) (ὀβ.)]  
(ἡμιωβ.), / (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) (ἡμιωβ.).

## Col. ii.

[            ] [            ]  
[. . . . . εἰ]ς τὸ ι [(έτος)?

[            ] [            ]  
15 ἔξ ὧν [            ]

λοιπαὶ ἐν ἐχθέσει εἰς [τὸν μῆνα τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ι έτους

Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρ[ος τοῦ κυρίου

χρόνον (δρ.) ιβ . [

10. (ὀβολός) after προ(σδ.) corr. from (δυοβολοί).

i. ' 792.

Plenis son of Phthomonthes son of Papontos, *pastophorus* of the temple of Apollo, the most great god, at the village of Teis, 4 drachmae, for extra payments 1½ obols, total 4 dr. 1½ ob. Paid to the bank in the 10th year, Pachon, the aforesaid 4 dr., for extra payments 1½ ob., total 4 dr. 1½ ob. Total of these also 8 dr., for extra payments 3 ob., total 8 dr. 3 ob. Another *pastophorus* having declared to us that he had paid for his temple the sum entered below next to his name, which you will hold subject to a corresponding (?) levy by the basilicogrammateus of the upper district of Arabia, Pasaphthis son of Pasaphthis son of Psenmonthes, *pastophorus* of the temple of Saphthis at the village of . . . psamis 4 dr.,

for extra payments  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob., total 4 dr.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob. Paid to the bank in the 10th year, Epeiph, the aforesaid 4 dr., for extra payments  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob., total 4 dr.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob.'

7. *πράξιμον*: cf. B. G. U. 145. 5 sqq. *κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν ἐλάσσω φανέντων πραξιμον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρὰ τὰ μεταδοθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως)*, P. Giessen 48. 19 *ἐν πραξιμίσις ἡγηθῆναι*.

8-10. *Σάφθις* occurs as a Mendesian village in P. Ryl. 215. 2, but is not otherwise known as the name of a god, while [. . .] *ψάμεως* is not identifiable with any known Oxyrhynchite village. This payment seems to have been made in the Oxyrhynchite nome by an inhabitant of a village in the Arabian nome, the basilicogrammateus being apparently responsible for adjusting the irregularity. With *ἄνω τόπ(ων)* cf. 931. 15 *στρατηγῶι Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων*; but while that nome is known to have been subdivided for purposes of administration in the Roman period into two halves, there is no evidence apart from the present passage that a corresponding subdivision existed in the Arabian nome, and *ἄνω τόπ(ων)* need mean no more than the upper toparchy of a homogeneous nome. *τοπ(αρχίας)* is equally possible.

## 1436. ACCOUNT OF VILLAGE-TAXES.

18.5 × 29.9 cm.

A. D. 153-6.

The recto of this papyrus contains 1435, written in the 10th year of Antoninus. On the verso is most of three columns, with the ends of a few lines of a preceding column, from a series of monthly accounts of sums collected by *πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν* for various taxes. The heading in Col. iv, which gives the account of Thoth in the 20th year of Antoninus, shows that the toparchy concerned was that of Thmoisepho, and probably the village in question was Teïs (l. 35, n.), though it is possible that the accounts concerned the whole toparchy. Cols. ii-iii, which are in a different hand, refer to two no doubt consecutive months, of which the second was either Me[cheir] or Me[sore], and with the latter restoration it is tempting to regard these two months as concluding the 19th year and make Cols. iii-iv continuous. But the mentions of arrears of the 16th year in ll. 14 and 27 make it more probable that the year in Cols. ii-iii was the 17th (cf. the reference to arrears of the 19th year in Col. iv), and if there was an interval of several years between Cols. iii and iv, Me[cheir] is slightly preferable to Me[sore], as being nearer to the 16th year, though instances of taxes paid more than a year in arrear are not infrequent in papyri.

The names of the taxes collected in the three months are preserved almost entire, but the amounts are in most cases lost. The document was no doubt drawn up either by a public bank or by the *πράκτορες* themselves (cf. l. 34) from their monthly returns, which are illustrated by 1433. In Cols. ii-iii ll. 4-17 (and probably 2, 3), 20-4, 26, 29 (and perhaps 30-2 where the margin is missing) have two short strokes against them in the margin, indicating a revision of some kind; cf. 1516 and P. Ryl. 188. int. It is noteworthy that in l. 28 certainly, and perhaps in ll. 30-1, the absence of the marginal strokes coincides with the

omission of the extra charges usually appended to the main sum in the case of the other entries in Cols. ii-iii; but since ll. 6 and 29 provide an instance of a tax which in both cases has strokes against the entry, but in one has no extra charges, the coincidence may be accidental.

Since the extant monthly returns of tax-collectors to the strategus cannot be depended upon as complete statements of the receipts from a village (cf. 1433. int.), and e. g. in P. Fay. 42 no details are given with regard to the sums paid direct to the bank, 1436 provides a much more comprehensive idea of village-taxation in the second century. Teis is mentioned fairly often in Oxyrhynchus papyri and was probably a large village; for it had a temple of Apollo (i. e. Horus) with *παστοφόροι* (1435. 2), and if the reading of the figures in 1285. 126 is correct, it was one of six (out of about eighty) villages paying over 1,000 drachmae, while in 1448 it contributed more *στιχάρια* than the other villages except Dositheou. The items for particular taxes in 1436 are rather high in two cases, the poll-tax (1,000 dr. in l. 14 and over 2,000 dr. in l. 27, both items being arrears of the 16th year; in ll. 8 and 44 the figures are lost) and pig-tax (about 660 dr. in l. 9 and 481 in l. 25 for the 17th year, 219 dr. in l. 15 and 171 in l. 28 for arrears; in l. 47 the figure is missing). The poll-tax was only paid by males from fourteen to sixty years of age, and, to judge by the discovery in numerous Fayûm villages of receipts for poll-tax collected by the *πράκτορες* of the metropolis and the frequent instances in the Oxyrhynchite nome of taxes of the metropolis collected in villages (cf. 1405. 20, n.), there were probably many persons resident at Teis who paid poll-tax to the city-collectors at the lower rate of 12 drachmae, not to the village-collectors at the rate of, probably, 16 (cf. l. 8, n.) or 20. Individual payments for pig-tax rarely exceed 2 drachmae (l. 9, n.), and the whole evidence regarding Teis suggests that it contained several thousand inhabitants.

Besides the poll-tax and pig-tax there are during the three months fifteen different heads of taxation, several of them repeated, ranging from 226 to less than 4 dr.; but even if the accounts of a whole year had been preserved, the number of taxes is likely to have been smaller than in P. Fay. 42 (a), an incomplete list of taxes in arrear at the Arsinoite village of Pharbaetha in the late second century, containing at least twenty-eight items, apart from the taxes on the verso, which were *παρ' ἐπιτηρηταῖς*, and a considerable number lost. Whether P. Ryl. 213 (late second century), a long taxing-list of payments by villages in the Mendesian nome, is to be explained on the analogy of P. Fay. 42 (a) as a list of arrears is now in the light of 1436 more doubtful; cf. l. 18, n. Of the monthly totals in 1436 only one is preserved (l. 33, 3,640 dr.), about  $\frac{2}{3}$  being arrears of poll-tax, for which no payments on account of the current year are recorded in that month. The items of arrears in Cols. ii-iii are fewer than the items referring to the current

year, but the reverse is the case in Col. iv, and there was obviously much irregularity in the times of collection, as is also indicated by e.g. the returns to *strategi* (1433. int.). Details concerning the taxes, of which those for a *vicarius* (ll. 3 (?), 21, 40), the *ἐκλογιστής* (l. 23), *ἴδιος λόγος* (l. 24), and an *adacratio* of an uncertain character (l. 50), are new, are discussed in the commentary.

## Col. ii.

	[ἀριθ(μῆσεως) Τῦβι(?)·	]
	[(τρίτης) βαλ(ανείων)(?) (δραχμαὶ) . . ,	]
	[β]ι[κα(ρίου) (δρ.) . . ,	]
	χι(ρωναξίου) [(δρ.) . . , πρ(οσδιαγραφομένων) (δρ.) . . ]	χ(αλκοῖ) β,
5	ὀθ[οι(ιηρᾶς) (δρ.) . . , πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.) . . ]	(πεντώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
	να[υ(βίου) (δρ.) . . , πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.)]	η (τριώβολον ?),
	συ(μβολικῶ) [(δρ.) . . , πρ(οσδ.)] (δρ.)	α (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβ.),
	λασ(γραφίας) [(δρ.) . . . ]	(τετρώβ. ?),
	ύικ(ῆς) (δρ.)	[χ . . πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.) ος (τετρώβ.),
10	ἐπαρου(ρίου) (δρ.)	σ, πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.) ιξ,
	σπονδ(ῆς) (δρ.)	μ, πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.) γ (δυοβολοῖ) (ἡμιωβ.),
	μερισμ(οῦ) ἐρημ(οφυλακίας) (δρ.)	με (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.),
	οὔσι(ακοῦ) φέ(ρου) παραδ(είσων) κ (πεντώβ.)	[·
	ις (ἔτους) λασ(γραφίας) (δρ.)	’Α,
15	ύικ(ῆς) (δρ.)	σιθ [πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.) . . ,
	ἐπαρου(ρίου) [(δρ.) . . ,	
	σπ(ονδῆς) Διονύ(σου) [(δρ.) . . ,	
	τῆ(ς) δι(αγραφῆς) [(δρ.) . . . .	

## Col. iii.

	ἀριθ(μῆσεως) Με[χ(εῖρ) ?·	
20	(τρίτης) βαλ(ανείων) (δρ.)	η [ ] ,
	βικα(ρίου) [(δρ.) . . ,]	
	μερισμ(οῦ) ἐρημ(οφυλακίας) [(δρ.) . . ,]	
	ὑποκ(ειμένων) ἐγλογι(στειά) [(δρ.) . . ,]	
	ἰδίου λόγ(ο)υ δι(ὰ) μ . υ ( ) [(δρ.) . . ,]	
25	ύικ(ῆς) (δρ.)	υπα (τριώβ. ?) χ(αλκοῖ) β, πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.) νε
		(δυοβ.) (ἡμιωβ.) χ(αλ.) β,
	ἐπαρου(ρίου) (δρ.)	ρ, [πρ(οσδ.) (δρ.)] η (τριώβ.)·

- ις (ἔτους) λαογραφίας (δρ.) 'B . [.]ξ,  
 υικ(ῆς) (δρ.) ροα (δυοβ.) χ(αλ.) β,  
 ναυ(βίου) (δρ.) σκς χ(αλ.) β,  
 30 συ(μβολικου) (δρ.) μα (τετρώβ.),  
 ἔπαρου(ρίου) (δρ.) γ (τετρώβ.),  
 σπ(ονδῆς) Διονύ(σου) (δρ.) ις, πρ(οσδ.) α (δυοβ.) χ(αλ.) β,  
 / τῆ(ς) δι(αγραφῆς) (δρ.) 'Γχμ.

## Col. iv.

- 2nd hand κεφάλαια δια[γ]ρ[αφῶν διὰ πρακτόρων  
 35 Θμοισεφὼ τοπ(αρχίας) Τ[ήεως τόπ(ων) τοῦ ἐνεστῶ(τος)  
 κ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου [τοῦ κυρίου.  
 ἔσ[τι δέ·  
 ἀριθ(μῆσεως) Θώθ·  
 κ (ἔτους) (τρίτης) βαλ(ανείων) (δρ.) η (πεντώβ.) [,  
 40 βικαρίου [(δρ.) . . ,  
 μερισμ(οῦ) ἔρημ(οφυλακίας) [(δρ.) . . ,  
 οὔσια(κοῦ) φέ(ρου) παραδ(είσων) [(δρ.) . . .  
 ιθ (ἔτους) μερισμ(οῦ) ἔρημ(οφυλακίας) [(δρ.) . . ,  
 λαογρα(φίας) [(δρ.) . . . . ,  
 45 φέ(ρου) ὑπολόγου [(δρ.) . . ,  
 οὔσια(κῶν) ἔδαφῶν [(δρ.) . . ,  
 υικ(ῆς) [(δρ.) . . ,  
 ἔπαρου(ρίου) (δρ.) ιβ (δυοβ.) [,  
 σπ(ονδῆς) Διονύ(σου) (δρ.) [ . . ,  
 50 τιμ(ῆς) ὑπα[.]λ[ (δρ.) . .

10 sqq. πρ(οσδιαγραφομένων) is abbreviated ρ<sup>1</sup> throughout. 20. γ βαλ. Π; so in l. 39.  
 28. α of ροα corr. 29. ν of ναυ(βίου) corr.

Reckoning of Tubi. Third on baths . . , *vicarius* . . , tax on trades . . , extra payments . . 2 chalci, linen-tax . . , extra payments . . 5½ obols, naubion . . , extra payments 8 dr. 3 ob., receipts-tax . . , extra payments 1 dr. 1½ ob., poll-tax . . 4 ob. (?), pig-tax 6[.] dr., extra payments 76 dr. 4 ob., acreage-tax 200 dr., extra payments 17 dr., libation 40 dr., extra payments 3 dr. 2½ ob., desert-guards' rate 45 dr. 4½ ob., rent of gardens in the Imperial estates 20 dr. 5 ob.; 16th year poll-tax 1,000 dr., pig-tax 219 dr., extra payments . . , acreage-tax . . , libation to Dionysus . . ; total of the payment . . .

Reckoning of Mecheir. Third on baths 8 dr., *vicarius* . . , desert-guards' rate . . , dues to the office of eclogistes . . , for the idiologus . . . , pig-tax 481 dr. 3 ob. 2 chal.,

extra payments 55 dr. 2½ ob. 2 chal., acreage-tax 100 dr., extra payments 8 dr. 3 ob.; 16th year, poll-tax 2[.]7 dr., pig-tax 171 dr. 2 ob. 2 chal., naubion 226 dr. 2 chal., receipts-tax 41 dr. 4 ob., acreage-tax 3 dr. 4 ob., libation to Dionysus 16 dr., extra payments 1 dr. 2 ob. 2 chal.; total of the payment 3,640 dr.

Totals of sums paid through the collectors of money-taxes for the Thmoisepho toparchy, Teis district, in the present 20th year of Antoninus the lord, as follows. Reckoning of Thoth. 20th year, third on baths 8 dr. 5 ob., *vicarius* . ., desert-guards' rate . ., rent of gardens in the Imperial estates . .; 19th year, desert-guards' rate . ., poll-tax . ., rent of unproductive land . ., land in the Imperial estates . ., pig-tax . ., acreage-tax 12 dr. 2 ob., libation to Dionysus . ., value of . . .

1-3. Cf. ll. 19-21, nn. and 38-40.

4. χι(ρωνναξίου): cf. 1432. int. and 5, n.

5. ὀθ(ονιηράς): cf. 1414. int., 1428. 4, 1438. int.

6. να(βίου): cf. 1409. 20, 1427. 3, 1434. 25, nn., P. Ryl. ii, pp. 243 sqq. It was generally paid in copper drachmae at the rate of 300 for a silver drachma, with extra payments of about  $\frac{1}{10}$  and a charge for κόλλυβος ('exchange') of  $\frac{1}{60}$ , but e. g. in P. Fay. 41. ii. 12 the payments were in silver. In l. 29 there are no extra payments.

7. συ(μβολικῶ): for this resolution cf. P. Tebt. 298. 63 συ(μ)βολ[ι]κῶ. συ(μβόλου), which occurs written out in e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 372. 9, 17 (P. Tebt. ii, p. 340) and P. Ghent verso (P. Ryl. ii, p. 421), can be substituted where only one receipt is in question, and συ(μβόλων) might be read here. The plural συμβολικά is not found written out, but very likely occurred in e. g. B. G. U. 219. 8. The evidence for this charge for giving a receipt is collected in P. Tebt. 295. 12, n. Extra payments occur here, but not in l. 30.

8. λαο(γραφίας): cf. int. The rate of the poll-tax varied considerably in the different metropoleis, 20 drachmae a year being normally paid at Arsinoë (P. Tebt. 306. int.), where 40 dr. were paid by some classes (Wilcken, *Grundz.* 189) and 8 by others (P. Tebt. 354. int.), 16 at Tentyra (Milne, *Archiv.* vi. 127), 12 at Oxyrhynchus (e. g. 1452. 19), 8 at Hermopolis (P. Ryl. 193. 3, n.) and Memphis (P. Flor. 12). Concerning the rate of the tax in villages much less is known. In those of the Arsinoïte nome rates of 40 dr., 22 dr. 4 obols, 20, 16, and 12 dr. occur (P. Tebt. 306. int.), but apart from the payment of 16 dr. at Nebo (1438. 18), which is not certainly Oxyrhynchite, there is no evidence yet for λαογραφία in the villages of that nome. In the Arsinoïte receipts 10 obols are usually charged for extra payments, besides a charge for σύμβολα, but no προσδιαγραφόμενα occur in l. 14 nor, probably, here.

9. ὑκ(ῆς): for the pig-tax, which is often mentioned in Oxyrhynchus papyri, see P. Ryl. 193. 4, n., 1516. 2, 5, 1518. 7, 1520. 6. About 1 drachma 4 obols is so common a payment that this may well have been the tax on one or two pigs. The sum lost is likely to have been about 660 dr., to judge by the relation of the extra payments to the main sum for ὑκῆ in l. 25 (nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$ ). Elsewhere ὑκῆ generally occurs without extra payments (but 1 ob. for προσδ. on 1 dr. 4½ ob. for ὑκῆ is found in 574), and in l. 28 they are not recorded; but that may be due to inadvertence, the line having no marginal strokes against it; cf. int. In l. 15 the occurrence of extra payments is uncertain.

10. ἐπαρου(ρίων): on this land-tax upon vine and garden land in addition to the γεωμετρία see 1283. 13, n., and P. Ryl. ii, pp. 243 sqq. In P. Brit. Mus. 195 and 374 the rate is 6 dr. 4 ob. per arura, equivalent to 2,000 copper dr., which is a common rate in Roman times elsewhere, though examples of 1,000 copper dr. per arura also occur. The payment of 3 dr. 4 ob. for ἐπαρ. in l. 31 therefore probably represents the tax on  $\frac{1}{2}$  or 1 arura. The usual rate of προσδιαγραφόμενα upon ἐπαρ. was  $\frac{1}{3}$  (P. Ryl. ii, p. 257); here and in l. 26 it was just over  $\frac{1}{2}$ , while in l. 31 no προσδ. are recorded and in l. 16 the details are lost.

11. σπονδ(ῆς): in ll. 17 and 32 σπ. Διονύ(σου), for which see 1283. 17, n., P. Ryl. ii, p. 422 and 216. 128, n. It was apparently a tax of 8 dr. per aroura on ἀμπελώνες, and, though probably devoted originally to religious purposes, was paid in Roman times to the department called διοικήσεις, like the ἐξαδραχμία Φιλαδέλφου (P. Ryl. 213. 354). προσδιαγραφόμενα upon σπ. Διον., which here and in l. 32 are between  $\frac{1}{11}$  and  $\frac{1}{12}$ , are not found elsewhere, but προσδ. upon the ὀκτάδραχμος occur in P. Ryl. 216.

12. μερισμ(οῦ) ἐρημ(οφυλακίς): cf. ll. 22, 41, and 43. On this tax for the maintenance of desert-guards see P. Fay. p. 196, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 191. Numerous instances show that it was paid at the πύλαι together with the octroi-duties (cf. 1439-40), but here the use of the term μερισμός indicates that it was levied as a rate *per capita* (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 256), not as in the Arsinoite nome. Elsewhere it was generally collected by tax-farmers, not πράκτορες.

13. οὐσι(ακού) φό(ρου) παραδ(είσων): cf. l. 42. The impost οὐσια(κῶν) ἐδαφῶν in l. 46 is different, being more comprehensive. ἐδάφη in papyri often means land simply (e. g. σιτικά ἐδάφη in 286. 22), but can include land built upon; cf. P. Tebt. i, p. 598. On οὐσιακὴ γῆ, land belonging to the *patrimonium* of the Emperors, see Wilcken, *Grundz.* 298 sqq., and cf. 1434. 20.

17. σπ(ονδῆς) Διονύ(σου): cf. l. 11, n.

18. δι(αγραφῆς): cf. l. 34. διαστολῆς occurs at this point in B. G. U. 652. 16, and πρακτορίας in P. Ryl. 213, where the receipts are classified under the headings διοικήσεις, ἱερατικά, and εἶδη, as in P. Fay. 42 (a). That distinction is ignored in 1436; for ὑκῆ, which belongs to the εἶδη category in P. Ryl. 213, occurs along with λαογραφία, which belongs to the διοικήσεις. Local usage no doubt varied as to the observance of this distinction; cf. 1443. 8 διοικήσεως καὶ ἱερα(τικῶν) (Antaeopolite nome) with e. g. 1444. 8 (Oxyrhynchite), which omits these words. πρακτορίας suggests a monthly collection rather than arrears alone, and some of the features which led the editors of P. Ryl. 213 to refer that papyrus to arrears are traceable in 1436. Here too there seems to be no regular principle of assessment from month to month, and considerable fluctuations occur, while several taxes of which a mention would be expected, e. g. χωματικόν and ἀπόμοιρα, are absent. The great variety of taxation in different nomes is well illustrated by a comparison of the lists in (1) 1436 (17 taxes), (2) P. Ryl. 213 (about 42, but not more than 20 in the same village), and (3) P. Fay. 42 (a) (about 28). (1) and (2) have only five in common, (1) and (3) two, (2) and (3) three or four. That P. Ryl. 213 is to be classed with 1436 rather than with P. Fay. 42 (a) is not improbable.

19. Με[χείρ] is preferable to Με[σορή]: cf. int.

20. The τρίτη βαλανείων (cf. l. 39), which was distinct from the ordinary tax called βαλανικόν or ὑπὲρ βαλανείων for the maintenance of public baths (cf. 1430), was apparently a charge of  $\frac{1}{3}$  on the profits of privately-owned baths, and has occurred in the third century B. C. (P. Hibeh 116, int.), but in Roman papyri only in P. Ryl. 213. 474.

21. βικα(ρίων): cf. l. 40, 735. 6, where an ορτίον in A. D. 205 gives a receipt to a Καισάρων οἰκονόμον οὐκάρως for wheat supplied to ἱππεῖς, and B. G. U. 102. 1, where a Καισάρως οἰκ. οὐκ. in 161 gives a receipt to the elders of Socnopaei Nesus for 443 $\frac{1}{2}$  drachmae for φόρος προβάτων paid by them. Probably here too the vicarius was engaged in tax-collecting.

23. ὑποκ(ειμένων) ἐγλογι(στέια): on the evidence for and meaning of ὑποκείμενα (= φιλάνθρωπα: cf. 1445. 9) in relation to the offices of epistrategus, basilicogrammateus, and comogrammateus see Martin, *Épistratèges*, 137 sqq. ὑποκείμενα ἐννομίον, κομογρα(μματείας), τοπ(αρχίας), and τοπογρα(μματείας) occur in P. Ryl. 213, and ὑποκείμενα simply, in the sense perhaps of χειρωνάζιον upon bakers, in P. Ryl. 167. 21. This impost for the support of the ἐκλογιστής (cf. 1480) is new. The eclogistae were Alexandrian officials, one for each nome, who examined the revenue-accounts; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 208, P. Ryl. 83. 18, n. That



papyrus shows that they belonged to the department of the ἴδιος λόγος, which is mentioned in the next line here.

24. ἴδιον λόγο(ν) δι(ὰ) μ . ν ( ) : δι(ὰ) με(ρισμοῦ) or δ̄ με(ρισμοῦ) does not suit this abbreviation, which is very cursively written. The stroke above the line probably represents ν, so that διαμο(νήs) is also unsatisfactory.

31. Cf. l. 10, n.

35. Τηῖς is the only known village in the Thmoisepho toparchy beginning with T and is mentioned on the recto (1435. 3). That toparchy was probably smaller than the others, and was apparently situated between Oxyrhynchus and the northern (κάτω) toparchy; cf. 1285. 122 and 1421. 3, n. τ[οῦ ἐνεστώτος (with πρα(κτόρων) in l. 34) is possible, in which case the sums refer to the whole toparchy; but this is less likely.

45. φ(ό)ρου) ὑπολόγου: the ὑπόλογον, i. e. unproductive land (cf. P. Tebt. i, p. 540), sometimes yielded a reduced rent; cf. Rostowzew, *Röm. Kolonat.* 171 sqq. In P. Tebt. 336. 8 πρόσοδοι ὑπ(ολόγου) in corn are mentioned, but ὑπ(αρχόντων) is there possible.

46. Cf. l. 13, n.

50. ὑπο[.]λ[ : ὑπο[.]α[ can be read. The title of the impost is in any case new. τιμῆs χλωρῶν occurs in 1046. 1.

## 1437. ACCOUNT OF HIERATIC TAXES.

14.2 × 14.5 cm.

About A. D. 208.

A fragment of an account of money-taxes at an unnamed village. One section (ll. 2-10) is nearly complete, and gives the totals collected for (1) ἀπόμοιρα, (2) ἱερὰ γῆ, i. e. rent of temple-land, in the 16th year of a reign which can hardly be any other than that of Septimius Severus and his sons, the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Gallienus being unsuitable on palaeographical grounds. The ἀπόμοιρα, originally an impost of  $\frac{1}{6}$  or  $\frac{1}{10}$  upon the produce of vine and garden land for the benefit of the temples, was diverted by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the cult of Arsinoë (cf. P. Rev. Laws xxiv-xxxvii). In the Roman period it belonged normally to the ἱερατικά department of taxation (P. Ryl. ii, p. 297; in the case of γῆ λιμνιτική it was included under διοίκησις), and as it is here coupled with ἱερὰ γῆ, the fragment perhaps belongs to a general report by πράκτορες or a bank upon the taxation of one or more villages, arranged according to the usual classification of taxes under the headings διοίκησις, ἱερατικά, and εἶδη; cf. 1436. 18, n. The payments for the two classes of ἀπόμοιρα are subdivided into those ὦν ἀλλαγῆ (cf. 1434. 36) and those ἰσονόμου, an unusual survival of Ptolemaic expressions, on which see P. Tebt. i, p. 599 and, with regard to the ἀπόμοιρα in particular, P. Hibeh 109. 5-6, n. The figures relating to vinc-land are not preserved; the rate of the tax upon garden-land was approximately 12½ silver drachmae per arura where an agio was charged, and 11½ where copper was accepted at par. These rates are more than double those found in earlier papyri for ἀπόμοιρα upon garden-land; cf. ll. 2-3, n. The difference between the rates ὦν ἀλλαγῆ and ἰσονόμου was only 6 per cent.; cf. B. G. U. 915. 2 (about A. D. 100),

where 1 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. are paid for ἀλλαγή upon 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  dr. for ἀπόμ., a charge of just over 8 per cent. Usually the charge for κόλλυβος, when ἀπόμ. was paid in copper dr., was about 2 per cent.; cf. P. Ryl. 192. 10, n. The rate of exchange naturally varied. At Oxyrhynchus, e. g. in 242, the copper drachma was reckoned as  $\frac{1}{4\frac{1}{5}0}$  of a silver dr.; but  $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{5}0}$  was its normal value where this class of tax was concerned (cf. P. Ryl. ii, pp. 246-7 and 421), and was probably meant by the ἰσονόμου rate here. Why in reckoning the προσδιαγραφόμενα a deduction of about 23 per cent. was made on account of a 'difference' is not clear; cf. l. 8, n.

γίνονται) [  
 15 (ἔτους) [ἀμπελώνων] ὧν ἀλ(λαγή) (ἄρουραι) . . . (τάλαντα) . (δρ.) . . . ,  
 προσδιαγραφόμενων) (δρ.) ἄρ χαλκοῦς) α ?,  
 ᾧ[ν σὺν διαφόροις) (δρ.) ἄρ θ (δυοβ.) ? ,  
 ἰσονόμου (ἄρουραι) [ . . . . . ] (τάλ.) [ . (δρ.) . . . ,  
 5 παραδείσων] ὧν ἀλ(λαγή) (ἄρ.) ξδιτρκεφιβ (δρ.) ψνα (δυοβολοὶ) (ἡμιω-  
 βέλιον) χαλ.) α,  
 ἰσονόμου (ἄρ.) ιξδ' ιξξδ (δρ.) σα (ὀβολός) χαλ.) α.  
 γίνονται) ἀπομοίρας) (τάλ.) η (δρ.) σιγ (τετράβ.) χαλ.) β,  
 προσδιαγραφόμενων) (δρ.) ἄρ χαλ.) α, ὧν σὺν διαφόροις) (δρ.) ἄρ θ  
 (δυοβ.),  
 ἰερά(ς) γῆ(ς) (δρ.) ωπε (δυοβ.) χαλ.) β, προσδιαγρ.) (δρ.) νε (ὀβολ.) (ἡμιωβ.)  
 χαλ.) γ, / (δρ.) γμ (τετράβ.) χαλ.) α.  
 10 γίνονται) ἐ[π(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (τάλ.) η] (δρ.) ἄρ τιγ (τετράβ.) χαλ.) γ.  
 [26 letters (δρ.) . .]ιε (δυοβ.) (ἡμιωβ.)

'16th year. Vine-land upon which an agio is charged . . . arurae, . talents . . . drachmae, for extra payments 4,100 dr. 1 chalcus (?), making with the difference 3,159 dr. 2 obols (?): vine-land at par . . ar., . tal. . . dr. Garden-land upon which an agio is charged 60 $\frac{1}{5}$  $\frac{6}{12}$  ar., 751 dr. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. 1 chal.: garden-land at par 17 $\frac{2}{6}$  $\frac{1}{4}$  ar., 201 dr. 1 ob. 1 chal. Total for ἀρομοῖα 8 tal. 213 dr. 4 ob. 2 chal., extra payments 4,100 dr. 1 chal., making with the difference 3,159 dr. 2 ob. Temple-land 885 dr. 2 ob. 2 chal., extra payments 55 dr. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. 3 chal.; total 940 dr. 4 ob. 1 chal. Total of the whole 8 tal. 4,313 dr. 4 ob. 3 chal.'

2-3. ἀμπελώνες are regularly contrasted with παραδείσοι in connexion with the ἀπόμοιρα. Since no προσδιαγραφόμενα occur in ll. 4-6 and this entry apparently occupied two lines, the details given in l. 8 are probably to be restored here, especially as ἀμπελώνων is inadmissible in l. 3. ᾧ[ν ἀλ(λαγή) or (ἄρουραι) [ might be read in place of ᾧ[ν σὺν διαφόροις), and with either of those readings a reference to ἀπόμοιρα (cf. l. 7) probably followed ἀμπελώνων)

in l. 2; but if l. 3 began  $\delta\iota\nu$  ἀλ(λαγή) it ought to have been uniform with ll. 4 sqq. instead of being indented. The objection to introducing a reference to προσδιαγραφόμενα here is that they do not occur in connexion with the parallel παραδ(είσων) ὧν ἀλ(λαγή) in l. 5, and may have been mentioned for the first time in l. 8; but this is less likely; cf. the calculations of προσμετρούμενα in 1445. The rate of προσδ. in the case of ἀπόμοιρα was usually  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the main sum (cf. P. Ryl. ii, p. 245), so that 4,100 dr. for προσδ. implies 20,500 dr. for ἀπόμοιρα. The customary rate of that tax was in the first and second centuries 10 dr. per arura upon ἀμπελώνες, and 5 upon παράδεισοι, but in P. Hamb. 40-1 and 46-51 (A. D. 213-19) the rate was apparently 3,750 copper dr. ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  silver) per arura upon both classes (cf. P. Ryl. ii, p. 250, where 1437 is alluded to in n. 5), and since  $12\frac{1}{2}$  dr. is the charge upon παράδεισοι in l. 5 the same rate may be taken for granted in l. 2 upon ἀμπελώνες. 20,500 dr. would therefore imply 1640 arurae, and perhaps these figures should be restored in l. 2; but the entries before l. 2 may have also referred to ἀπόμοιρα, though in a different year (cf. e. g. 1436), and in that case the 4,100 dr. in l. 8 are the sum of several items, of which ll. 2-3 are only one.

5. χαλκοῦς α: it has been sometimes supposed that the lowest denomination of the coinage at this period was the δίσχάλκον (cf. P. Ryl. 192. 10, n.); but 1 chalcus also occurs in ll. 8-9, so that it presumably was represented by a coin, though perhaps an old one.

8. προσδιαγραφόμενα were often connected with an agio on payments in copper (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv.* iv. 146), but special payments for κάλλυβος are usually associated with those for ἀπόμοιρα. The reduction of the 4,100 dr. 1 chal., which are ignored in the total in l. 10, to 3,159 dr. 2 ob. is inconsistent with the difference between the rate of the tax upon land ὧν ἀλλαγῆ and ἰσονόμον (cf. int.); and the difference here is probably due to other causes than a loss owing to the exchange. If our restoration of ll. 2-3 is correct, the διάφορα upon προσδιαγραφόμενα were mentioned there in connexion with land ὧν ἀλλαγῆ, where a reference to a difference on exchange would be quite intelligible; but if the διάφορα meant only that, the absence of any mention of them both in l. 5 with παραδ(είσων) ὧν ἀλ(λαγή) and in l. 7, the total for ἀπόμοιρα, is difficult to explain. It is moreover unsatisfactory to suppose that by προσδ. δρ. ἄρ. χαλ. α the writer meant not that actual sum in silver but an amount of copper nominally (i. e. at the ratio of 300:1) equivalent to it. If he had meant copper, he would have been expected to be more explicit. διάφορα is used quite vaguely of losses in P. Cairo 10371. 8 (= W. *Chrest.* 11 B), and the word is not in papyri elsewhere specially connected with a difference of exchange, though διαφορ(ᾶς) μέτρ(ων) occurs in P. Cairo Maspero 67055. i. 1.

## 1438. LIST OF ARREARS OF TAXATION.

17.3 x 11.7 cm.

Late second century.

On the recto of this fragment are parts of two columns of a taxing-return, probably written by a comogrammateus, like 1434. Only the ends of lines of Col. i survive, and of Col. ii the top is much damaged. The return, so far as can be judged, was concerned with arrears. Lines 10-13 give a list of three persons not forthcoming (?), who owed money for the trade-tax on cloth-weavers (l. 12, n.); this is followed by a section in a different hand concerning persons owing sums for various taxes, who had disappeared. The only individual concerning whom details are preserved was one of the three persons already mentioned. That

Νεβώ, a new village mentioned in l. 16, was in the Oxyrhynchite nome is not certain; but an identification with Ναβοώι, a village in the Ἀπολλωνοπολίτης Ἐπτακωμίας (c. g. P. Giessen 58. i. 29), is unlikely. Of the taxes some are familiar, such as the λαογραφία, χωματικόν, and δεσμοφυλακία, others rare, e. g. the ἐπιστολικόν?, or new (e. g. l. 19 ἑξαδραχμία ὄνων, l. 18 λεμλ( ), and those in ll. 21-2). The collective classification of them as ἐπικεφάλια, i. e. taxes levied *per capita* (l. 14, n.) is interesting, for that word has hitherto been misunderstood. ἐπικεφαλ( ) also occurs twice in the upper part of Col. ii, of which one line begins μέρους ἐγ(λόγου?) ὀθονηρ[ās (cf. 1443. 13, the μερισμὸς ἐνδείματος ὀθονηρās in P. RyI. 214. 42-3, and 1414. int.). At the ends of lines the extent of the lacuna, which is the same in ll. 11-22, is uncertain, but probably does not exceed thirteen letters, and may be much less. Lines 11 and 18-21 are compatible with a loss of only one or two letters, but in l. 14 a participle is required and abbreviation unlikely. The handwriting indicates a late second-century date.

On the verso are the ends of eleven lines, and beginnings of a few more in a second column, from a taxing-list of lands with amounts in arurae and artabae, mentioning κατεξυσμ(ένη), for which cf. 1434. 19.

## Parts of 9 lines.

10 Σαραπάμμω(ν) Ψύιτο(ς) Ἴνύ[ριο(ς)] 14 letters  
 Ἄρειο(ς) ἀνθ' (οὔ) Ἀμόι(ς) Ἀμόι(τος) Ἀπο[λλωνίου(ς)]?  
 λινοῦφικόν [ ]  
 / ὀνόμ(ατα) γ ἄση(μα).

2nd hand καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπικεφαλίων τινῶν [ἀναχωρησάντων

15 εἰς ἀγνοουμένους τόπους. [ ]  
 Νεβώ, [ ]

Σαραπάμμων Ψύιτος Ἴνύριος. [12 letters

λαογρα(φίας) (δραχμαὶ) ις, λεμλ( ) (τριώβολον), δε[σμοφυλ(ακίας)]. . .,  
 (ἑξαδραχμίας) ὄνω(ν) (δρ.) ε (ὀβολ.), ἐπιστολ(ικου?) (δρ.) δ [13 letters?

20 χωμα(τικου) (δρ.) ζ (ἡμιωβ.), μερισ(μοῦ) διπλ(ῶν) [ 13 letters?  
 Ἡρακλεωτικ(ῶν) ζευγ(ῶν) (δρ.) ι [ 13 letters?  
 Ἡλιοπ(ολιτικῶν) (δρ.) . (τετράβ.?).

. . . . .

11. ι of αμοι( ) in both cases corr. from ο(?). 12. ι. λινοῦφικόν. 17. Ἴνυριος Π.

‘. . . Sarapammon son of Psois son of Inuris . . . , Arius whose other name is Amois, son of Amois son of Apollonius, for cloth-weavers’ tax. Total 3 persons not traced (?).

And from personal dues upon certain individuals who have gone away to unknown places:

at Nebo, Sarapammon son of Psois son of Inuris, for poll-tax 16 drachmae, for . . . 3 ob., for prison-guards' tax (?) . . ., for the six-drachmae tax on asses 5 dr. 1 ob., for . . . 4 dr., . . . for embankments-tax 7 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob., for the rate for διπλά . . ., for Heracleopolite pairs (of loaves?) 10 dr. . . ., for Heliopolite . dr. 4(?) ob.'

11. ἀνθ' (οὐδ'): this expression indicates an alternative name; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, iii. 124, Viereck, *Stud. Pal.* xiii. 4, and 1145. 8<sup>o</sup> Ωρ[ος] Περεχώντος ἀνθ' ὧν Ἀμμώνι(ος) Περεχών(τος).

12. λινοῦ(φ)ικόν: for the χειρωνάξιον on λινοῦφοι cf. 1414. int.

13. ἄση(μα) perhaps has its ordinary sense 'with no distinguishing mark'.

14. ἐπικεφαλίων is neuter, not masculine; cf. B. G. U. 1. 15 ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλίου[ν] τῶν ὑπεραιόντων ἱερέων, 833. 27 ἐγγυῆται ἡμ[ᾶς] τῶ[ν] ἐπικεφαλίων, Milne, *Theban Osl.* 136. 1 λόγ(ος) ἐξουσίας ἐπικεφαλείων Παήρι(ος), De Ricci, *C. R. Acad. des Inscr.* 1905. 160 (= *W. Chrest.* 28) καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐπικεφάλια τελούντα, Cicero, *ad Att.* v. 16 *audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata epicephalia solvere non posse*. The word has generally been regarded as equivalent to ἐπικεφάλαιον, and, since ἐπικεφάλαιον is used in Egypt for poll-tax (e. g. 1157. 14), the ostrakon in which ἐπικεφαλείων apparently referred to χειρωνάξιον naturally caused a difficulty; cf. P. Ryl. 191. 7, n. The present passage indicates that ἐπικεφάλιον is more general than ἐπικεφάλαιον and applies to taxes other than the poll-tax, but like it based on *capita*. The χωματικόν (l. 20) was known to have been a tax of this character, and there is no difficulty in regarding the δε[σμοφυλ(ακία)] (l. 18), ἐπιστολ(ικόν?) (l. 19), and μερισ(μὸς) διπλ(ών) (l. 20), or most of the new taxes, as levied uniformly, like the poll-tax. In regard to the ἐξάδραχμία ὄνων (l. 19) the sum paid creates a difficulty in any case (cf. n.), but this impost was, as its name implies, in origin a tax of 6 drachmae either for each ass or for a licence.

18. λαογραφία(ς): this is so far the only example of a payment of this tax in an Oxyrhynchite village, if Nebo belongs to that nome; cf. int. and 1436. 8, n.

λεμλ( ): the word is unknown and perhaps Egyptian in origin.

δε[σμοφυλ(ακίας)]: this tax is often coupled with λαογραφία and χωματικόν, e. g. in P. Ryl. 185, 191, Tebt. 354. It was for the maintenance of prison-guards; cf. the similar payments for μαγδωλοφύλακες in e. g. P. Ryl. 191. 5.

19. (ἐξάδραχμίας) ὄνων(ν): cf. l. 14, n., and 1457. int. The abbreviation consists of 5 with a stroke over it, followed by the sign for drachmae. The relation of the ἐξάδραχμία to the other known taxes upon asses is not clear. That the amount owing was less than 6 dr. can be explained by supposing that part of the tax had been paid; but the λαογραφία and χωματικόν represent the charges for a whole year, and the difference between 6 dr. and 5 dr. 1 ob. is not likely to be connected with the exchange, for the χωματικόν includes the προσδιαγραφόμενα; cf. l. 20, n.

ἐπιστολ(ικόν?) (δρ.) δ [ : 20 drachmae for . . . ἐπιστολ( ) occur in B. G. U. 653. 13, a monthly return by πράκτορες, and payments for ἐπιστολ( ) ranging from  $\frac{1}{2}$  obol 2 chalci to 4 ob. are found in P. Tebt. 355, 544, 638. *a* is just possible here in place of *δ*. The termination of ἐπιστολ( ) has not yet occurred written out, and the meaning of the tax is unknown.

20. χωμα(τικόν): ωμ was written very cursorily, if those letters were indeed intended, and the *a* is represented by a flourish: perhaps χω(ματικόν) should be read. 6 drachmae 4 obols were the usual amount of this tax, but 7 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. occur in P. Tebt. 353-4, Ryl. 194. 3 (where the δρ. are ῥυπαραί), and higher rates in Theban ostraca. That the difference was due to the inclusion of προσδιαγραφόμενα, as suggested in P. Tebt. 353. int., was confirmed by a Strassburg ostrakon (Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv. 146); cf. P. Ryl. 194. 3, n.

μερισ(μὸς) διπλ(ών): cf. Wilcken, *Osl.* ii. 163-4, P. Ryl. 214. 9. Elsewhere the tax is

called διπλῶν simply (e. g. in P. Tebt. 355), except in P. Fay. 53. 6 *δαπ(άνης) διπλ(ῶν?)*. The sums paid for it are small, often less than 1 drachma. In P. Brit. Mus. 844. 5, 7 (iii. 55) it is coupled with *ποτ(αμο)φυλ(ακία)*. *διπλᾶ* are commonly jars of wine, but the meaning here is uncertain.

21. Ἡρακλεωτικ(ῶν) ζευγ(ῶν): Ἡρακλεωτικῶν = Ἡρακλεοπολιτικῶν; cf. B. G. U. 934. 4 Ἡρα[κλε]ωτῶν πόλεως. A Ptolemaic receipt for τὸ καθήκον τέλος ζευγῶν πεντακόσια (which Wilcken corrects to *πεντακοσίων*, but may be for *πεντακοσίας*, sc. *δραχμῆς*) occurs in *Ost.* ii. 1028; cf. i. 219. Wilcken doubtfully interprets *ζεύγος* as a pair of oxen or a cart, but the commonest meaning of the word in papyri is for a pair of loaves. *χιτῶνες* also are measured by *ζεύγη* in P. Leipzig 57. In P. Brit. Mus. 1157 (iii. 61) a tax called *δραχμ(ῆς) ζευγματικῶν* occurs among various imposts on land (cf. 1442. int.), being perhaps concerned with sluices, and *ζευγ(μάτων)* is possible here. But P. Giessen 26. 11 ἄρτω[ν] Ἐρμο[ν]πολιτικῶν τῆμχο[ι]μικε[ίων] strongly favours the reference to bread.

22. *ζευγ(ῶν)* is probably to be supplied with Ἡλιοπ(ολιτικῶν); cf. the preceding note. Possibly the lacuna at the end of l. 21 only contained a sum in obols; cf. int.

## 1439. CUSTOMS-RECEIPT.

5.3 × 5.3 cm.

A. D. 75.

This is the first example from Oxyrhynchus of a class of tax-receipts which is common in Arsinoite papyri, concerning octroi-dues levied upon traffic across the western desert; cf. P. Fay. pp. 195 sqq., Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 354 sqq. and *Archiv.* ii. 134, P. Ryl. 197. int. The general character of the formula resembles that of the other first and early second century instances, in which *παρέσχηκε* or *παρήξε* is used in place of the later *τετελώνηται*, e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1265; but it is noteworthy that the tax is only  $\frac{1}{100}$  and is called *διαπυλίου*, a word which here appears for the first time in a papyrus, whereas the Arsinoite receipts mention two taxes, of  $\frac{1}{100}$  and  $\frac{1}{50}$ , which are not further specified, *διὰ πύλης* with the name of a village occurring immediately after the verb. In the present case produce was being transported probably from the Small Oasis (where the tax was paid) to Oxyrhynchus rather than vice versa. The Small Oasis was united to the Oxyrhynchite nome for some purposes in the later Roman period; cf. 888. 8 (about A. D. 300) *ἐξηγητῆ Ὀξυρρυ[χίτου κ]αὶ Μικρᾶς Ὀάσεως*, 485 (A. D. 178), where an inhabitant of the Oasis came under the jurisdiction of the Oxyrhynchite strategus. In other cases the Oasis was more distinct; cf. 1118. 1 (about A. D. 100), which mentions the strategus of the Small Oasis, 1498. 6 (before 299) *στρα(τηγία) Ὀάσεως* (sc. *Μικρᾶς* ?), and 1210. 16 (about A. D. 1), where the [κω]μογρα[μματεῖ]ς Ὀάσεως τῆς πρὸς τῶι Ὀξυρρυχίτῃ ? are distinguished from the *κωμογρ. Ὀξυρρυχίτου*. The absence of the usual *πεντηκοστὴ ἐξαγωγῆς* or *εἰσαγωγῆς* (cf. 1440) may be due to the circumstance that none was levied upon traffic between the Oasis and the nome, and in any case a contrast is to be drawn between the *ἐκατοστὴ διαπυλίου*, which was levied at *πύλαι* in the villages bordering on the desert, and the *πεντη-*

κοστή on exports and imports, which was levied on traffic by water as well as land, and outside the Arsinoïte nome was collected separately, so far as is known; cf. 1440. int.

The writing is across the fibres, and, as usual, there is a seal, which is undecipherable.

Παρέ(σχηκέ) Σαραπίων (έκατοστήν) διαπυλίο(ν)  
 'Οάσ(εως) κριθῆς ὄνον ἕνα καὶ  
 σκόρδων ὄνον ἕνα. (ἔτους) β  
 Ούεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου  
 5 Μ[ε]χ[ε]ρ ἐβδόμη, ζ.

1. ρ Π.

'Sarapion has paid the tax of  $\frac{1}{100}$  for customs-dues of the Oasis upon one ass-load of barley and one of garlic. The 2nd year of Vespasianus the lord, Mecheir the seventh, 7.'

## 1440. CUSTOMS-RECEIPT.

5.4 × 8.8 cm.

A. D. 120.

A receipt, apparently issued by a tax-farmer, for the payment of the duty of  $\frac{1}{50}$  levied upon produce exported, probably from the Hermopolite to the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. l. 3, n.), by water or land. Corresponding receipts issued by τελώναι πεντηκοστής λι(μένος) Σοήνης or τελ. πεντ. Ἐρμωνθ(ίτου) occur on ostraca (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 276 sqq.); the Arsinoïte πύλη-receipts associate the πεντηκοστή with a έκατοστή, the nature of which is at length cleared up by 1439; cf. int.

Προσβ(έβληκε) πεντηκο(σ)τήν) τοῦ ἐνεσ[τ]ῶτος  
 πέμπτου ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ [Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου ἐξακοκῆς κόμ(ης) Σιν[. . .]ταπή [. . . . .]  
 Στεφάνου τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰβιῶνο(ς) Τα[ν ? .]ξ . [. . . -  
 5 ρεως τήλεως ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι πέντε,  
 / τήλ(εως) (ἀρτάβαι) κε. ἔσχον τὸ καθῆκον τέλος  
 διὰ Τοθῆς νομοφύλακος) Φαῶφι κα.

3. του κυριου added above the line. 1. εξαγωγῆς. 5. 1. ἀρταβῶν. 7. 1. Τοθῆτος.

'Paid the tax of  $\frac{1}{50}$  for the present 5th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord on export at the village of Sin . . . tape by . . . son of Stephanus, inhabitant of Ibion Ταη . e . . . reδς,

upon twenty-five artabae of fenugreek, total fen. 25 art. I received the due amount of the tax through Tothes, nomophylax, on Phaophi 21.'

1. προσβ(έβληκε): cf. e.g. P. Amh. 122. 1, Ryl. 200. 1, 217. 1. προσβ(ολή), which Preisigke prefers in P. Cairo 10264 (= his 29), does not so well balance μεμέτ(ρηται), which is there used as an alternative, but it is possible here, in which case πεντηκο(σ)τ(η)ς is to be read. The construction of ll. 1-5 is confused, ἀρτάβας being written as if ἐξάγων, not ἐξαγωγῆς, had preceded. ἀρτάβας cannot be the object of προσβ(έβληκε), as becomes clear in ll. 6-7.

3. Σω[. ]ραπή: a Hermopolite village Συναπή is known from P. Cairo Preisigke 8. 9, and Ἰβιδίων(ς) Τα[. ]ε . [ . . ]ρεως is perhaps identical with the Hermopolite Ἰβιδίων Ταν . . . ( ) in P. Amh. 126. 12. Several other villages called after ibis-shrines, and generally distinguished by particular names, are known in the Hermopolite, Arsinoïte, Heracleopolite, and Apollinopolite (Heptac.) nomes, and in the Oxyrhynchite nome Ἰβιδίων Χύσεως, Ἰβ. κ[ (1442. 2, n.), Ἰβ. Ἀμμωνίου (492. 3), and perhaps another Ἰβιδίων (158. 1, 998, 1071. 5). There is no antecedent probability that the villages in 1440 are Oxyrhynchite, though with the division Σω[. ]ρα Πη[. . .] the Oxyrhynchite Σενέπτα, which was in the middle toparchy (1285. 120), might be meant. That name rather suggests the modern Sandafa on the right bank of the *Bahr Yusuf* opposite Oxyrhynchus; but if that was the site of Σενέπτα, the village would be expected to be more prominent in Oxyrhynchus papyri than it is, and Oxyrhynchus itself was in or bordered upon the western toparchy (cf. 1475. 22, n.). Πη[ is not at all a common beginning of a personal name in Egypt, and in view of the resemblances between the place-names in 1440 and known Hermopolite villages and the use in l. 1 of προσβ(έβληκε), which is common in Hermopolite papyri but rare elsewhere, that nome is more likely to be meant than e.g. the Cynopolite. Σω[α]λαβή, a Hermopolite village found in B. G. U. 553 v. 4, cannot be read.

5. For the cultivation of τῆλις in the Arsinoïte nome cf. P. Tebt. i, pp. 562-3. The fruit was used for unguents (P. Petrie ii. 34 (b). 9), and bread (1572. 3).

7. νομοφύλακος: whether νομο- refers to νόμος, νομός, or νομή (cf. πεδιοφύλαξ, αἰγιοφύλαξ) is not clear; cf. P. Amh. 108. 8, Ryl. 122. 7, n. This official is not found elsewhere engaged in tax-collecting, his main duties being those of a policeman (B. G. U. 759. 20 νομοφύλακα καὶ ἀρχέφουδου). The νομοφύλακες at Alexandria in P. Halle 1 were different.

#### 1441. RECEIPT FOR CROWN-TAX.

7.7 × 10 cm.

A. D. 197-200.

The recto, to be published in Part xiii, contains part of a late second-century account of payments to workmen. On the verso is a receipt for στέφανος, i. e. *aurum coronarium*, giving some details concerning the mode of assessment, which in the present case was based upon land. ἰδιωτικὴ γῆ was taxed at the rate of 8 drachmae per arura; upon another kind of land, probably βασιλική, the rate is not stated, the payment being on account. The only other instance of this method of levying the στέφανος-tax is Milne, *Theban Ost.* 96, where 4 dr. are paid for στεφ(ανικοῦ) χρῆμ(ατος) on  $\frac{2}{3}$  arura in probably A. D. 222, a rate which is three times as high as that in 1441, if the land was in the same category. No. 95 of the same collection, a bilingual receipt for 3 obols for στεφ. χρῆμ. in the second century,



mentions palm-trees in the demotic portion; but usually no indication of the system of assessment is given. Payments for *στέφανος* occur sporadically in the first and second centuries; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 299 sqq., Milne, *Archiv.* vi. 131, P. Tebt. 353. 25, 640, B. G. U. 1123. 5, P. Ryl. 213. 352, 386. In the reign of Septimius Severus the mentions of it become frequent (1441, P. Brit. Mus. 474. (ii. 107), Ryl. 341. 4, B. G. U. 62), and still more so in the reign of Elagabalus (e. g. B. G. U. 452), third-century payments being generally in multiples of 4 drachmae (in 1522 200 dr. are paid in the course of a year by two persons in instalments of 40 dr.). 1441, being dated by Severus and Caracalla without Geta, belongs to the 6th–9th years. For later mentions of *στέφανος* see 1413. 25 sqq. (Aurelian), P. Brit. Mus. 966 (iii. 58; early fourth century), P. Fay. 20 (Julian?).

[('Ετους) . Α]ουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου  
 [Εύσε]βοῦς Περτίνακος καὶ Μάρκου  
 [Αύρη]λίου Ἀντωνίνου Καيسάρων τῶν κυρίων.  
 διέγρα(ψαν) Πλουτίωνι καὶ μετόχοις) πρά(κτορσι) στεφανικῶν  
 5 κ(ληρονόμοι) Διονυσίου Ἀσκληπιάδου ἰδιω(τικῆς)  
 (ἀρουρῶν) γλῆ' δραχ(μὰς) ἑκοσι ἑννέα, / (δραχμαὶ) κθ,  
 βᾶσ[ι]λ(ικῆς) ὁμοίως ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) δραχμὰς δεκάκτω,  
 [ / (δραχμαὶ)] ιη. Σαραπίων σεση(μείωμαι).

5. Second a of *ασκληπιαδου* corr. from δ. 7. *επι λογ(ου)* added later.

‘The [.]th year of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesars the lords. The heirs of Dionysius son of Asclepiades have paid to Plution and partners, collectors of the crown-dues, upon 3 $\frac{5}{8}$  arurae of private land twenty-nine drachmae, total 29 dr.; likewise upon State land on account eighteen drachmae, total 18 dr. Signed by me, Sarapion.’

## 1442. RECEIPT FOR TAXES OF ONE DRACHMA AND TWO DRACHMAE.

9·7 x 13·1 cm.

A. D. 252.

The two taxes mentioned in this receipt, signed by a *δεκάπρωτος* (cf. 1410. int.), for a payment of 36 drachmae by a woman are identical with two taxes in P. Brit. Mus. 1157 (iii. 62; probably A. D. 226–7 rather than 197–8, since a *δεκάπρωτος* is mentioned), abbreviated β<sup>+</sup> and α<sup>+</sup>. The first also occurs probably in 1217. 3 of the same collection (iii. 61; A. D. 246; cf. *Archiv.* iv. 534) Βου(νῶν) Κλε(ο)π(άτρας) β<sup>+</sup> in conjunction with the *ναύβιον* impost (cf. 1436. 6, n.), which is also found in 1157 together with *τέλεσμα ἀμπέλου* and *παραδείσιων*, all those taxes

being classed as *γνήσια τέλη* (cf. P. Amh. 86. 10, where *γνήσια δημόσια* means *ἀρταβεία* and *ναύβιον*). The tax  $a^+$  is often followed in 1157 by *ζευγ(ματικῶν)*, which is written out in l. 28 and sometimes stands by itself, but in place of  $a^+$  *ζευγ.* in ll. 51 and 67 *δραχμ( ) ζευγμ.* occurs. As we have already suggested (1157. 6, n.),  $a^+$  there probably means 1 drachma,  $\beta^+$  meaning 2 dr., and this view was confirmed by the evidence of 1185 that  $\eta^+$  meant an 8 drachmae tax. It is tempting to connect the  $a^+$  and  $\beta^+$  with the *ἐπαρούριον*, which was one of the regular taxes upon vine and garden land (cf. 1436. 10, n.) and is not mentioned in 1157, where its presence is expected. That impost is lost sight of after A. D. 219, and before that date land-taxes called 1 or 2 dr. are not known. It is noticeable that the rate of the *ἐπαρούριον* was sometimes 1,000, sometimes 2,000, copper drachmae (equivalent to about  $3\frac{1}{3}$  or  $6\frac{2}{3}$  silver dr.) per arura; but 'A<sup>+</sup> and 'B<sup>+</sup> cannot be read in 1442 or P. Brit. Mus. 1157, and in view of the equivalence of  $a^+$  and *δραχμ( )* it is best to expand *δραχμ(ῆς)* and regard this tax as an impost for *ζευγματικά*, whatever that may mean. The editors of P. Brit. Mus. 1157 suggest that it refers to sluices or bridges (cf. 1437. 21, n.). The  $\beta^+$  tax might still be the successor of the *ἐπαρούριον*; that it was a tax on land is in any case probable.

On the chronology of the reign of Gallus and Volusianus, in which 1442 is dated, and concerning which the evidence of papyri and coins presents some special difficulties, see 1476. int.

*B* (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γάλλου καὶ Οὐλοῦσιανου

Καισι[ά]ρων Σεβαστῶν Φαρμουῦθι η. Ἰβιδῶνος Χύσεως

ὑπὲρ β (δραχμῶν) καὶ α (δραχμῆς) τοῦ αὐτοῦ β (ἔτους) Αὐρηλία Μαξίμα  
Ἄμμω-

νίου [ἀσ]τή δραχ(μὰς) τριάκοντα ἕξ, γίνονται (δρ.) λς. (2nd hand) Α(ὐρηλιος)

Τριάδελ(φος)

5 ὁ κ(αὶ) Σαραπίων γυμνασ(ιαρχήσας) κ(αὶ) ὡς χρημ(ατίζω) δεκάπρωτ(ος) (δρ.)

τριάκον-

τα ἕξ σεσημ(είωμαι). × ×

2. Ἰβιδῶνος Π.

'The 2nd year of our lords Gallus and Volusianus, Caesars Augusti, Pharmouthi 8, at Ibion Chuseos for the 2 drachmae and 1 drachma taxes of the said 2nd year Aurelia Maxima daughter of Ammonius, citizen, (paid) 36 drachmae, total 36 dr. I, Aurelius Triadelphus also called Sarapion, ex-gymnasiarch, and however I am styled, decaprotus, have signed for 36 drachmae.'

2. Ἰβιδῶνος Χύσεως: this village is new. In P. Giessen 115 Ἰβιδῶν κ[, which occurs in a list of villages in the 9th pagus (towards the north of the nome; cf. 1425. 4, n.), is likely to be different; for Χύσις was in the ἄνω (i. e. southern) toparchy (1285. 67), and Ἰβ. Χύσεως was probably in the vicinity of Χύσις: cf. 1440. 3, n.

1443. REPORT OF SITOLOGI TO A STRATEGUS OF THE ANTAEOPOLITE NOME.

14.2 × 8 cm.

A. D. 227 (?).

This return, addressed to a strategus by sitologi of a village in the Antaeopolite nome (cf. P. Giessen 48. int.), concerning their receipts during two months, has lost the conclusion and about ten letters at the ends of lines; these can, however, be for the most part restored by a comparison with the similar returns by sitologi in the Oxyrhynchite nome (1525-6), Arsinoïte (B. G. U. 64, 529, 534, 585, 835, P. Fay. 86 (a), 332, Tebt. 339, 538, Strassb. 45, Thead. 28), Mendesian (P. Tebt. 340), and Apollinopolite Heptacomias (P. Giessen 63, Flor. 330); cf. also 1444. int. The papyrus was written probably in Hathur (cf. ll. 5-6) of the 7th year of a reign which must be later than that of Caracalla, since several Aurelii are mentioned, and is likely to be that of Severus Alexander (i. e. A. D. 227) rather than of Gordian (243) or the Philippi (249); a later date is unsuitable on palaeographical grounds. The report is divided into three sections dealing with (1) receipts of corn and other produce, with various extra charges upon the wheat similar to those in P. Tebt. 339 (ll. 8-12); (2) arrears (ll. 13-14); (3) a transference ordered by the basilicogrammateus (ll. 15 sqq.).

A[ύρ]ηλίωι Διονυσίωι τῷ καὶ Ἀγ[. . . . .

στρα(τηγῶ) Ἀνταιοπολίτου [

παρὰ Αὐρηλίωιν Δείου καὶ Μέλαγ[ος καὶ . . . . .

καὶ μετόχων) σιτολόγων Ψινομερπ( ). λόγ[ος ἐν κεφαλ(αίῳ)

5 τῶν μεμετρημένων ἡμῖν εἰς μ[ήνας Θῶθ καὶ

Φαῶφι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ζ (ἔτους), ἔτι δὲ [τῶν μεμετρη-

μένων ὑπὲρ αὐτ(οῦ) τοῦ δ[ι]ελ(θόντος) ς (ἔτους). ἔ[στι δέ·

διοικήσεως καὶ ἱερα(τικῶν) μετ(ρήματος) (ἀρτάβαι) ρο, δα(νείων) [(ἀρτ.) η,

κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) . . ,

φ[α]κοῦ (ἀρτ.) ο, λαχά(νων) (ἀρτ.) οε, [καὶ ἐπίμε-?

10 τρον [[τας]] τοῦ (πυροῦ) (διαρταβίας) ποδώμ(ατος) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γλ, [(έκα-  
τοστῆς) α ποδώμ(ατος) (ἀρτ.) κ'δ',

(ἡμιαρταβίου) ποδώμ(ατος) (ἀρτ.) μ'ή', / ποδώμ(ατος) καὶ προ(σμετρομένων)

(ἀρτ.) [γλκ'δ'μ'ή',

σὺν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ μετρήμ(ατος) (πυρ.) (ἀρτάβαις) ροη [(πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ρπα  
 Ἐκ' δ' μ' η'.

καὶ ἐκλόγου τῶν αὐ(τῶν) μη(νῶν) ἐλοιπογρα(φήθησαν) [(πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) . . ,  
 κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ν, φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) λ, γενή[μ(ατος) τοῦ ς? (ἔτους).

15 [κα]ὶ μ[ετ]εβλήθησαν ἐξ ἐπιστάλματος [Ἀύρηλιου

Σ[α]ραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλείδου βα[σιλ(ικου)] γρα(μματέως) . . .

[. . . . . μ]ετρημ(α) Ἀχιλλί[ω(νος)] τὰς τ[. . . . .

Traces of 2 lines.

4. ψυομερ) Π. 7. ὑπερ Π. 8. ἱερα(τικ.) Π. 10. β<sub>ο</sub> ποδ. Π. 11. = ποδ. . . .  
 και ρ) Π.

‘To Aurelius Dionysius also called Ag . . . , strategus of the Antaeopolite nome, from the Aurelii, Dius, Melas and . . . and their associates, sitologi of Psinomerp . . . Summary account of payments to us for the months Thoth and Phaophi of the present 7th year, and further of payments on account of the past 6th year, as follows. For the general revenue and temple revenue, in payments 170 artabae, loans 8 art., barley . . art., lentils 70 art., vegetables 75 art., and for extra payments upon the wheat, for the two-artabae for storage 3½ art. of wheat, for 1 per cent. upon the storage-charge ¼ art., for ½ art. upon the storage-charge ¼ art., total for storage and percentages 3¾ art. of wheat, making with the 178 art. of wheat of the payments 181¾ art. of wheat. And for arrears of the said months there was entered a deficit of . . art. of wheat, 50 art. of barley, 30 art. of lentils, from the produce of the 6th year. And there were transferred by order of Aurelius Sarapion also called Heraclides, basilicogrammateus, . . .’

1. Ἀγ: ι, λ, or ν can be read in place of γ.

4. Ψυομερπ( ) : or Ψυομερ( ), if the semicircular sign simply represents abbreviation. The village is unknown. For ἐν κεφαλ(αίφ) cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 339. 6.

8. διοικήσεως καὶ ἱερα(τικῶν) : cf. 1437. int., P. Rylands 213. 37-8, &c., 215. 9, 16. In P. Tebt. 339. 10 διοικήσεως καὶ σὺντακῶν occurs in a similar context.

μετ(ρήματος) (ἀρτάβαι) : an abbreviation or symbol of πυροῦ is inadmissible, though wheat is clearly meant (cf. l. 10). μετ(ρήματος) forms a suitable contrast with δα(υείων), i. e. returns of loans of seed-corn (cf. 1527), but in ll. 12 and 17 is abbreviated μετρημ( ), and possibly that should be read here and (ἀρτάβαι) omitted. ροδ is inadmissible, for δα has a stroke above it. (ἀρτ.) η is restored from l. 12, on the supposition that 178 art. there is the sum of the two items in l. 8. Possibly / (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ροη followed, in which case there is not room for a mention of barley; but cf. l. 14.

9-11. For ἐπίμ[ε]τρον, which was suggested by Prof. Smyly, cf. P. Tebt. 92. 11, where 2 artabae per cent. are charged for it, corresponding to the (διαρταβία) ποδώμ(ατος) here. τὰς before τοῦ (πυροῦ) is in any case superfluous, for there is a space after (πυροῦ) which renders the reading τὰς τοῦ (πυρ.) β (ἀρτάβας) unsuitable; and since the α of τας seems to have been crossed through, the word was probably intended to be omitted. With the (διαρταβία) ποδώμ(ατος) and the percentages upon it cf. the (πενταρταβία), which is distinguished from the προσμετρούμενα in 1445. 3, and P. Tebt. 339. 17-18, where 3½ art. are charged for 2 ἑκαοσταὶ ὑπὲρ ποδώ(ματος) upon 176 art. of wheat, besides ¼ art. for (ἑκαοστή) ποδώ(ματος) and ¼ art. for [(ἡμι)αρτάβιον] ποδ., similar charges for 2 (ἑκαοσταὶ) ποδ. and (ἡμιαρτάβιον) ποδ. also occurring

in P. Tebt. 538; cf. 339. 17, n. *πόδωμα* is found in the Ptolemaic period in P. Ryl. 71 and a papyrus to be published in P. Tebt. iii. The word refers to storage of *θέματα*, for which cf. 1444. int. In l. 11 (*έκατοστῶν*) could be read in place of *πρ(οομετρουμένων)*, the symbol being ambiguous; cf. crit. n.

12. *ροη*: the last figure is nearly certain; cf. l. 8, n. Possibly (*ἀρτάβαι*), not (*ἀρτάβαις*), should be read before it, and the 178 art. regarded as the sum of the items in ll. 8 and 10-11; but the arrangement adopted in the text is preferable in view of *ταῖς*.

15. *μ[ετ]εβλήθησαν*: *ε[ν]εβλήθησαν* cannot be read. Cf. P. Giessen 100. 13, n.

## 1444. REPORT OF A DECEMPRIMUS TO A STRATEGUS.

32.7 × 12 cm.

A. D. 248-9.

On the recto of this papyrus is a return similar to 1443, but from a decemprimus (cf. 1410. int.) instead of sitologi, and giving a list of individual payments of corn in several months, not a summary; cf. B. G. U. 552-7, 743-4, and 1443. int. One column, dealing with receipts at the granary of Tanaïs, a village in the middle toparchy, is nearly complete, but was probably succeeded by other columns which are lost, referring to different villages; for on the verso is the beginning of a speech by an Attic orator (1366), which continued in the same direction as the writing on the recto. The heading of the return is by a practised hand, the list by an unskilful scribe, whose spelling and grammar are irregular. In the entries the nominative, dative, and possibly the genitive (l. 35) are employed without distinction, and the use of *ὁ αὐτός* and *ἐαυτοῦ* is confused. The numbers of the days of the month have strokes under them, and as the left-hand margin is not preserved and the column slopes away to the left, the names of the months may have been inserted, e.g. in ll. 10 and 15. The payments are under the three heads of *πολιτικά*, *κωμητικά*, and *θέμα*, the first two referring to rent or taxes, the third to private deposits of corn in the State granary; cf. 1525-6, 1530-41. In 1145, part of the day-book of a sitologus, *θ( )*, which is prefixed to most of the entries, is more likely to mean *θ(έμα)* than *θ(άνατος)* or *θ(ησαυρός)*.

[ 16 letters ] [ *στ]ρατ[ηγῶ] 'Οξυρυγίτου*  
 [παρὰ *Α]ύρηλιου 'Ηρακλείδου τοῦ κ[αὶ *Δ]ιονυσίου βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς*  
*['Οξυρ]υγχειτῶν πόλεως δεκαπρώ[τ]ου μέση[ς] τ[ροπ(αρχίας)]. κατ' ἄνδρα*  
*[χειρ]ιστικοῦ πυροῦ μεμετρημένου καὶ διεσταλμένου δι' [έμου ἀπὸ*  
 5 *[γενή]μ(ατος) τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) 5 (έτους) Μάρκων 'Ιουλίων Φιλίππων*  
*Και[σάρων*  
*[τῶν] κυρίων Σεβαστῶν.*  
*ἔστι δέ·**

2nd hand *θησαυροῦ Τανάεως Μάρκοι Αύρηλοι*

- .] κληρονομοί Τααπολλῶτος τῆς καὶ Μεγίστης [(ἀρτ.) . ,  
 10 α. 2 δι( ) Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ καὶ Σεραπίωνι  
 Τανά[εως πολ(ιτικὰ) [[(ἀρτάβαι)]] (ἀρτάβαι) κ,  
 α τῷ αὐ[τῷ] θέμ(α) (ἀρτ.) κ, γ(ίνονται) αἱ [π(ροκείμεναι),  
 Πανετβε[ῖ]νς ἰε[ρ]εὺς (ἀρτ. ?) . [,  
 δ. 2 δι( ) Κο[. . . . .]αίου Ταν(ά)[εως κ]ωμ(ητικὰ) (ἀρτ.) δ [[.]] [,  
 15 α. Αὐρηλ(ίω) Ἀχ[ιλλεῖ ἰ]ππεῖ Ῥωμ(αίω) θέμ(α) (ἀρτ.) ις,  
 δ. Διονυσ[οδώ]ρω διὰ Σεραπίωνος  
 Ταν(ά)[εως κ]ωμ(ητικὰ) (ἀρτ.) ε[ι],  
 ε. κληρονομοί Δ[ιον]υσίου Ἐρμάμμωνος [  
 ἡ αὐτῇ κωμ(ητικὰ) (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 20 ς. Τισόβιτι κ[α]ὶ Παχνούβι διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [  
 ἡ αὐτ(ῆ) κωμ(ητικὰ) (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 ἰβ. τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἴστρου κωμ(ητικὰ) (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 α. ἑαυτῷ Πανετβεῖ ἰερεῖ θέμ(α) (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 [,] Τύφισ Τοτοέως καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ταν(ά)εως  
 25 κωμ(ητικὰ) (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 [. . .]τιλλίς Ἡρᾶτος ὀνόματος Ματρέου τοῦ κ[α]ί  
 [ Ἐρμ]αῖσκου Ταν(ά)εως κωμ(ητικὰ) [(ἀρτ.) . ,  
 [. . .]ριον Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου γυνε[κ]α ?  
 [ Φα]ρβαιτίωνος ἡ αὐτῇ πολ(ιτικὰ) (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 30 [. . .]σ( ) Ἴσιδώρου τοῦ καὶ Φιλίσκου (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 [. ] δι( ) Σινθῶνι θυγατρὶ Διογ[έ]νους ἀγορα-  
 νομήσαντος μητρὶ τῶν προγεγραμ-  
 μένων [[Ταν(ά)εως πολ(ιτικὰ)]] θέμα [(ἀρτ.) . ,  
 [,] ἑαυτοῖς Γεμῆ πολ(ιτικὰ) [(ἀρτ.) . ,  
 35 [. . .]ήλιτος θ[έ]μα (ἀρτ.) [, ,  
 [. Ἀν]τῶνιο[ς] ὁ κ[α]ὶ Ἡρακλᾶς διὰ [Πλ]ουτάρ-  
 [χου] Ταν(ά)εως πολ(ιτικὰ) (ἀρτ.) ε[ι],  
 [. . .]αρχος Π[α]σίωνος καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ (ἀρτ.) κ[ι],  
 κ[α]ὶ ἑαυτοῖς Τα[ν] (ά)εως κωμ(ητικὰ) (ἀρτ.) ιγλδ' χ(οίνικες) [, ,  
 40 ] σνηδ' χ(οίνικες) η.

12. γ' αἱ Π.

13. τ of πανετβε[ῖ]νς corr. from δ.

14. δ at the end corr.

22. s of τοῖς above the line. Ἴστρου Π.

23. l. τῷ αὐτῷ. πανετ'βεῖ ἰερεῖ Π.

27. ερμ]αῖσκου

Π. 28. l. γυνή.

30. ἰσιδωρου Π.

34. l. τοῖς αὐτοῖς (so in l. 39) Ἴεμή.

1-15. 'To . . . , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Heraclides also called Dionysius, senator of Oxyrhynchus, decemprimus of the middle toparchy. Detailed list of wheat entered on the books as measured and paid through me from the produce of the present 6th year of the Marci Julii Philippi Caesars the lords Augusti, as follows. At the granary of Tanaïs the Marci Aurelii, heirs of Taapollos also called Megiste, . . ; 1st, paid by Heraclides also called Serapion for city dues at Tanaïs 20 artabae ; 1st, the same for deposit 20 art. ; total the aforesaid. Panetbeus, priest, . . art. ; 4th, paid by Ko . . . son of . . for village dues at Tanaïs 4 art. ; 1st Aurelius Achilles, Roman knight, for deposit 16 art.'

2. Διονυσίου βουλευτοῦ: decemprimi were generally, perhaps always, senators; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 217.

3-4. For κατ' ἄνδρα χειρ[ισ]τικῶ πυροῦ cf. 1526. 4, and Wilcken, *Ost.* ii, Nos. 888-90, where l. χει(ριστικῶ) rather than χει(μερινοῦ) before (πυροῦ). χειριστικός is not elsewhere applied to πυρός. In 1257. 10-11 τοῖς λόγοις τῆς δεκαπρωτείας, τ[ο]ῦτ' ἐστὶν τῶ χειριστικῶ ὧν [πρ]οσέλαβε καὶ τῶ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶ ἐν δ[η]μοσίῳ κατακειμένῳ, τὸ χειριστικόν seems to mean the current accounts (similar to e.g. 1145), as opposed to formal documents like 1444; cf. n. *ad loc.* The division of lines is not quite certain in ll. 3-6, the initial lacuna being of the same size throughout, and four or five letters being lost in l. 2.

4. διασταλμένου δι' ἐμοῦ; μεμετρημένος refers to wheat actually brought to the θησαυρός, διασταλμένος to wheat paid by deducting from an account of a deposit at the θησαυρός; cf. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 88. There were usually two δεκάπρωτοι for each toparchy; cf. Wilcken, *op. cit.* 218. The δεκάπρωτος in 1444 was clearly concerned with only a portion of each month's receipts.

8. Μάρκοι Αὐρήλιοι: for this heading referring to the following names in general cf. e. g. 1526. 7.

10. Z is probably, as Smyly suggests, a degeneration of Ζ, i. e. με( ), a common abbreviation in Ptolemaic times for μέτρον or μεμέτρηται (or μέρος). It recurs in l. 14, and possibly in l. 31, where part of a stroke is visible before δι( ), but since a similar stroke occurs in l. 34 before ἐαυτοῖς, in both ll. 31 and 34 it probably refers to the number of the day. δι( ) suggests some part of διαστέλλειν (cf. l. 4, n.), but μέ(τρημα) δι(εσταλμένον) is not a very satisfactory combination, though in B. G. U. 652. 16 διαστολή hardly seems to differ from διαγραφή (cf. 1436. 18, n.). No special stress is to be laid on the dative Ἡρακλείδῃ, which is equivalent to the nominative (cf. e. g. ll. 13 and 23), unless δι(ὰ) Ἡρακλείδ(ου) τ(οῦ) καὶ Σεραπίων(ος) be restored.

11. πολ(ιτικά): cf. 1419. 2, n. πολ(ιτῶν) could be read, with κωμητ(ῶν) instead of κωμητ(ικά) in ll. 19, &c., on the analogy of P. Strassb. 45. 20; but πολ(ιτικά) balances θέμα (l. 33) better.

12. The abbreviation of γ(ινονται) (cf. critical n.) is unusual, but the reading κγ' (20½ art.) leaves the following word unexplained, and γ(ίν.) υἱ π(ροκ.) is very common in this class of accounts, e. g. P. Strassb. 45. 9.

13. The supposed sign for ἀράβαι has no trace of the dot under the horizontal line, and there is a space after it, so that the letter at the end of the line is perhaps not a figure.

18-21. ἡ αὐτή in ll. 19 and 21 is superfluous unless (ἀρτ.) be restored at the end of ll. 18 and 20, and the same difficulty arises in ll. 28-9, where the retention of ἡ αὐτή is particularly difficult; cf. n. κληρ(ονόμος) in place of κληρ(ονόμοι) would perhaps render ἡ αὐτή in l. 19 easier, but in l. 21 ἡ αὐτή would have to refer to Tisois, Pachnubis being ignored, and διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ in l. 20 is in any case obscure. The writer is somewhat confused; cf. ll. 28-9, n.

22. Ἴστρον: another village in the middle toparchy, like Γεμή (i. e. Ἰεμή) in l. 34; cf. 1285. 98, 108.

23. There is no apparent point in *ἐαυτῶ*, which here would have to be constructed with *θέμ(α)*, and in l. 34 *ἐαυτοῖς* does not suit *πολ(ιτικά)*, so that probably in both places there is a confusion with *τῶ αὐτῶ* or *τοῖς αὐτοῖς*. Panetbeus was mentioned in l. 13.

28-9. . . ]ριον must be a woman's name in the nominative or accusative, but *γυνη* cannot be read, and, since neither *γυνε[* nor *Φα]ρβατιωνος* suggests a place-name, *γυν(ῆ)* [Φα]ρβατιωνος is probably to be restored and *ῆ αὐτῆ* ignored; cf. ll. 18-21, n.

31. δι( ) : cf. l. 10, n.

34. *ἐαυτοῖς* : cf. l. 23, n., and for *Γεμή* see l. 22, n.

35. . . ]ηλιτος : *Ἡλίτα* occurs in B. G. U. 926. 7 and *Ἡλείτ(ου)* in e. g. P. Ryl. 210. 6; but the name here is probably longer and in the nominative.

#### 1445. REPORT ON UNPRODUCTIVE LAND.

15 X 25.3 cm.

Second century.

The recto of this papyrus contains the ends of sixteen lines of one column, the middle part of another, and a few letters from the beginnings of lines of a third, from a report on land at a village, probably addressed to a strategus by a comogrammateus, like P. Giessen 60 and Wilcken, *Chrest.* 341. While those two papyri, so far as they go, give lists of land available for cultivation at the village of Naboö in the Apollinopolite nome, the intelligible portion of 1445 is concerned with the rent and taxes upon land which was out of cultivation for various reasons; but 1445 may have belonged to a comprehensive report which included the information found in the Apollinopolite texts. Similar reports by a comogrammateus in the Ptolemaic period are extant in P. Tebt. 74-5. The land was divided into two main classes, *δημοσία* and *ιδιωτική*, these being subdivided into *νῆσοι* and *ἡπειρος*. ii. 1 is concerned with *διάψιλοι νῆσοι* in the *δημοσία γῆ*, the items being added in ll. 2-4 to various others which had preceded and probably concerned other kinds of *νῆσοι*, e. g. *ποταμοφόρητοι* (cf. l. 13). The *προσμετρούμενα* are nearly  $\frac{7}{8}$ , the barley being also subject to a special impost of 5 per cent. (l. 3, n.). In l. 5 is an entry concerning a small amount of *δημοσία γῆ* on the mainland, which for some unspecified reason was out of cultivation, the totals for *δημοσία γῆ* being calculated in ll. 6-7. There follows in ll. 8-9 the account of *ιδιωτική γῆ*, which is taxed approximately at the rate of 1 artaba per arura, with extra charges, including one for the comogrammateus himself (l. 9, n.). These items are added in ll. 10-12 to the figures of the *δημοσία γῆ*. In l. 13 a new section begins concerning the 18th year, the preceding one referring probably to the 19th or 17th. The writing clearly indicates the second century, and the reigning Emperor is more likely to have been Hadrian or Antoninus than Trajan or Marcus. *δημοσία γῆ* on *νῆσοι ποταμοφόρητοι* is the subject of ll. 13-14, which correspond to ll. 1-2; public land on the *ἡπειρος*, corresponding to that in l. 5, is enumerated in l. 15, after which the column breaks off. The rents were chiefly in wheat, with a small amount of barley; references to a trifling



payment in a third kind of produce (l. 1, n.) have been deleted. The average rate (reckoning barley at  $\frac{3}{5}$  the value of wheat; cf. P. Tebt i, p. 560) was from 5 to 6 artabae of wheat per arura, apart from extra charges.

On the verso is the conclusion of a tale in honour of Sarapis (1382).

## Col. ii.

- [δι]αψείλων (ἄρουραι) ηβ' (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λθδ'κ'δ' κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) κας'κ'δ',  
 [[κο( ) [Λ]γ']]  
 / (ἄρου.) οβλ'ίς' λ'β'ξ'δ' (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) τμξ'Λγ' κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) νβ'Λγ'ίβ',  
 προσμ(ετρουμένων) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) νβς'κ'δ' κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ξ'Λγ'ίβ'μ'ή, (πεν-  
 ταρταβίας) β'Λη',  
 / (ἀρτ.) ι'Λκ'δ'μ'ή, / (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) υκ'δ' κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ξ'γγ'ήμ'ή.  
 5 ἠπίρου δημοσίας (ἀρού.) δ'ή' (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) Λδ'μ'ή, προ(σμετρουμένων) ἠ',  
 / Λγ'κ'δ'μ'ή.  
 γίνου(ται) δημοσία(ς) γῆ(ς) (ἄρου.) οβ'Λ[δ'η']ίς' λ'β'ξ'δ' (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) τμη  
 Λ'ίβ'μ'ή,  
 προ(σμετρουμένων) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) νβγ', / (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) υ'Λγ'ίβ'μ'ή, καὶ ἡ  
 προκ(ειμένη) κριθ(ῆ).  
 ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς ὅλη τῆ ἐπιγραφῆ (ἄρου.) δ'Λδ'ίς'λ'β'  
 (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) δγ'μ'ή, φιλ(ανθρώπου) ἠ'μ'ή, προ(σμετρουμένων) β', / (πυρ.)  
 (ἀρτ.) ες'.  
 10 [γίνο]υ(ται) (ἄρου.) οξ[Λδ']ίς'ξ'δ' (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) τνγ'ίβ'μ'ή κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.)  
 νβ'Λγ'ίβ',  
 προσμ(ετρουμένων) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) νγ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ξ'Λγ'ίβ'μ'ή, (πεν-  
 ταρταβίας) β'Λη', / ι'Λκ'δ'μ'ή,  
 / (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) υς'ίβ'μ'ή κριθ(ῆς) ξ'γγ'ήμ'ή. [[κο( ) Λγ']]  
 καὶ τῶν τῶι ιη (ἔτει) νήσων ποταμοφο(ρήτων) (ἄρου.) δδ'  
 (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) κε'Λκ'δ', προ(σμετρουμένων) γβ'ή, / (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) κθγ'.  
 15 ἠπίρου (ἄρου.) [ι]Λη'ξ'δ' (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ιες'κ'δ'μ'ή, προ(σμετρουμένων) βγ'κ'δ',  
 / ιξ'[Λ'ίβ']μ'ή.

1. κο( ) Λγ', which is added below the line, is bracketed, as in l. 12. 3. (πενταρταβίας) is written  $\epsilon \frac{1}{10}$ , as in l. 11.

'... bare (islands)  $8\frac{2}{3}$  arurae,  $39\frac{7}{24}$  artabae of wheat,  $21\frac{5}{24}$  art. of barley; total  $72\frac{29}{64}$  ar.,  $347\frac{5}{8}$  art. of wh.,  $52\frac{1}{2}$  art. of barl., for extra payments  $52\frac{5}{24}$  art. of wh.,  $7\frac{4}{8}$  art.

of barl., for 5-art. percentage  $2\frac{5}{8}$ ; total  $10\frac{27}{48}$  art. Total  $400\frac{1}{24}$  art. of wh.,  $63\frac{23}{48}$  art. of barley. Public land on the mainland  $\frac{3}{8}$  ar.,  $\frac{37}{48}$  art. of wh., extra payments  $\frac{1}{8}$ , total  $4\frac{3}{8}$ . Total for public land  $72\frac{63}{48}$  ar.,  $348\frac{29}{48}$  art. of wh., for extra payments  $52\frac{1}{3}$  art. of wh., total  $400\frac{45}{48}$  art. of wh. and the aforesaid barley. Private land for the whole assessment  $4\frac{27}{2}$  ar.,  $4\frac{17}{48}$  art. of wh., for salary  $\frac{7}{48}$ , for extra payments  $\frac{2}{8}$ , total  $5\frac{1}{8}$  art. of wheat. Total  $77\frac{53}{64}$  ar.,  $353\frac{5}{48}$  art. of wh.,  $52\frac{1}{2}$  art. of barl., for extra payments 53 art. of wh.,  $74\frac{5}{48}$  art. of barl., for 5-art. percentage  $2\frac{5}{8}$ , total  $10\frac{27}{48}$ . Total  $406\frac{5}{48}$  art. of wheat,  $63\frac{23}{48}$  art. of barley. And on islands carried away by the river in the 18th year  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ar.,  $25\frac{1}{4}$  art. of wh., for extra payments  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , total  $29\frac{1}{3}$  art. of wheat. On the mainland  $[\frac{41}{64}]$  ar.,  $15\frac{1}{8}$  art. of wh., for extra payments  $2\frac{9}{24}$ , total  $17\frac{29}{48}$ .

1. [δι]αψείλων: sc. νήσων; cf. l. 13. Land which after the inundation had become too dry to be cultivated is meant; cf. 707. 23, n., Crönert, *Stud. Pal.* iv, 95, P. Hawara in *Archiv*, v, 397, where in a φοινικῶν the portion which was διάψιλος is distinguished from the ψιλός, which was included in the φόρμος.

[κο( ) [Ζ]Υ'] : cf. l. 12, where from the context κο( ) appears to be the name of some kind of produce rather than an impost, though the bracketing, i. e. cancelling, of the entry in both places renders that argument uncertain. A small extra charge for κοσκινευτικόν (in P. Petrie iii. 129 abbreviated κο) is common in Ptolemaic papyri, but has not yet appeared in the Roman period, and κο(λοκυνθίνου) (cf. P. Rev. Laws xxxix. 6) or κο(ρίου) (cf. P. Tebt. 314. 17) is more probable.

3. (πενταρταβίας): cf. l. 11 and 1443. 10, (διαρταβίας) ποδώμ(αρος) there corresponding to the (έκατοστὰι) β of P. Tebt. 339. This extra charge of 5 artabae per cent. upon barley can now be recognized in P. Giessen 60 (cf. int. p. 31), where the editor reads ε<sup>-</sup> or ε<sup>π</sup> and suggests ἐπι(γραφή)ς (cf. l. 8, n.). The amount of the 5 per cent. impost is there calculated on the main amount of barley + the προσμετρούμενα, but here only on the main sum (l. 2,  $52\frac{1}{2}$  art.).

8. ἄλλῃ τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ: the point of this phrase is that the ιδιωτικὴ was not subdivided in detail like the δημοσία into νήσοι and ἤπειρος, probably because the amount was small. ἐπιγραφὴ in papyri of the Roman period is used in the wide sense of 'assessment' in connexion with many kinds of taxes upon land; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 195. 3 (P. Ryl. ii, p. 255), and a Hawara papyrus in *Archiv*, v, 397; but in Ptolemaic times (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 194 sq., P. Tebt. 5. 59, n.) it means 'impost', either in general or a particular tax upon land, coupled with διαρταβία in P. Tebt. 99 and ἡμιαρτάβιον in Milne, *Theban Ost.* 13-14. Here the ἐπιγραφὴ happens to be concerned with land-tax,  $4\frac{27}{2}$  arurae yielding  $4\frac{17}{48}$  artabae, so that some part was assessed at less than the very common rate of 1 artaba per arura (cf. 1459. 11, n.); but, as the other Roman instances show, the word applies primarily to the arurae, not to the artabae.

9. φίλ(ανθρώπου): sc. κομογραμματοῖ; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 401, Martin, *Épistatèges*, 143.

12. For the cancelled item cf. l. 1, n.

15. The number of the arurae was probably 2 or 3; cf. int.

#### 1446. LIST OF CULTIVATORS OF STATE LANDS.

34·1 X 25 cm.

A. D. 161-210.

On the recto of this papyrus are parts of the last two columns of a somewhat novel kind of survey-list. The first section, ll. 1-91, gives a list of former cultivators of State lands, either βασιλική, προσόδου, or ιερά, at the neighbouring

Arsinoïte villages of Theadelphia (*Harêt*), Euhemeria (*Kasr el Banât*), and Polydeucia (perhaps *Gebâla*; cf. P. Fay. p. 14), with the amounts of their holdings, the rents, and the names of the present cultivators. In l. 92 there begins a series of different and shorter entries mentioning an ἐπίσκεψις, a strategus, several other villages in the Θεμιστου μερίς, and 'the 23rd year of the deified Aelius Antoninus'. Since the verso contains 1408, part of which is a copy of a proclamation issued in A. D. 210-14, the document on the recto must fall within the half century following the death of Antoninus. In Col. i about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of each line is missing at the beginnings, and in Col. ii. 60-93 about the same amount at the ends; the rest of the second section (ll. 94-103, below which is a blank space) is hopelessly broken.

1446 is concerned with κοινὴ γεωργία (cf. l. 92), and the first section follows a regular formula, beginning with the names of one or, more frequently, two of the associates. In some cases the abbreviation ἀπο( ), of which the resolution is uncertain (cf. l. 84, n.), follows the first name, but τετελ(ευτηκότες), which regularly follows καὶ (μέτοχοι), may qualify all the persons previously mentioned in the entry. The amounts of the holdings were generally between 30 and 60 arurae. A classification of the rents, which are remarkable on account of the unusual fractions of the artaba, is appended:

Village.	Class.	Rents in Artabae.			Lines.
		Wheat.	Barley.	Lentils.	
Theadelphia . .	βασιλ.	$3\frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{150} \frac{1}{12}$	...	$1\frac{1}{120}$	4, 9, 13, 16, 20, 22, 25, 28, 35, 39, 42, 46, 48, 52, 55, 84.
„	„	$3\frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{150} \frac{1}{12}$	...	$\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{15} \frac{1}{200}$	16, 89.
„	„	$4\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{50} \frac{1}{300} \frac{1}{12}$	...	...	55.
„	„	I	...	...	55.
„	„	...	$2\frac{1}{12}$	...	35.
„	„	...	I	...	39.
„	προσόδ.	$5\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{30} \frac{1}{500}$	...	$1\frac{1}{40} \frac{1}{200}$	4, 9, 13.
„	ἱερά	$4\frac{1}{5}$	...	...	52.
Euhemeria . .	βασιλ.	$5\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{50} \frac{1}{600}$	$\frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{20} \frac{1}{200}$	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{75}$	5, 10, 17, 25, 42, [53], 66, 70.
Polydeucia . .	„	$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{20} \frac{1}{150}$	...	$\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{60} \frac{1}{150}$	28, 36, 46, 48, 56, 73, 78, 86, 90.
„	„	...	$5\frac{1}{4}$	...	[29], 36, 56, 63, 73, 78, 81, 87, [90].
Uncertain . . .	προσόδ.	$6\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{20}$	...	...	1.

The artaba is commonly divided in the series  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{8}$  (but no further), and in the series  $\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{6}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  . . . ;  $\frac{1}{5}$  and  $\frac{1}{10}$  also occur (cf. e. g. P. Fay. 101), but the only parallels for the irregular fractions in 1446 are in P. Tebt. 341, where the fractions  $\frac{1}{15}$   $\frac{1}{20}$   $\frac{1}{45}$  (?)  $\frac{1}{84}$  (?) ; but cf. 1446. 99),  $\frac{1}{375}$  and  $\frac{1}{1500}$  are found, and 986, where the fractions  $\frac{1}{15}$   $\frac{1}{16}$   $\frac{1}{20}$   $\frac{1}{40}$  and  $\frac{1}{75}$  occur, in both cases in the rents of State lands, as here. Since the corn is described in P. Tebt. as *καθαρός*, probably here too the presence of the curious fractions is due to a deduction for *κάθαρσις* (cf. P. Tebt. 92. 9, n.) or *κακομετρία* (cf. 1447. 6). The position occupied by the fraction  $\frac{1}{12}$  in the wheat payments for *βασιλική γῆ* at Theadelphia violates the rule that fractions are placed in a descending scale. In one place (l. 55) the difficulty can be avoided by interpreting  $\tau' \iota' \beta'$  as  $\frac{1}{312}$  instead of  $\frac{1}{300} \frac{1}{12}$ , but in the other instances, in all of which  $\iota' \beta'$  follows  $\rho' \nu'$ , it is necessary to alter  $\iota' \beta'$  to e. g.  $\tau' \iota' \beta'$ , in order to prevent an exception to the rule. Since there are too many instances to make the hypothesis of omission probable, we prefer to suppose that the variation in this group of entries was due to the addition of an extra  $\frac{1}{12}$  artaba to the rent, like that mentioned in l. 35.

With regard to the size of the artaba, many of the small fractions, e. g.  $\frac{1}{15}$   $\frac{1}{30}$   $\frac{1}{60}$   $\frac{1}{75}$   $\frac{1}{120}$   $\frac{1}{150}$   $\frac{1}{300}$   $\frac{1}{600}$ , would suit an artaba of 30 choenices, others, e. g.  $\frac{1}{20}$   $\frac{1}{40}$   $\frac{1}{200}$ , an artaba of 40, or, in the case of  $\frac{1}{50}$  and  $\frac{1}{500}$ , one of 25 or even 50 choenices. There is still much uncertainty concerning the normal standards of measurement in Egypt. Viedebantt (*Hermes* xlvii. 422 sqq., 562 sqq.) wished to abandon two points which had been generally regarded as fixed, the sizes of the chous and choenix; but his scheme of the artaba leaves out of account some important evidence of the papyri, especially P. Hibeh 85 and Leipzig 97, and the most recent evidence does not help to make the problems any easier. P. Ryl. 166 shows that the *δρόμος*-measure at Euhemeria in A. D. 26 contained  $33\frac{1}{8}$  choenices, whereas elsewhere that measure appeared to contain 42. An unpublished Fayûm loan of A. D. 87 mentions artabae *μέτρῳ τετάρτῳ Φιλίππῳ τῷ τοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου* (the lender), which disposes of the view that the *μέτρον Φιλίππου* in P. Brit. Mus. 265 referred to a private person at Hermopolis called *Φίλιππος*. 1640. 4 mentions an artaba *μέτρῳ πρὸς ἑκατοστὰς δέκα*, but not many of the fractions in 1446 are *ἑκατοσταί*.

We omit some of the entries, which contain nothing of special interest except the following rare or unknown names (all genitive and masculine except where otherwise stated): *Ἀρεῖτος* (fem.), *Γερθιάνης*, *Δημοκράτους*, *Δραύκου*, *Θιαθιαίθις*, *Καλαβώτου*, *Καλακαίλεως*, *Νέωνος*, *Πανηούτος*, *Πανουσενός* (nom.), *Πουσίμειως*, *Σαδάλον* (cf. the Oxyrhynchite village in 1426. 6), *Ἀρέιου ἐπ(ικαλουμένου) Σακίστ(ου?)*, *Σερῶιτος*, *Σίφωνος*, *Τηρακλήης* (nom. fem.), *Ταποῦτος* (fem.?), *Τασηούτος* (fem.), *Τκαίσιτος* (fem.), *Φιλοῦτος* (fem.), *Χαρίτωνος*, *Χιάσεως*.

## Col. i.

## Ends of 3 lines.

- 4 [ 20 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελε(ευτηκότες) Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτάβην) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρourke) νθλδ', προσόδ(ου) ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) ἐέ'λ'φ' φακοῦ
- 5 [[ἀρτάβης) γς'μ'σ' (ἄρourke) . . ., Εὐη(μερείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) ἐγ'ί'ν'χ' κ(ριθῆς) (ἀρτάβης)] γς'κ'σ' φα[κο]ῦ (ἀρτάβης) Λό'έ' (ἄρourke) ζ, νυνὶ γεωργ(ούμεναι) ὑπὸ Ἀφροδισίου
- 6 [ 31 letters ]ως Μυσθαράτος καὶ Ἴσχεῖτος ἀδελ(φοῦ) καὶ Ὀρίωνος Εὐδαίμονος
- 7 [καὶ 28 letters ] Ἴσᾶτος Ὀρου τυφλοῦ καὶ Ἡραῖσκου Ἀκοίεως καὶ Ποσεῖτος Θέωνος
- 8 [καὶ 28 letters ]ως ἱερέως.

## Ends of 4 lines.

- 13 [ 22 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελε(ευτηκότες) Θεαδ]ελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) λση', προσόδ(ου) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) ἐέ'λ'φ' φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) γς'μ'σ'
- 14 [[ἄρου.) . . , νυνὶ γεωργ(ούμεναι) ὑπὸ 17 letters ]ρος κεραμέως καὶ Ἀϊώνεως Τρύφωνος καὶ Παβούτος Παβούτος καὶ
- 15 [ 31 letters ] καὶ τοῦ ἀδελ(φοῦ).
- 16 [ 21 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελε(ευτηκότες) Θεαδ]ελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) ιεδ', ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) γ'ί'έ'σ'
- 17 [[ἄρου.) . . , ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) . . (ἄρου.) . . , Εὐη(μερείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ)] (πυρ.) ἐγ'ί'ν'χ' κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'κ'σ' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) Λό'έ' (ἄρου.) γγ', νυνὶ γεωργ(ούμεναι) ὑπὸ Λουκάτος
- 18 [ 31 letters ] καὶ Ἀμμωνάτος Πετερμούθεως καὶ Κοπρήτος ἀπ(άτορος) μη(τρὸς) Σαραπούτος καὶ
- 19 [ 32 letters ]

## Ends of 5 lines.

- 25 [ 20 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελε(ευτηκότες) Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ)] (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) κδ, Εὐη(μερείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) ἐγ'ί'ν'χ' κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'κ'σ'

- 26 [φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) Λόέ' (ἄρου.) . . , νυνὶ γεωργ(οὔμεναι) ὑπὸ 10 letters ]ος  
 "Ἡρωνος καὶ Ἀκούι[τ]ρος Πεσοῦρεως καὶ Ὡσεως Πανούρεως καὶ
- 27 [ 30 letters κ]αὶ Λαλάτος Ἀκούιτος ἀλιέως.
- 28 [ 10 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελ(ευτηκότες) Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς)  
 ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) κηΛ, Πολυ-  
 δευκείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) [[ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.)]] ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) γΛκ'ρ'ν'  
 φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) γ'ί'ξ'ρ'ν'
- 29 [[ἄρου.) . . . , ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) εδ' (ἄρου.) . . . , νυνὶ γεωρ]γ(οὔμεναι) ὑπὸ  
 'Ἡρωνείνου Χώνσεως καὶ Κοπρήτος ἀδελ(φου) καὶ Σπατάλου
- 30 [ 30 letters κ]αὶ Ἀκάτος Ἀκούιτος.

Ends of 4 lines.

- 35 [ 10 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελ(ευτηκότες) Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς)  
 ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) μαΛη', ἀ(νὰ)  
 κ(ριθ) (ἀρτ.) β'ί'β', καὶ ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως ὠρίσθ(η) ἄλ(λο) κατὰ (ἄρουραν)  
 κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) ἰ'β',
- 36 [[ἄρου.) . . , Πολυδευκείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) γΛκ'ρ'ν' φακοῦ  
 (ἀρτ.) γ'ί'ξ'ρ'ν' (ἄρου.) ια, ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) εδ' (ἄρου.) η, νυνὶ  
 γεωργ(οὔμεναι) ὑπὸ Καήτσεως Φουώνσεως

Ends of 2 lines.

- 39 [ 30 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελ(ευτηκότες)] Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς)  
 γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) νςΛδ'η',  
 ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) α (ἄρου.) γ,
- 40 [νυνὶ γεωργ(οὔμεναι) ὑπὸ καὶ] Χαιρήμονος Ἀσκληπιάδου  
 τετελ(ευτηκότος) διὰ Ἀουτίου υἱοῦ καὶ

Ends of 11 lines.

- 52 [ 12 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελ(ευτηκότες) Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς)  
 ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) λ, ἱερᾶ(ς)  
 ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) δε' (ἄρου.) ιςΛη', Εὐη(μερείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς)
- 53 [ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) εγ'ί'ν'χ' κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) ς'κ'σ' φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) Λόέ' (ἄρου.) . . ,  
 νυνὶ γεωργ(οὔμεναι) ὑπὸ . . ]αἰαπεῖτος Σαταβούτος καὶ τῶν τέκνων  
 καὶ Μαρίωνος Ἡρωνος
- 54 [ 30 letters μ]υλ(ωνικοῦ) καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος Μύσθου καὶ  
 Ἀεῦτος ἀδελ(φου).
- 55 [ 10 letters καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελ(ευτηκότες) Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς)

- ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β'] φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.) νΛί'ς'ξ'δ',  
 ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) δδ'ν'τ'ί'β' (ἄρου.) οβξ'δ', ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) α (ἄρου.) β,  
 56 [ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.) . . (ἄρου.) . . , Πολυδ(ευκείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ)  
 (πυρ.) γΛκ'ρ'ν' φα]κοῦ (ἀρτ.) γ'ί'ξ'ρ'ν' (ἄρου.) ιδ, ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.) (ἀρτ.)  
 εδ' (ἄρου.) ς, νυνὶ γεωργ(οῦμεναι) ὑπὸ "Ἡρωνος  
 57 [ 25 letters ἀπάτο]ρος μη(τρὸς) 'Ισείτος καὶ "Ἡρωνος Σαμβᾶ καὶ  
 'Ορσύθμεως 'Εσκιεσλάκι(ος)  
 58 [καὶ 27 letters ]αλου ἀδελ(φοῦ) καὶ 'Ωρίωνος Κάστορος στροβιλᾶς  
 καὶ Σαρᾶτος Σαραπίω(νος)  
 59 [ 30 letters ]

Col. ii.

Beginnings of 24 lines.

- 84 "Ἡρων 'Ισίωνος ἀπο( ) καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελ(ευτη)κότες Θεαδελ(φείας) βασι-  
 λ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β' φ[ακοῦ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ'κ' (ἄρου.)  
 . . , νυνὶ γεωργ(οῦμεναι) ὑπὸ  
 85 'Αἰτ[ο]ς 'Ωρου ἱερέως καὶ τοῦ ἀδελ(φοῦ) καὶ Κάστορος 'Ἡρώδου [  
 86 'Ἡρακλείδης 'Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Παχίος 'Ἡρακλείδου καὶ (μέτοχοι) τετελ(ευτη-  
 κότες) [Πολυδ(ευκείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γΛκ'ρ'ν'  
 87 φ[ακοῦ] (ἀρτ.) γ'ί'ξ'ρ'ν' (ἄρου.) ζδ', ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.) εδ' (ἄρου.) γ, νυνὶ γεωργ(οῦ-  
 μεναι) ὑπὸ  
 88 Πνεφερῶτος καὶ 'Εσοῦρεως υἱοῦ.  
 89 Δείος Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπο( ) καὶ Φασεῖς Τεσενούφως καὶ (μέτοχοι) τ[ετελ(ευ-  
 τη)κότες Θεαδελ(φείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γς'ρ'ν'ί'β'  
 90 φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) γ'ί'έ'σ' (ἄρου.) ιη, Πολυδ(ευκείας) βασιλ(ικῆς) γ(ῆς) ἀ(νὰ)  
 (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) γΛκ'ρ'ν' [φακοῦ (ἀρτ.) γ'ί'ξ'ρ'ν' (ἄρου.) . . , ἀ(νὰ) κ(ριθ.)  
 εδ' (ἄρου.) . . , νυνὶ γεωργ(οῦμεναι) ὑπὸ  
 91 Τιμοκράτους καὶ Κρ[ονί]ωνος υἱοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου [  
 92 κοινῆς γεωργίας ἐξ ἐπ(ισκῆ)φews ὄρ[ιο](δείκτου) ὠρίσθ(ησαν) ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) αΛ  
 (ἄρου.) βΛ'β' [  
 93 καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενο(μένης) τῶ κγ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀνωτ[ίν]ινου  
 94 καὶ ἀπὸ πεδίων κώμης Μαγαῖδος. [  
 95 καὶ ἀπὸ πεδίων κώμης Ἀργιάδος [  
 (ἄρου.) εγ'. [  
 96 καὶ ἀπὸ πεδίων κώμης 97 κνάμου (ἀρτ.) [  
 πεδίων κώμης 99 ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) ςΛπ'δ' [  
 98 καὶ ἀπὸ  
 100 καὶ τῶ

τ . [.]ι . ι . [ ]                    101    κειας [                    102    στρα(τηγ ) φα[κοῦ  
103    ἀ(νὰ) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) εἰδ' [

4.  $\overline{\gamma\sigma\rho\mu\beta}$  Π; so with the other cases of groups of fractions.      7. *ηραῖσκου* Π.  
8. *ἱερεως* Π; so in l. 85.      14. *αἰωρεως* Π.      18. *α'* Π.      26. *ακου[τ]ος* Π; so in ll. 27  
and 30.      28. Dots are placed above *α(να) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.)*.      30. *ου* of *ακουῖτος* corr. from *α*.  
40. *ἴου* Π; so in ll. 54, 88, 91.      58. l. *στροβιλᾶτος. σαρατος* over an expunction.  
86. *παχοῖς* Π.      94. *μαγαῖδος* Π.

ll. 4-8. ' . . . and . . . and associates, deceased, at Theadelphia 59 $\frac{3}{4}$  arurae of Crown land rented at 3 $\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{150}$   $\frac{1}{12}$  artabae of wheat, 1 $\frac{1}{120}$  art. of lentils, . . ar. of confiscated (?) land at 5 $\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{30}$   $\frac{1}{500}$  art. of wheat,  $\frac{1}{6}$   $\frac{1}{40}$   $\frac{1}{200}$  art. of lentils, at Euhemeria 7 ar. of Crown land at 5 $\frac{1}{3}$   $\frac{1}{10}$   $\frac{1}{50}$   $\frac{1}{600}$  art. of wheat,  $\frac{1}{6}$   $\frac{1}{20}$   $\frac{1}{200}$  art. of barley,  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{75}$  art. of lentils, now cultivated by Aphrodisius son of . . . , . . . son of Mustharas and Ischeis his brother, Horion son of Eudaemon, . . . , Isas son of Horus, blind, Heraïscus son of Akoikis, Poseis son of Theon, . . . , priest.'

4-5. For the restorations of the village-names and rents cf. the table in int. For *προσόδου γῆ* cf. 1434. 7, n.

17. The rent collected in barley at Theadelphia was probably either 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  art. (cf. l. 35) or 1 art. (cf. l. 39) per arura; cf. l. 56.

18. *ἀπ(άτορος)*: this abbreviation is common in Preisigke, *S.B.* 5124.

35. On the extra  $\frac{1}{12}$  art. of barley added to the rent cf. l. 92 and int.

53. *ἰασιπέτος*: possibly *κῆι ἀπίτος*; but there is not room for another name unless there was some omission in the usual statement of the rents.

54. *μ]υλ(ωνικοῦ)*: the abbreviation recurs in l. 68; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 335. 7 (ii. 191) *Παπέτος μυλωνικοῦ. μυλ(οκόπου)* (cf. e. g. 1042. 19), *μυλ(ωνάρχου)* (cf. P. Cairo Maspero 67142. i. 3), or *μυλ(ουργοῦ)* is also possible.

55. *τίβ'*: probably  $\frac{1}{300} + \frac{1}{12}$ ; cf. int.

56. Cf. l. 17, n.

57. *Ἐσκεισλάκι(ο)ς*: or *ἐπ(ικαλουμένου) Κισλάκι(ο)ς*.

58. *στροβιλᾶς* ('distorted') seems to be a new form.

84. *ἀπο( )*: cf. l. 89. The abbreviation, which recurs in ll. 60-83, ends with a horizontal stroke above the last letter, which elsewhere in the case of *καὶ (μέτοχοι)*, *Εὐη(μερείας)* and *Χαιρή(μονος)* is really a degeneration of *μ*, but with *γεωργ(ούμεναι)* and apparently *ὄριο(δείκτου)* (l. 92, n.) merely indicates abbreviation. *ἀπο(ρος)* or *ἀπό(δημος)* (cf. 1547. 23) is possible, if the word is contrasted with *τετελ(ευτηκότες)*.

92. *ὄρ[ιο](δείκτου)*: the end of a horizontal stroke (not δ) above the last letter is visible; cf. l. 84, n. For an *ἀναμέτρησης* by this official cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 240.

93. The 23rd year of Antoninus was a census-year, and *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς* can be supplied with *τῆς γενο(μένης)*; but e. g. *ἐπισκέψεως* (cf. l. 92) would rather be expected in this context.

99. For  $\frac{1}{84}$  art. cf. P. Tebt. 341, quoted in int. The second figure may be β here.

#### 1447. RECEIPT FOR CORN-DUES.

13.2 × 21.7 cm.

A. D. 44.

This receipt, issued by a sitologus in the reign of Claudius, for corn-dues of an unspecified character is parallel to 287 and 383-4 (reign of Tiberius), and differs somewhat from the stereotyped formula of this class of receipts from the



reign of Domitian onwards (cf. e. g. 1541–2). The payer was a woman, not a tax-collector as apparently in 287, and the dues were probably not rent of State lands, but land-tax on other kinds of land; cf. P. Fay. 81. int., Ryl. 202 (a). 8, n. There are three special points of interest, the *ἡμέρα Σεβαστή* (l. 2, n.), the mention of the artaba *καγκέλλω*, which has not previously been recognized before the sixth century (l. 4, n.), and the explanation of the 4 *ἐκατοσταί* added to the main payment as due to *κακομετρία* (l. 6, n.). The writing is along the fibres of the verso, the recto having only a date in a different hand.

Ἔτους δ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος [Σεβασ]τοῦ  
 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπειφ κα [Σε]βα(στῆ). Θέων  
 ὁ σιτολογῶν τοὺς περὶ Πέλα τόπ(ους) μεμέτρη(μαι) παρὰ Αρ[. . .]s  
 τῆς  
 Φάτρεω(ς) Ἀπολλωνίου (?) δι(ὰ) Ἡρᾶτος Ὀννώ(φρεως) πυροῦ σ(ύμ)-  
 πα(ντα) μ[έ]τρῳ τῷ καν-  
 5 κέλλω ἀρτάβα(ς) ἔνδεκα τέταρτον καὶ τ[ὰς] δεο[?]ύσας  
 ἀντὶ τῆς κακομετρίας ἐκατοστῶν [τ]εσσάρων.

On the recto

2nd hand δ (ἔτους) Τ[ι]βερίου [Κλαυδίου] [Καί]σαρος.

4.  $\bar{\sigma}\pi^{\text{II}}$ . 6. l. ἐκατοστὺς [τ]έσσαρας.

‘The 4th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germ. Imp., Epeiph 21, *diēs Augustus*. I, Theon, sitologus of the district of Pela, have had measured to me by Ar . . . daughter of Phatris son of Apollonius through Heras son of Onnophris 11¼ artabae of wheat in all, by the *cancellus* measure, and the 4 hundredths required as compensation for the faulty measure. (Endorsed) The 4th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar.’

2. Ἐπειφ κα [Σε]βα(στῆ): on the *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί* see Blumenthal, *Archiv*, v. 337 sqq. The evidence collected by him is supplemented by four instances in the reign of Gaius in the Rylands papyri (167. 34 Sebastus 3, 230. 13 Neus Sebastus 6, 144. 5 Pauni 2, 151. 21 Soter 20), and two in the reign of Trajan (P. Ryl. 202 (a). 4 Thoth 21, P. S. I. 40. 16 Mecheir 16), besides the present passage. Some of the days are no doubt rightly explained as monthly commemorations of the birthday or accession-day of the Emperor or his predecessors. The 21st as *Σεβαστή* occurs in 288. 19 (Pauni of the 10th year of Tiberius; but the reading of the figures is uncertain) and in P. Ryl. 202 (a). 4, where it is the actual anniversary of Trajan’s birthday. This number does not suit the birthdays or accession-days of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius, which are all accounted for in the *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί* by other numbers (cf. Blumenthal, *l. c.*, P. Ryl. ii, p. 142); but, especially if the reading in 288. 19 is correct, the 21st may well be connected with Augustus, who assumed that title on Jan. 16, corresponding to Tubi 21, and possibly the instance in which Thoth 21 is *Σεβαστή* in Trajan’s time is also to be explained as a survival of the same commemoration.

If the 21st in the Tiberius-Claudius period is not connected with Augustus, it presumably commemorated some member of the Imperial family; cf. Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 341.

3. Πέλα: a large village in the western toparchy; cf. 1285. 81.

4. Ἐπο(λλωνίου?) δι(ά) Ἡράτος: the *o* of *επο* is not much higher than usual, and ἀπὸ δι(αστολῆς) or δι(αγραφής) might be read, but is unsatisfactory in this context, whereas δι(ά) is expected. Possibly ἀπο(δήμου) is the word, as in 1446. 84; cf. n. Ἡράτος can be either masculine or feminine.

σ(ύμ)πα(ντα): cf. 287. 6 πυρ(οῦ) [σύ]παντα (the final *a* is written above the line), 384 πυροῦ τριω( ) σύνπ(αντα), 289. 2, 15, &c., where l. σ(ύμ)πα(ντα) before (δραχμῆς), and 574.

μέτρῳ τῷ καγκέλλῳ: corn described as καγκέλλῳ is frequently met with in late Byzantine papyri, and Becker's explanation of it (P. Heidelb. iii, p. 32) as derived from the Persian *qanqal*, not the Latin *cancellus*, is accepted by Wilcken, *Grundz.* lxx. But καγκέλλῳ or an adjective formed from it was probably meant by a mysterious word in P. Brit. Mus. 256 (a). 12 (ii. 99; A. D. 15), which has been read as κανκερλοτῳ, χανκερλοτῳ, χαλκερλοτῳ, and χαλκειλοτῳ (the preceding words being μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ, and the succeeding τῷ ἀνετηρηγμένῳ), and supposed to be an error for χαλκηλάτῳ. The scribe of that papyrus is very inaccurate and elsewhere confuses *o* and *ω*, so that καγκέλλῳ with the omission of the second τῳ is the most satisfactory correction of the passage. In an unpublished Byzantine tax-receipt from Oxyrhynchus 226 artabae σίτου καγκέλλου = 200 art. καθαροῦ.

5. τ[ὰς δεο]ύσας: the reading is far from certain, for *η* is slightly preferable to *ν* and after *σ* is a stroke which is not elsewhere employed by the writer in forming *α*, though it is hardly long enough for *ι*, and may represent merely a false start. *ησιας* suggests only γν]ησίας, for which γν]ησία δημόσια in P. Amh. 86. 10 (cf. 1409. 20, n.) is not a very close parallel. ἑκατοστὰς τέσσαρας was not written, but, unless a substantive can be read in l. 5, seems to have been meant, the error being due to the preceding genitive.

6. For *κακομετρία* the lexica quote only Eustathius, who uses it for 'bad metre'; it has not occurred previously in papyri, though additional ἑκατοσταί are found frequently for adulteration (708) or unspecified reasons (e. g. 1443. 10). A μέτρον πρὸς ἑκατοστὰς δέκα occurs in 1640. 5.

#### 1448. LIST OF ARREARS OF CLOTHING.

25.3 × 17 cm.

About 318.

This list of arrears of clothing owed by a number of villages was found with 1424-5 and is of approximately the same date. It is remarkable for the minute fractions of the στιχάρια and παλλία, which are divided, like the artaba (cf. 1446. int.), in the two series  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$  and  $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ . An instance of the division of χλαμύδες into similar fractions, which had occurred in P. Brit. Mus. 1259. verso (iii. 239), now loses its singularity. Of the seventeen villages mentioned the first four, which were formerly in the Thmoisepho toparchy (cf. 1285. 122 sqq.), are known from P. Giessen 115. ii to have been in the 8th pagus at this period, and Dositheou (l. 8), which was formerly in the lower toparchy (1285. 139), was in the same pagus (1425. 6), while Souis (l. 7) occurs next to Dositheou in 1285, and Tholthis (l. 6) was formerly in either the Thmoisepho or the lower toparchy (1285. 123, 141). The ten villages from l. 10 onwards are, with one or two

exceptions (ll. 10, 12, nn.), new, and probably smaller than the first seven, two of them being called ἐποίκια and one (l. 15) a χωρίον, a term which after the fourth century tends to supersede κόμη; cf. P. Tebt. ii, p. 365. The whole list is likely to refer to the 8th pagus; cf. 1425. 4, n. Some marginal notes have been inserted, referring to partial payments of the arrears. On the collection of clothing for military purposes in the Byzantine period see P. Leipzig 59-60, Goodspeed, Class. Philol. 10 (Preisigke, S. B. 4421), 1136, 1428, and for the earlier ὀθονηρά 1414. int.

## Ἐχθεσις στιχαρίων καὶ παλλίων·

ἔχουσι Μέλανος  
στιχ(άρια) γ.

Τήεως στιχ(άρια) δβ' παλλ(ίον) Λ,  
Κεσμούχεω[ς στι]χ(άρ.) ββ' παλλ(λ.) Λγ'κ'δ',

Παλώσεως στιχ(άρ.) αβ' παλλ(λίον) αγ',

Παώμεως στιχ(άρ.) γβ' παλλ(λ.) Λγ'κ'δ'

Θάλθεως παλλ(λ.) γ',

Σ[ο]ύεως στιχ(άρ.) γγ' παλλ(λ.) ββ'κ'δ',

Δωσιθέου στιχ(άρ.) [[δ]] ζ'ίβ' παλλ(λ.) ζΛ,

ὦν ἀπηνεγκάμμη παλλ(λίον) α,

10 ἐποικίου Γεροντᾶ παλλ(λ.) γ',

Πετροκ( ) στιχ(αρίου) ς'κ'δ' παλλ(λ.) ίβ',

Σκυταλίτιδος Δόγγου στιχ(άρ.) ακ'δ' παλλ(λ.) γ',

ἐποικ(ίου) Σαραπαᾶ στιχ(αρ.) δ'κ'δ'μ'ή' παλλ(λ.) ή',

Νααιλ( ) παλλ(λ.) γ'ίβ',

15 χωρίου Σερήνου καὶ Νεμεσίονος

στιχ(αρ.) ς'κ'δ' παλλ(λ.) ίβ',

Πελαίτου στιχ(αρ.) ίβ'μ'ή' παλλ(λ.) κ'δ',

Στρούθου στιχ(αρ.) δ'κ'δ'μ'ή' παλλ(λ.) ή',

Ψανωρμᾶ στιχ(αρ.) ίβ'μ'ή' παλλ(λ.) κ'δ',

20 Θαλασσοκάπρου στιχ(αρ.) δ'κ'δ'μ'ή' παλλ(λ.) ή'.

On the verso

ἔχθεσις στιχαρίων καὶ παλλίων.

14. νααιλ( ) Π. 17. πελαῖτον Π.

1. ἔχθεσις: cf. P. Fay. 320 ἐχθ. λοιπ(ογραφουμένων?) and P. Hamb. i, p. 9<sup>b</sup>.

2. The marginal note 'They have received 3 στιχάρια of Melas' refers to the 4<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> στιχάρια in this line. Melas is presumably a personal name, not a place-name.

5. The marginal note 'Diotimus, inhabitant of Dositheou, has paid for them 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> στιχάρια'

refers to the  $3\frac{2}{3}$  στιχ. The final  $\iota$  of Διότι(μος) is not raised above the line, and a  $\mu$  or a stroke above the line ought to have been visible, but διότι<sup>μ</sup>Ιων cannot be read.

10. ἐποικίον Γεροντᾶ: Γεροντί(ου) occurs as a village-name on a potsherd in *Arch. Rep.* 1904-5. 15 (= Preisigke, *S. B.* 1945), but cannot be read here, the  $\alpha$  being nearly certain; cf. int.

11. Πετροκ( ): or possibly Πετροβ( ).

12. Σκυταλίτιδος Δόγγου: cf. Σκοταλίτιδος in a sixth-century list of Oxyrhynchite villages in P. land. 51. 6, where probably Σκυταλίτιδος is to be read.

14. Νααιλ( ):  $\kappa$  or  $\pi$  is possible in place of  $\lambda$ .

## V. DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS.

### 1449. RETURN OF TEMPLE PROPERTY.

FR. 1 20.6 × 7.6 cm. FR. 4 19.4 × 10 cm. A. D. 213-17.

This elaborate return of dedicated offerings, drawn up by the priests of various temples at Oxyrhynchus and in the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes, is parallel to parts of B. G. U. 590 + 162 (*W. Chrest.* 91), 338, 387, 488, 590, 1023, P. Rainer 8 *ap.* Wessely, *Karanis* 59, Brit. Mus. 353 (ii. 112), all from the Arsinoïte nome, P. Ryl. 110 (Hermopolis), and 521, a list of temple property at an Oxyrhynchite village or possibly the metropolis. B. G. U. 781, which has been sometimes regarded as a similar list, probably refers to a private deposit; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv.* vi. 302. The deities worshipped at the shrines in question were in all Zeus, Hera, Atargatis Bethennun[is?], Core, Dionysus, Apollo, and Neotera (ll. 1-2; cf. 1-5, nn.), other references to these cults at Oxyrhynchus being scarce. Probably all the six temples at Oxyrhynchus enumerated in ll. 3-6 were much less important than the two chief ones, the Serapeum and Thoëreum, both of which gave their names to ἀμφοδα and appear in 1453 and in the list of the city buildings in 43. verso. Another probably minor temple, mentioned incidentally in l. 5, was the Demetreum. The return, like B. G. U. 387, was unaddressed, and may have been intended for the strategus or basilicogrammateus, to one or both of whom the annual γραφαὶ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ, exemplified by P. Tebt. 298 and the Berlin and Vienna papyri mentioned above, were sent in the first and second centuries. The address to those officials was often omitted in Oxyrhynchite ἀπογραφαί (e. g. 1109 and 1548). The date, however, of 1449 (Hathur of the 22nd-25th year of Caracalla; cf. ll. 7, n., and 53) is subsequent to the establishment of senates, which became largely responsible for the temple administration, and one of the third-century parallels, P. Ryl. 110 (A. D. 259), was addressed to an ἀρχιπροφήτης of Alexandria. A contrast also seems to be drawn in l. 16 between 1449 and ordinary γραφαί, and since 1449 was certainly confined, like P. Ryl. 110, to a list

of the *χειρισμός*, the question which official was addressed remains uncertain. The omission is in any case to be connected with the fact that 1449 is a rough draft or copy, as is clearly shown by the frequent abbreviations and abrupt conclusion, without any signatures or date.

The four extant fragments do not join. Frs. 1 and 2, which come from the beginning, are separated by a gap, of which the size can only be determined with any approach to certainty in the case of ll. 1 and 7-9. Line 7 requires at least 27 letters between *ἀναθημάτων* [and] *υ*. A much longer restoration, inserting *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος* or *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορος*, as in ll. 40 sqq., before *Μάρκου*, would by itself be quite as satisfactory, but does not suit the corresponding lacunae in ll. 8 (of the same size) and 9 (5 letters longer), where the obvious restorations yield 24 and 32 letters respectively, and is only compatible with the corresponding lacuna in l. 1 (3 letters shorter) on the supposition that both the priest whose name is lost and his father had double names. The arrangement of Frs. 1 and 2 adopted in the text is therefore more probable. The ends of lines are also missing, but the certain restoration at the end of l. 8 serves to fix the approximate length of the lacunae in the other lines, though there may have been some irregularities; cf. l. 7, n. In l. 12 there is a change of hand, the second being slightly smaller than the first. Fr. 4 consists of the first halves of lines belonging to the last column of the document, there being a blank space below l. 65. Whether this column immediately followed the first is uncertain. The list of temples in ll. 3-7 does not correspond exactly to the later details, so far as these are preserved. Lines 8-11, and probably ll. 11-31 also (cf. l. 11, n.), refer to a temple of Neotera which seems to have been mentioned at the beginning of l. 5, unless it is the temple of Apollo and Neotera in l. 4; ll. 40-1 apparently refer to one of the other five Oxyrhynchus temples, and ll. 42-53 to the Cynopolite village-temple mentioned in ll. 6-7 (cf. l. 42, n.); but ll. 54-65 are concerned with temples at various villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome which were not mentioned in ll. 3-7. There is not room in Col. i, of which the height is uncertain, but which is not likely to have exceeded 50 lines, for the account of the four remaining temples of Oxyrhynchus, if the dedications were at all numerous like those in the temple of Neotera; but there are indications that the account of the temple to which ll. 40-1 refer occupied only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lines (l. 40, n.), and if the other four were also dealt with briefly or partly omitted, there were only two columns in all. Hence we have provisionally assigned Fr. 3, which contains the ends of 8 lines, to the lower part of Col. i. The few details preserved in it suggest that it refers to the same temple as ll. 8-31, for the objects described previously do not recur in it, and there is no trace of a mention of a new temple. But since no combination of Fr. 3 with ll. 8-31 is practicable,

the list of objects at the temple of Neotera, if it continued up to l. 39 or beyond, leaves only about 10 lines in Col. i available for the four temples not accounted for; and if one or more columns intervened between Cols. i and ii, Fr. 3 may equally well belong to the interval.

The unusually detailed list of offerings, including the donors' names where known (cf. ll. 9-12), though much obscured by lacunae, presents a number of points of interest. The first place in each section referring to a particular temple is given to an *εἰκονίδιον* (e. g. ll. 8, 42, 54, 63) of the reigning Emperor with his parents: the material of these triads is not stated but is likely to have been stone. There were also numerous statues or statuettes of gods, a *ξόανον* of Demeter partly in Parian marble, partly in wood (ll. 10-11), one of Neotera in bronze (l. 12), and another affixed to an uncertain object (l. 13), and one of an uncertain deity, partly in marble (l. 14), figures of Typhon (l. 14) and Harpocrates (l. 24), a gold statuette of Aphrodite (l. 33?), *ἀνδριαντάρια* of Zeus and Hera (l. 58) and perhaps of Demeter (l. 49, n.), silver figures of Core (l. 44) and apparently Bubastis (l. 19) on lamps, and a rudder representing Neotera (l. 14?). The other offerings, classified according to their materials, comprise (1) *gold*, lamps (ll. 15, 48), armlets, and finger-rings (l. 16; cf. l. 12), spoons and pen (l. 17), pendant (*στραγγαλῖς*, l. 23; cf. l. 18, n.), 2 *κρίκοι* (l. 24), crescent (*μηνίσκιον*, l. 26; cf. l. 18, n.) and other objects (ll. 17, 19 (with a *προσκυνητήριον*?), 21, 25); (2) *silver*, pens (l. 17), armlets of different kinds, crescent and pendant (l. 18), mirror (l. 19), lamps (ll. 19, 22; cf. l. 44), altar (l. 49), besides uncertain objects (ll. 22-3); (3) *bronze*, mirror (ll. 21-2, 56), spoons (l. 30), lamps (ll. 35-8), altar (l. 47), trencher (*μαζονόμος*, ll. 58, 60), uncertain (l. 29); (4) *stone*, Iacchus-shrine (l. 46) and other objects (ll. 14, 20, 24); (5) *wood*, probably a table (l. 23), couch (l. 41), part of a lamp (l. 44); (6) *clothing*, green robe (l. 13), cloaks (*παλλίολον*, ll. 32, 39), *ἱμάτια* (l. 51), coverings (*περίστρομα*, ll. 55, 62); (7) *miscellaneous*, pearl necklaces, one containing 52 pearls (l. 25), a pair of *κορδίκια* (l. 53, n.), and a daily supply of oil (l. 65). Many of these objects are not found in the other lists of temple property; cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i. 327 sqq.

Col. i. Frs. 1 and 2.

- 1 Π[α]ρὰ Ἀύρ(ηλίω) Ζωίλ(ου) Ἀπολλωνίου μητ(ρὸς) Ἀύρ(ηλίας) Ἀχιλλίδ(ος)  
καὶ 14 letters μητ(ρὸς) Ἀύρ(ηλίας) Τααφύγχ(ιος) ἀμφοτέρων [. . . . .]  
καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτ(οῖς) ἱερέων Δ[ιὸς καὶ Ἡρας καὶ Ἀταργάτιδ(ος)
- 2 καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀπόλλων[ος] [καὶ Νεωτέρας καὶ τῶν συννάων  
θε]ῶν καὶ κωμαστῶν προ[τομῶν τοῦ] κυρ[ῆ]σ[ου] Σέβαστοῦ καὶ νίκης [αὐτοῦ  
προαγούσης καὶ

- 3 Ἰουλίᾳ Δόμνας Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ? Σεουήρου . . . . .]ων  
αὐτῶν ἱερῶν τῶ[ν ὄντων] ἐν τῇ μητροπόλ(ει) ἐπὶ μὲν τῶ[υ Διούσου ἐπ'  
ἀμφόδ(ου)
- 4 Δρόμ(ου) Θοήριδ(ος), τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου Ἀπόλλωνος .[ 21 l. θεοῦ μεγ]άλου ἀγαθοῦ  
δαίμ(ονος) καὶ Νεωτ(έρας) [ἐν τοῖς ἀπ]ὸ νότου τῆς π[ό]λεως ἐπ' ἀ[πη]-  
λιώτην] [μέρεσιν ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) . . . . ( )],
- 5 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ νότου ἐπὶ λίβα μέρεσι τῆ[ς πόλ(εως)] ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) . . . . ( )  
Νεωτ(έρας)?, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)] Πλατ(είας) ἐκ νότ(ου) τοῦ Δημητρ(είου)  
Διὸς καὶ Ἡ[ρας κ]αὶ Ἀταργάτ[ιδ]ος Βεθεννύ[ιδ]ος? καὶ Κόρης, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμ-
- 6 φ[ό]δ(ου) Δρόμ(ου) Γυμνα(σίου) Διὸς καὶ Ἡ[ρας καὶ Ἀταργάτ]ιδ(ος) Βεθεννύ-  
νιδ(ος) καὶ Κόρης, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Ἰππέων Παρεμβολ(ῆς) Πατ[ε]μιτ  
λα[ύ]ρα]ς [Δι]ὸς καὶ Ἡ[ρας καὶ Ἀταργάτ]ιδ(ος) κ[αὶ Κόρης]? , καὶ ἐν . . . . .
- 7 τοῦ Κυνοπολ(ίτου) Διὸς καὶ Ἡ[ρας. γρα(φῆ) ἀναθημάτων] [τοῦ κ. (ἔτους)  
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου] Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρετανικοῦ  
Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου] Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ.
- 8 ἔστι δέ· τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ τῆς Νεωτ(έρας) ἱερῶ, εἰκονεῖδιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
Αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου Αὐρηλί[ου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐτυχοῦς [Εὐ-  
σεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
- 9 καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Δόμνας τῆς κυρίας Σεβαστῆς [καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ  
Σεουήρου, ἐπι]κειμέ[ν]ων ἐπὶ τινων ἀναθημάτων] τὰ ὀνόματ(α) τῶν  
ἀναθ[έντ(ων)] 10 l., ἐπὶ
- 10 γὰρ ἄλλων μὴ γινώσκειν ἡμῖν τοὺς [ἀναθέντας διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀναθήματ(α) ἀπὸ  
ἀρχαί]ων χρόνων ἐν τῷ ἱερῶ εἶναι, ξόανον Δήμητρος θε[ᾶς] μεγίστ(ης),  
οὗ ἢ προτομ(ῆ)
- 11 Παρίνη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ σώματ(ος) ξ[ύλινα, 33 l. ]ω[ν]ειου . [ . . . ]ω[ . . . ]μ[ . . . ]  
ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπεδείχθη). καὶ ἐπὶ [ . . . . . τῶν ἐκ τῆς
- 12 ἄνωθ(εν) συνηθ(είας) κατ' εὐχ(ήν) καὶ εὐσέβ(ειαν) ἀνιερωθέντ(ων), [ 26 l. ἀ]να-  
τεθ(ε ) ὑπὸ Φρ[α ?]γέ[ν]ο]υς Ὠ[ρ]ί[ωνος], (2nd hand) ξό[α]νον Νεωτ(έρας)  
χα(λοῦν) μεικ(ρόν), δακτύλ(ιοι) ε [ἀνατεθ(έντες) ὑπὸ . . . . .
- 13 Διδύμ(ου), στολή καλλαῖνη ἀνατεθ(εῖσα) ὑπὸ τ(ῆς) μητρ(ος) Ἀ[ν] 26 l. ἀ]να-  
τεθ(ε ) ὑπὸ Κάστορος Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου), [βε ?]λέγκωτο[ς] μεικ(ρὸς) ἐφ' οὗ  
ξόανον τῆς Νεωτ(έρας) ἀποθ . [ 17 l.
- 14 λιθ(ιν ) εὐτόμου λίθ(ου), πηδάλ(ιον) τῆς [Νεωτ(έρας)?, ξόανον 20 l., ο]ῦ  
ἢ προτομ(ῆ) Π[α]ρίνη, τὰ δὲ περιάπτ[α ἐπί]πλαστ(α), Τυφώ[ν] τινων μερῶν  
κα[ 17 l.

- 15 κατὰ μέ(σον) κεκολλημεν ) καὶ τὰ ἐν γλωσσο[οκόμφ 16 l. λύχνοι χρ(υσοῖ) μεικ(ροὶ) μ]εστ(οὶ) θει[οι] β ἀν[ατε]θ(έντες) ὑπὸ Σαρα[π(ίωνος)] Σαραπ(ίωνος), ἄλ(λος) λ[ύχ(νος)] χρ(υσοῦς) [μ]εικ(ρὸς) μεστ(ὸς) θεῖο(ς) ἀνατεθ(εῖς) ὑπὸ Σαρα(εῦτος) Ἀχ[ιλ(λ)] , ἄλ(λος) λύχ(νος) χρ(υσοῦς) μεικ(ρὸς) μεστ(ὸς) θεῖο(ς) ?
- 16 ἀνατεθ(εῖς) ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖδος γυναι[κὸς 26 l., ὧν ὁ στα]θμ(ὸς) δι(ὰ) τῶν κατὰ χρόνον(υ) γραφ(ῶν) [δη]λοῦτ(αι), πε[ριδ]έξι[α] παιδικ(ὰ) ι καὶ παιδικ(ὸς) δακτύλ(ιος) α, ἐπὶ [τὸ ἀ]ὐτὸ χρ(υσοῦ) (τετάρτων) ? ., 10 l.
- 17 μύστ(ρα) χρ(υσᾶ) β, γρ[α]φ[ε]ῖ[α] χρ(υσοῦν) μεικ(ρὸν) α, ορα[ 33 l. μ]εικ(ρ ) α, πάντ(α) ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ[ὐτὸ] χρ(υσοῦ) [(τετάρτων) 9 l. ] . χρ(υσ ) εὔτο(μο ) ἀργυροπ(οιοητο?) α (τετάρτων) β, γραφ[ε]ῖα ἀργ(υρᾶ) [ 17 l.
- 18 ψέλιον ἀργ(υροῦν) παιδικ(όν), . . . [ 34 l. περ]ιδέξι(α) ἀργ(υρᾶ) β, μηνί-σκ(ιον) [. . . . . ἀ]ρ[γ]υρ ) , πάντ(α) ὀλκ(ῆς) (δραχμῶν) η (τριω-βόλου), στραγγ(αλῖς) ἀργ(υρᾶ) σ[ 17 l.
- 19 χ[ρ]υσ ) ] σὺν προ(σο)κυνη[τηρίω] ? 38 l. ] . . [ὄ]λκ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ (τριωβ.), ὄσυπτρον ἀργ(υροῦν) π[αιδικ(όν), . . . .] ἀργ(υρ ) μεικ(ρ ) ς, λαμπάδ(ες) ἀργ(υ-ραῖ) καλαῖ Βουβαστ[ 16 l.
- 20 [πάν]τ(α) ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ[ὐτὸ] ὀλκ(ῆς) (δραχμῶν ?) [ 40 l. στα]θμὸν [ε]χοντα μεστ(ὰ) κη[ 10 l. ] . . ον χυτ(ὸν) λίθ(ιον) ἐν κεκολλημ(ένον), καὶ ἔτερο[ν 16 l.
- 21 [. . . ψ]ελίου κατ[ὰ 44 l. ] . . [.]ις σάκκου χρ(υσ ) κ[ 10 l. ] . ον ἄση(μον) καὶ ἐπάνω κονχύλ(ιον) καὶ [ 8 l., κάτοπτρον
- 22 [Χ]αλκ(οῦν) νεωτερικ(όν) 48 l. ] β, λαμπ(ὰς) ἀργ(υρᾶ) μεστ(ῆ) [ 10 l. ] . . ( ) ἀργ(υρ ) μεικ(ρ ) περιεχρυσωμ(εν ) α[ 17 l.
- 23 ἀργ(υρ ) β, τράπ[ε]ξα 41 l. ] α πάντ(α) μεστ(ὰ) θεῖα μεικ(ρὰ) σὺν . . . . . ] . ομφ, ἄλ(λη) στραγγ(αλῖς) χρ(υσᾶ) κεκολλημ(ένη), ορα[ 17 l.
- 24 ἐκκολλητ( ) χυτ( ) [λιθ(ιν ) 41 l. ] . . [ο]ν κεκο[λ]λημ(ένον) χυτ(ὸν) λίθ(ιον) [ 10 l. ] . . . . ς σὺν κρίκ(οις) χρ(υσοῖς) β, Ἀρποκρά[της 14 l.
- 25 χρ(υσ ) μεικ(ρ ) μεστ( ) θ[ει 42 l. ] πεινώτ(ιον) [. . . , ἄλ(λο)] πεινώτ(ιον) [. . . πει]νώτων συ[μ]μίκτ(ων) ἀριθμῶ νβ ἔχον κατ[ὰ μέ]σον ? 12 l.
- 26 μηνίσκ(ιον) χρ(υσοῦν), τρ[ 44 l. ] μεικ(ρ ) α[. . . . .]γρα ζ, [ 50 l.
- 27 ἔτερο[ν μηνί]σκ(ια) 57 l. ] . μ( ) [ 51 l.
- 28 μεικ(ρ ) α, ἀλ(λ ) κ[ε]ῖ[ 29 χα(λκ ) ν ἀριθμ]ῶ 30 μύστ(ρα) χα(λκᾶ) δ μεικ(ρὰ) . [ 31 [ἀ]μφοτ(ερ ) μ[εστ]τ( ) [



## Fr. 3.

32 ] παλλ[ιολ(ον)? 33 Ἀφρο?|δείτ(η) χρυσ(ᾶ) 34 ]γμένη 35 λύχνος  
 μεστῶ(ς) 36 ]ν, λύχ(νος) χα(λκοῦς) 37 ἀ]νατεθ(έν) 38 ] ἄλ(λος)  
 λύχνος 39 ]ον παλλίολ(ον)

## Col. ii. Fr. 4.

40 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀν[τωνίνου  
 Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ  
 41 Σεουήρου καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνας τῆς κυρίας Σεβαστῆς, κλείνη ξ[υλ(ίνη)  
 57 letters  
 42 τοῦ Κυνοπολίτου ἰκονείδιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορος Μάρκου [Αὐρη-  
 λίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 43 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνας τῆς κυρίας Σεβαστῆ[ς 59 l.,  
 44 λαμπ(ᾶς) σὺν ζωδίῳ Κόρης ἀργυρῶ ἀσήμ(ῳ) ὄγκ(ῆς) λί(τρας) α ἔσωθ(εν)  
 ξυλ(ίνη), ἔχου[σα 46 l., ἀνατεθ(εῖσα) ὑπὸ τῆς  
 45 μητ(ρὸς) Διονυσίας Δεῖου ἀπ' Ὁξυ(ρύγχων) πόλ(εως) ἀκολούθ(ως) οἷς συνεχω-  
 ρήθ(η) ὑπὸ Αὐρ[ηλίου] 59 l.  
 46 θεου, καὶ Ἰαχχάριον μεικ(ρὸν) ἀπὸ ξενικ(οῦ) λίθ(ου) ἀνατεθ(έν) ὑπὸ Ἀνδρο-  
 μάχ(ου) [ 60 l.  
 47 βωμὸς χα(λκοῦς) ἀνατεθ(εῖς) ὑπὸ Ζμαράγδ(ου) ἀπελευθ(έρου) Ἀπολλω(νίου)  
 Σαραπίωνος ἀκ[ολούθ(ως) οἷς συνεχωρήθη ὑπὸ 39 l.  
 48 καὶ ὁμοί(ως) προ(σε)γένετ(ο) τῷ α (ἔτει) λαμπ(ᾶς) χρυσ(ᾶ) ἔχουσα κατὰ μέσον  
 . [ 60 l.  
 49 [ἀ]νατεθ(εῖς) ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείδου Σαραπίωνος, ἄλ(λος) βωμ(ὸς) ἀργυροῦς λί(τρας)  
 α ὀγκίῳν ε[ 60 l.  
 50 [θ]εᾶς μεγίστης λι(τρῶν) ιε ἀνατεθ( ) ὑπὸ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἰουλίου τῷ α (ἔτει),  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ δ [ (ἔτει) 55 l. σεση(μμεν )  
 51 [ἀ]χρηστ(ο ) α, τὰ δὲ ἰμάτια πάντ(α) ἀπὸ τ(οῦ) χρό(νου) σεση(μμένα)  
 ἄχρηστ(α) μηδὲ ἕχνη [ 60 l.  
 52 καὶ προ(σε)γένε[ε]το τῷ ε (ἔτει) μη(νὶ) Θῶθ ἐν ἱερῶ τῆς Κόρης ξόαν[ο]  
 30 l. ἀνατεθ(έν) ὑπὸ 20 l.  
 53 [γυ]μνα(σιαρχήσαντος), καὶ τῷ διελθόντι μη(νὶ) Φαῶ(φι) κορδικίων ξεῦγος  
 [ 60 l.

- 54 [κ]ωμ(ῶν) τοῦ νομοῦ· ἔστι δε· Συναρῦ, ἰκονεῖδιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμ[ῶν] Ἀυτοκρά-  
τορος Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς
- 55 [Σε]βαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνας τῆς  
κυρίας Σεβαστῆς 29 l. περίστρωμα
- 56 [φοι]νείκιον σεση(μμένον) ἄχρηστ(ον), κάτοπ(τρον) νεωτερικ(όν) χα(λκοῦν)  
δίπ(τυχον) α. Τα[ 10 l. εἰκονεῖδιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορος  
Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίου
- 57 [Σε]ουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ [θεοῦ πατρὸς  
αὐτοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνας τῆς κυρίας Σεβαστῆς,
- 58 ἐν ἱερῷ μαζονόμος) χα(λκοῦς) α, ἀνδριαντάρια β Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας θεῶν  
μεγίστων. 31 l. εἰκονεῖδιον τοῦ κυρίου
- 59 ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορος Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐ-  
σεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ Ἰουλίας
- 60 Δόμνας τῆς κυρίας Σεβαστῆς, μ[α]ζονόμος χα(λκοῦς) α καὶ 20 l. εἰκονεῖδιον  
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορος Μάρκου
- 61 Ἀύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ  
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνας τῆς κυρίας Σεβαστῆς,
- 62 περίστρωμα σεσημ(μένον) ἄχρηστ(ον) α. Κερκεθύρεως καὶ Κερκε 59 l.
- 63 ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς κόμαις εἰκονεῖδ[ι]α δύο τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν [Ἀυτοκράτορος Μάρκου  
Ἀύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς
- 64 Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνας τῆς  
κυρίας Σεβαστῆς, καὶ χορηγεῖται ὑπὸ 24 l.
- 65 γυμνασιάρχ(ήσαντος) ἐλαίου ἡμερησίω[s] κοτύλης ἡμισυ οὐ χωρεῖ εἰς 59 l.

1. ἱερων Π. 3. Ἰουλίας Π; so in ll. 9, 41, 43, 55, 64. ἱερων Π. 6. πατεμῖτ Π.  
8. ἱερ[ω] Π; so in ll. 10, 52, 58. 9. l. τῶν ὀνομάτων(ων). 10. l. ἡμᾶς. 12. ἀνιερῶθ. Π.  
13. καλλαῖνη Π. 14. ὑφ Π. 15. ὑπο Π; so in ll. 16, 50. 16. ποτομαῖδος Π. 17. δ' β  
Π. 19. πρ(οσ) is written ρ, as in ll. 48 and 52. l. ἔσοπτρον. 42. ἰκονεῖδιον Π; so  
in l. 54. 44. ρω of ἀργυρω corr. 46. ἰαχχαριον Π. 50. Ἰουλιου Π. 51. ἱματια  
. . . ἰχνη Π. 60. ον of μ[α]ζονομος corr.

1-20. 'From the Aurelii, Zoilus son of Apollonius and Aurelia Achillis, and . . . son  
of . . . and Aurelia Taaphunchis, both . . ., and their associates, priests of Zeus, Hera,  
Atargatis, Core, Dionysus, Apollo, Neotera, and the associated gods, and celebrants of  
the busts of the lord Augustus and his advancing victory and Julia Domna Augusta and  
his deified father Severus, at their . . . temples situated in the metropolis, in the case of  
Dionysus in the quarter of the Square of Thoëris, in the other case, that of Apollo . . . the  
great god and good genius, and Neotera, in the south-east part of the city in the quarter  
of . . ., in the south-west part of the city . . . and in the Broad Street quarter to the south of

the shrine of Demeter that of Zeus, Hera, Atargatis Bethennunis, and Core, and in the Gymnasium Square quarter that of Zeus, Hera, Atargatis Bethennunis, and Core, and in the Cavalry Camp quarter, Patemit street, that of Zeus, Hera, Atargatis, and Core, and in . . . of the Cynopolite nome that of Zeus and Hera. List of offerings for the 2[.] year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Max. Germanicus Max. Pius Augustus, as follows. Objects in the temple of Neotera, a representation of our lord the Emperor M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Felix Pius Augustus and Julia Domna the lady Augusta and his deified father Severus, some of the offerings being inscribed with the names of the dedicators, . . . while in other cases we are ignorant of the dedicators, because the offerings have been in the temple from antiquity; a statue of Demeter, most great goddess, of which the bust is of Parian marble and the other parts of the body of wood, . . . was not disclosed to us. And with regard to other offerings, which were dedicated in accordance with ancient custom for vows or pious reasons, . . . dedicated by Phragenes(?) son of Horion, a small bronze statue of Neotera, 5 rings dedicated by . . . son of Didymus, a green robe dedicated by the mother of An . . ., . . . dedicated by Castor son of Asclepiades, a small . . ., on which is a statuette of Neotera . . ., a stone . . . of well-cut stone, a rudder representing Neotera, a statue of . . ., of which the bust is of Parian marble and the amulets are of plaster, a statue of Typhon, part of which . . . joined together in the middle, and the . . . in a casket, 2 small gold full sacred lamps dedicated by Sarapion son of Sarapion, another small gold full sacred lamp dedicated by Saraeus daughter of Achill . . ., (another lamp) dedicated by Ptolemaïs wife of . . ., of which the weight is described in the periodical lists, 10 armlets for a child and 1 ring for a child, making in all . quarters of gold, . . ., 2 gold spoons, 1 small gold pen, . . . 1 small . . ., making in all . quarters of gold, 1 gold . . . well cut and decorated with silver, weighing 2 quarters, . silver pens, . . . a silver bracelet for a child, . . . 2 silver armlets, a . . . silver crescent . . ., in all weighing 8 drachmae 3 obols, a silver pendant . . ., a gold . . . with a shrine . . ., weighing 4 dr. 3 ob., a silver mirror for a child, 6 small silver . . ., . fine silver lamps (representing?) Bubastis . . ., in all weighing . . .'

40-65. ' . . . (a representation) of our lord the Emperor M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Felix Pius Augustus and his deified father Severus, and Julia Domna the lady Augusta, a wooden couch . . . In . . . of the Cynopolite nome a representation of our lord the Emperor M. Aurel. Sev. Ant. F. P. Aug. and his deified father Sev. and Jul. Domna the lady Aug., . . . a lamp with a small figure of Core in unstamped silver weighing 1 lb., the interior being of wood, having . . ., dedicated by the mother of Dionysia daughter of Dios, of Oxyrhynchus, in accordance with the agreement of Aurelius . . ., and a small shrine of Iacchus of foreign stone, dedicated by Andromachus . . ., a bronze altar dedicated by Smaragdus, freedman of Apollonius son of Sarapion, in accordance with the agreement of . . . Likewise added in the 1st year, a gold lamp having in the middle . . ., (an altar) . . ., dedicated by Heraclides son of Sarapion, another altar of silver weighing 1 lb. 5½ oz. . . ., a statue of . . . the most great goddess weighing 15 lb., dedicated by Aurelius Julius in the 1st year, and in the 4th year . . ., 1 . . . decayed and useless and all the clothing decayed with age and useless, having no traces of . . . Added in the 6th year in the month of Thoth at the temple of Core, a statue . . ., dedicated by . . . ex-gymnasiarch, and in the past month Phaophi a pair of *κορδίκια* . . . In the villages of the nome, as follows: at Sinaru a representation of our lord the Emperor M. Aurel. Sev. Ant. F. P. Aug. and his deified father Sev. and Jul. Domna the lady Aug. . . ., a dark red covering decayed and useless, 1 bronze folding mirror in new style. At Ta . . . a representation of our lord the Emperor M. Aur. Sev. Ant. F. P. Aug. and his deified father Sev. and Jul. Domna the lady Aug., in the temple 1 bronze trencher, 2 statuettes of Zeus and Hera, most great gods. At . . . a representation of our lord the Emperor M. Aur. Sev. Ant. F. P. Aug. and his deified father Sev. and Jul. Domna the lady

Aug., 1 bronze trencher and . . . At . . . a representation of our lord the Emperor M. Aur. Sev. Ant. F. P. Aug. and his deified father Sev. and Jul. Domna the lady Aug., 1 covering decayed and useless. At Kerkethoëris and Kerke . . . In the said villages two representations of our lord the Emperor M. Aur. Sev. Ant. F. P. Aug. and his deified father Sev. and Jul. Domna the lady Aug., and there is provided by . . ., ex-gymnasiarch, daily  $\frac{1}{2}$  cotyle of oil, which goes to . . .'

1. Ἀχιλλίδ(ος): cf. e. g. 1494. 12.

ἀμφοτέρων [. . . . .]: the lost title was probably *προφητῶν* (cf. B. G. U. 488. 3) or *στολιστῶν* (cf. P. Tebt. 298. 3) or *πρεσβυτέρων* (cf. B. G. U. 387. i. 7).

Διὸς κτλ.: cf. ll. 5-6. Zeus probably = Ammon; but with whom Hera was identified is uncertain; cf. 483. 3 *ἱερέως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ* . . ., and 1265. 7-11 quoted in l. 2, n. For Atargatis cf. l. 5, n.

2. Κόρης: cf. ll. 5, 44, and 52. A temple of Demeter and Core in the Arsinoïte nome is known from P. Petrie 97. 5, and they are mentioned in a stele found at Philadelphia in the same nome (Lefebvre, *Annales*, xiii. 99). In the Metelite nome Core was identified with Isis (1380. 72).

Διονύσου: cf. l. 46 Ἰαχχάριον. A Διονυσείον at Oxyrhynchus occurs in 908. 8, and a τόπος Διονύσου τευχτιῶν in the ἀμφοδον Δρόμου Θοήριδος (cf. l. 4) in 171. 10 (ii, p. 208). The tax called *σπανὴ Διονύσου* was not connected only with Oxyrhynchus; cf. 1283. 17, n.

Ἀπόλλων[ος]: i. e. Horus. Cf. 984 *πασ(τοφόρος) Ἀπολλ. θεοῦ μεγίσ(του) οἰκῶν ἐν παστοφωρίῳ τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) ἱερο(ῦ)*.

[καὶ Νεωτ(έρας): cf. l. 4, where she is apparently mentioned in conjunction with Apollo, and l. 8, where a temple of her alone occurs. This was presumably different from the temple in l. 4, and the only suitable place for it in ll. 3-6 is in l. 5; for, though τῆ[ς Νεωτ(έρας) might be read in place of τοῦ Διονύσου in l. 3 with Διον(ύσου) for Νεωτ(έρας) in l. 5 or καὶ Διονύσου after Ἀπόλλωνος in l. 4, the order of the temples in ll. 3-6 would then bear no relation to that of the list of gods in ll. 1-2. With the restorations adopted in the text the temples of the first four gods are accounted for in ll. 5-6, those of the last three in ll. 3-5, but inside each group the order corresponds to that in ll. 1-2. To suppose that the temple described at the end of l. 4 refers to καὶ Νεωτ(έρας) alone is unsatisfactory, for the preceding words θεοῦ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος suit Apollo, not the name of an ἀμφοδον. A dedication Νεωτέρα θεᾶ μεγίστη occurs in a Dendera inscription of Trajan's reign, C. I. G. 4716 (c). 3-4; cf. ll. 20-1 φροντιστοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἀφροδίτης θεᾶς νεωτέρας. Franz supposes that Plotina, the wife of Trajan, is identified with Aphrodite, but it is not clear that a subordinate shrine rather than the chief temple of Dendera is indicated. Cleopatra is called θεᾶ νεωτέρα upon coins, and Νεωτέρα in 1449 no doubt means Hathor-Aphrodite, though Ἀφρο[?]δείτη) occurs in l. 33 and νέα is a special title of Isis in 1380. 85.

καὶ τῶν συννάων θε[ῶν κτλ.: cf. 1265. 7-11 (A. D. 336) ἱερέως ἱεροῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ τῶν συν. θ. μεγίστων [καὶ] κομαστοῦ θίων προτομῶν καὶ νίκης αὐτῶν προα(γ)ούσης. The θείαι προτομαὶ there refer to the Emperor and his family, as here, and the temple was one of the three temples of Zeus and Hera in ll. 5-6. θεῶν μεγίστων can be read for θε[ῶν], if Νεωτέρας and συννάων were abbreviated.

3. ]νων is probably the termination of a participle -μέ]νων. θεοῦ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Σεουήρου occurs regularly in Col. ii, where Julia Domna is placed third instead of second and called κυρία Σεβαστή, as in l. 9, where she again comes second. The omission of πατὴρ αὐτοῦ is possible here, but hardly in l. 9. With θεοῦ Σεουήρου the lacuna can be filled by τῶν ὑπογεγραμμέ]νων. For the association of Caracalla's parents with him cf. Preisigke, *S.B.* 4275.

4. Ἀπόλλωνος. [: καὶ might be read, but the insertion of another male deity at this point is not wanted; cf. l. 2, n.

5. For the supplement *Νεωτ(έρας)* cf. l. 2, n. Twenty-eight letters are expected in the lacuna before *Πλατ(είας)*, and the restoration in the text is rather long (32 letters) if *πόλεως* was written out as in l. 4; but to connect *ἐπ' ἀμφόδου*] *Πλατ.* with *τῆς πόλεως* is unsatisfactory, for there is already one additional piece of topographical information after *Πλατ.*, so that another before *ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)*] would be quite superfluous; cf. l. 2, n. The missing name of the *ἄμφόδον* either here or at the end of l. 4 may well have been *Κρητ(ικου)*, which in 43. verso iii. 15 is mentioned next before the *νοτινὴ πύλη*.

*Δημητρ(είου)*: cf. 1485. 3. Several temples of Demeter in the Arsinoïte nome are known (cf. Otto, *op. cit.* ii. 379), her cult being sometimes associated with that of Core; cf. ll. 2, 49, nn. and 10-11.

*Ἀταργάτ[ιδ]ος Βεθεννύ[ιδ(ος)] καὶ Κόρης*: Atargatis was a Semitic deity, a form of Astarte, worshipped in Syria and sometimes identified with Isis (1380. 100, n.). This is the first definite mention of her cult in Egypt, but she was presumably meant by *θεὰ Συρία* in P. Magd. 2 (cf. Strack, *Archiv.* ii. 547). *Βεθεννύ[ιδ(ος)]* (or *-[ι]ης*) appears to be a Semitic compound of *beth* and another word. A village called *Βηθυναΐς* near Caesarea occurs in Joseph, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 7. 4. For Core cf. l. 2, n.

6. *Δρόμ(ου) Γυμνα(σίου)*: the context suggests that the Gymnasium was in the southwestern part of the city (l. 5); in 43. verso it occurs in iv. 6, between buildings in the south (iii. 17 *νοτινὴ πύλη* and 19 *νοτ. ἐκκλησία*) and places on the river-bank, i. e. east (iv. 24 *Καί(σα)ρος βαλανείου*, v. 1 *μικρὸν Νειλομέτριον*), the northern and western parts of the city apparently occupying Cols. i-ii.

*Πατεμίτ λα[ύρα]ς*: the lacuna is rather narrow for *υρα*, but *Πατεμίτ* as the name of a street is confirmed by the existence of a *Πατεμίτης* topharchy in the Hermopolite nome (e. g. P. Ryl. 123. 12). For the termination cf. P. Amh. 35. 21 *ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρεμίτ* at Socnopaei Nesus.

7. The year cannot be earlier than the 22nd owing to the occurrence of the title Germanicus Maximus; cf. 1406. int. For the omission of *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος* cf. int. and e. g. B. G. U. 534. 19. The omission of *Εὐτυχοῦς*, which is uniformly found elsewhere in 1449, is common. The insertion of it would make this line project considerably, but in Col. ii the lacunae at the ends of lines range from 52 letters (l. 40) to 65 (l. 59), though commencing at the same point.

8. For *Νεωτ(έρας)* cf. l. 2, n., and for *εἰκονίδιον* (a new diminutive) int. p. 136. There would be room after *εἰκον.* for an abbreviated adjective, e. g. *λίθ(ων)*, but elsewhere in 1449 *εἰκονίδιον* is found without an epithet.

9-10. For [*καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κτλ.*: cf. l. 3, n. The clauses *ἐπι[κειμέ[ν]ων . . . ἱερῶ ἐναί* seem to be awkwardly placed after the enumeration of objects had begun, and the grammar is defective; cf. the crit. nn. *γινώσκειν* appears to be governed by *δηλοῦμεν* understood. A parallel phrase *γεν[ομένων ἀγνώστων ἡμείν]* occurred in B. G. U. 590. 6. *τὸ κα[τ'] (ἄνδρα) ἢ τοῖς* are less probable readings than *τοῖς*.

10-11. *Δήμητρος θεῆς μεγίστ(ης)*: cf. ll. 49 and 5, 14, nn. For *οὗ ἡ προτομή*] *Παρίνη* cf. l. 14 and B. G. U. 387. ii. 3, where a similar phrase is indicated by *αἱ προτομαὶ* [following *ἀνδρεαντάρειον*] (l. *ἀνδρεαντάρεια* [?]).

11. *καὶ ἐπὶ [ . . . . . : ἄλλων* is rather short for the lacuna, and the construction is not clear. *κατὰ τὴν* might be substituted for *ἐκ τῆς* in spite of the following *κατ' εὐχ(ήν)*, and possibly *καὶ ἐπὶ . . .* is connected with the preceding clause instead of being, as we suppose, a heading corresponding to *ἐπι[κειμέ[ν]ων ἐπὶ τινων ἀναθημάτων* and *ἐπὶ γὰρ ἄλλων* in ll. 9-10. The offerings enumerated in ll. 12-14 in any case seem to belong to the same temple as those in ll. 8-11, and that *καὶ ἐπὶ . . .* is contrasted with *τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ τῆς Νεωτ(έρας) ἱερῶ* in l. 8 is unlikely.

12. *Φρ[α]γεί[ο]υς (?)*: *Ἵρρ[ι]γέ[ν]ο[υ]ς* cannot be read.

13. βε]λένωκω[σ]: there is hardly room for [ν] after το. No word ending -γκωτος seems to be known, but βελενωκόθιαι καὶ σιστριδία ὡς εἰς ξυλαμὴν occur in P. Fay. 118. 20, where instruments of some kind appear to be meant.

ἀποθ. [ : ἀποθή[κη, 'casket' (beginning a new entry), is possible, but the vestige of a letter after θ rather suggests α or ε.

14. τῆς [Νεωτ(έρας): cf. ll. 8, 13, and 2, n. Representations of deities are often found as the παρίσημα of boats, i. e. on the prow, but not elsewhere in papyri upon the rudder. ξόανον Δήμητρος θεᾶς μεγίστης (cf. ll. 10-11, n.) just fills the space before ο]δ, which is more probable than ῆ]ς. [εὐ]πλαστ(α) (cf. l. 17 εὐτο(μο )) is possible instead of [ἐπι]πλαστ(α).

Τυφών: i. e. Set, who in ancient times was the chief deity of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

15. κατὰ μέ(σον): cf. l. 48.

μ]εστ(οί): cf. ll. 20, 22 (λαμπάς), 23 and 25 (in both cases followed by θεῖος, as here), 31, 35 (λύχνος), P. Hamb. 23. 34 μεστὰ ἀγγία, and n.

16. κατὰ χρόνο(ν) γρα(φών): cf. int. p. 134.

πε[ριδέξι]α: cf. l. 18. πε[ρίαπτ]α (cf. l. 14) is less probable. For ἐπι [τὸ α(ὐτό) cf. l. 17.

17. μύστ(ρα): cf. l. 30 and 921. 25. μεστ(ά) (cf. l. 15, n.) is inadmissible.

ορα[ : cf. ll. 23 and 18, n. It seems to be a new substantive.

ἀργυροπ(οιητο ) : or ἀργυρόπ(ους), since the object contained 2 τέταρτα of gold.

18. περ]ιδέξι(α) . . . μηνίσκ(ιον) : cf. ll. 26-7 and P. Hamb. 10. 44-5, nn.

στρανη(άλις): cf. l. 23 and LXX Judges viii. 26. ο] may well be either a repetition of ο]λκῆς or ορα . . . (cf. l. 17, n.).

ἀ]β[γ(υρ ) : χ]β[ (υσ ) might be read, but the weights in drachmae and obols appear to be silver, not gold; cf. ll. 19-20.

19. πρ(οσ)κυνη[τηριφ] : this word is found elsewhere only in Byzantine writers. Cf. βωμός in l. 47.

Βουβασ[τ( ) : this is more likely to refer to the goddess Bubastis than to be an adjective referring to the town of Bubastus (cf. the lamp σὺν ζῳδίῳ Κόρης ἀργυρῶ in l. 44); but, since the preceding letter is not a figure, Βούβαστ[ις as a distinct item is unsatisfactory. λ, μ, or π can be read for the κ of καλαί, κ for the first β and υ for σ in Βουβασ[τ.

20. στα]θμόν: cf. l. 16. μύστ(ρα) (cf. l. 17, n.) could be read for μεστ(ά). For χυτ(όν) λίθ(ιον) κτλ. cf. l. 24. Neither that passage nor l. 23 favours ἐνεκολλημ(ένον) for ἐν κεκ. here. For a number not expressed by a figure cf. l. 63.

21-2. κάτοπτρον | χ]αλκ(οὺν) νεωτερ[ικ(όν) : cf. l. 56, and for νεώτερα, 'new style', contrasted with ἀρχαία in similar lists Otto, *op. cit.* i. 330. νεωτερικ(ός) may however be parallel to παιδικός (ll. 16, 19).

24. δυσκόλλητος is known, but not εὐκόλλητος.

25. For θ[είος following μεστός cf. l. 15, n. πεινώτιον is not attested, but a pearl necklace suits the context. For κατ[ὰ μέσον cf. ll. 15, 48.

26. Perhaps τρ[άπεζα; cf. l. 23.

28. Possibly κει[βωτός (cf. l. 15 τὰ ἐν γλωσσ[οκόμῳ), but κεφ[ can be read.

35. λύ]χνος μεστό(ς): cf. ll. 36, 38, and 15, n. The χ is, however, very doubtful, the traces rather suggesting ] . νος.

40. The last word of the preceding column was no doubt εἰκονεῖδιον, and probably this was the first entry under a new temple; cf. int.

42. τοῦ Κυνοπ(ολίτου): the Cynopolite village mentioned in ll. 6-7 is expected to be identical with this one, but had a temple of Zeus and Hera, whereas this village, to which all ll. 42-53 apparently refer, had a temple of Core (l. 52; cf. the ζῳδῖον Κόρης in l. 44), and the Ἰαχχάριον in l. 46 suggests that Dionysus was also worshipped there; cf. int. On

the combination of the Cynopolite with the Oxyrhynchite nome for administrative purposes see 1453. 13, n.

46. θεου is more probably the termination of the patronymic of the dedicator (e. g. Δωσι|θέου) than θεοῦ.

Ἰαχχάριον: the diminutive seems to be new. Cf. Διονύσον in l. 2.

49. [ἀ]νατεθ(είς): βωμός probably preceded; cf. ἀλ(λος) βωμ(ός), which might, however, refer back to l. 47. The weight (1 lb. 5½ oz. of silver) is slightly less than that of the silver βωμός in B. G. U. 781. vi. 1 (1 lb. 9 oz. and a fraction). For Δήμητρος| cf. l. 10.

50. For σση(μμεν) cf. l. 51 and ll. 56, 62, where it refers to a περίστρωμα, which is hardly suitable here.

52. ἐν ἱερῷ τῆς Κόρης: cf. l. 42, n.

53. κορδικίων ζεύγος: κορδικιον only occurs elsewhere in P. Brit. Mus. 429. 11 (ii. 314; about A. D. 350), where one κορδ. is valued at 5 talents. The meaning is unknown. Wessely (*Wiener Stud.* xxiv. 134) supposed that it was a Latin word Graecized.

54. [κ]ωμ(ών): cf. int. Sinaru was a village in the lower toparchy (1285. 134).

55-6. For περίστρωμα | cf. l. 62. περιστρώματα were a speciality of Oxyrhynchus, as appears from B. G. U. 781. 10 περιστρ. Ὀξυρυγχιτικ(ᾶ) β. φουίκιος, which generally refers to palm-oil or wine, is here apparently used of colour.

56. δίπ(τυχον): cf. B. G. U. 717. 12 κάσπτρον δίπτυχον.

Τα[ ]: the choice lies between Τακόνα, Ταλαώ (both in the lower toparchy; 1285. 130-1), Ταγίεως, Τακολκίλεως (both middle top.; 1285. 99, 113), Τααμπέμον, Ταμπέτι, and Ταρουθίνου (all eastern top.; 1285. 88, 612, 384).

58. μαζονόμ(ος): cf. l. 60. For ἀνδριαντάρια cf. ll. 10-11, n. Before εἰκονεῖδιον a village-name probably occurred; cf. ll. 42, 54 and int.

60. κα[ ]: cf. l. 46. No Oxyrhynchite village beginning Ka- is known. For εἰκονεῖδιον, preceded by a village-name, cf. l. 58, n.

62. περιστρωμα: cf. ll. 55-6, n. Κερκεθύρις was in the western toparchy (1285. 70). The village Κερκ[ ]ε . . . here coupled with it was in a different toparchy, if it was Κερκεμοῦνις (upper top.; 1285. 66), or Κερκεύρα or Κερκευρῶσις (both in the middle top. and perhaps identical; cf. 1285. 23 and 116). But it is more likely to be an unknown village near Κερκεθύρις.

64-5. This entry concerning oil is of a different character from the rest of the list, which was perhaps left unfinished; cf. int. εἴς λυχναψίαν is not improbable; cf. 1453. 4, n.

#### 1450. ESTIMATE OF REPAIRING A PUBLIC BUILDING.

18 x 11.4 cm.

A. D. 249-50.

This detailed estimate of the cost of roofing (l. 8 ἐπιστέγωσις), plastering, and otherwise repairing a public building, addressed probably to representatives of the senate by a master-builder or carpenter (l. 27, n.), would, if more complete, have thrown some valuable light on the building-trade, concerning which not much is known (cf. Reil, *Beiträge*, 25 sqq.); but owing to the loss of both the beginning of the document and more than half of each line, as appears from the date-formula at the end, little reconstruction of the fragment is practicable in the absence of a parallel. The only other papyri which are of much assistance with regard to the technical terms are C. P. Herm. 127. verso, a fragmentary

nearly contemporary account of expenses for public buildings at Hermopolis, and P. Stud. Pal. x. 259 (6th cent.), a builder's account; cf. also the Ptolemaic contracts for public works in P. Petrie iii. 43. The building in 1450 had a room or court for playing ball (ll. 5, 7 σφαιριστήριον, which has not occurred previously in papyri) and apparently five furnaces (l. 5, n.), and is therefore likely to have been a gymnasium or, better, a public bath; cf. l. 10, n., and 54, an application to a gymnasiarch and exegetes in A. D. 201 for a payment on account of repairs at the baths of Hadrian. Lines 1-11 give details of the estimated costs of various items, which were apparently summed up in l. 12; ll. 14-24 provide for possible modifications in the estimate owing to various contingencies connected with the materials or the workmen, concluding with a reference to the supervision of the work.

. . . . .

] . έμβαδι[κ(ων)] πηχ(ων) σπγ έπι [ 18 letters  
π ?]ρίσιν τών δοκών και έπι[ 17 l.

]πας η̄ αῡξα[s] οίκοδόμοις και έργάταις . . . .]. ας  
]ωτου τών όστράκων διᾱ πηλοῦ (δραχμάς) ρ, κονίας εις εῡ-  
5 τής] έξέδρας όλης και του σφαιριστηρίου όλου καμείνων  
έκ] (δραχμών) πθ (όβολοῦ), τών ε (δραχμάς) υμε (πεντώ-  
βολον), κοιιαταῑς συν̄ έργατεί̄α  
τής] έξέδρας και του σφαιριστηρίου, έπῑ το̄ αῡτο̄ (τάλαντα)  
[ 9 l. ]ς  
[ και τών άλλων τής έπιστεγώσεως [ 10 l. ?]  
[ γραφών και στεγώσεων έπῑ το̄ πλ(είον) η̄ [έλατ(τον)(τά-  
λαντα) . (δραχμάς)?] ρ[. .], και  
10 [ τοπικών ειδών τής έπισκευής το[ῡ . . . . .]υ  
έπῑ το̄ πλείον η̄ έλαττον (τάλαντα) ς (δραχμάς) χν,  
έπῑ το̄ πλε[ρον] η̄ έλαττον, ή̄τις και έπάνω δεδήλωται εκ̄ συν-  
[όψεως? στεγ?]ώσεων έγέμετο, τινών δε̄ προς̄ τας̄ νυν̄ οὔσας  
]α κατ' άλλήλους είναῑ ταῑς τειμᾱις καῑ το̄ις̄ μισθο̄ις. εῑ δε̄  
15 ]μενον [. . .]εσθαῑ διᾱ τε̄ ασφάλειαν η̄ εῡμορφίαν, ό  
] κᾱῑ [. . .], ό̄ αναγκαίως̄ προσγεινεσθαῑ ῑωθε,  
]ρ[.αῑ εν̄ τ[η̄] συνόψεῑ η̄ όλίγον̄ αντῑ πλείονος̄ συν-  
]ς. εῑ δε̄ καῑ τών̄ προ[ο]κειμένων̄ ειδών̄ μη̄ ενε-  
] η̄ καῑ τών̄ εν̄γεγραμμένων̄ εν̄ ταῑς̄ συνόψει  
20 ]ς̄ εκ̄ τοῡ τής̄ συνόψεως̄ κεφαλαίοῡ κουφισθήσεται



εἰ δὲ ποτὲ μ]έν αὔξονται, ποτὲ δὲ μιοῦνται ἤτοι ἐκ προτρο-  
 [πῆς ἢ ἐξ] εὐσυχολίας τεχνειτῶν ἢ καὶ ἐκκλημπτόρων ἢ  
 ] ἢ μὴ εὐσυχολούντων κατ' ἀνάγκην πλείονος  
 τῶν? π]ροεστῶτων ἢ καὶ ἐπιμελουμένων τῶν ἔργων  
 25 ]

[ἔτους α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Μεσσίου Κύντου Τρα]ιανοῦ Δεκίου  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

2nd hand ἀρχι?]τέκτων ἐπιδέδωκα.

## 6. πθ ÷ Π.

1. ἐμβαδι[κ(ῶν) πηχ(ῶν): 'square cubits'; cf. 669. 6.
2. δοκῶν: these cost 4 dr. 5 ob. each in C. P. Herm. 127. verso i. 13.
3. ]πας ἢ αὔξα[ς]: cf. l. 21 αὔξονται ποτὲ δὲ μιοῦνται.
4. ὀστράκων διὰ πηλοῦ: cf. πηλοποιία in C. P. Herm. 127. verso Fr. 4. The use of potsherds in making mortar was an ancient Egyptian custom; cf. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* 419.

κοινίας: there was apparently a blank space before this word, as occurs after ἐπιστεγώσεως (l. 8), ἔλαττον (ll. 11, 12), χν (l. 11), ἐγένετο (l. 13), μισθοῖς (l. 14). On the plasterer's trade see Reil, *op. cit.* 34-5. εἰς εὐ[μορφίαν is possible; cf. l. 15.

5. σφαιριστηρίου: cf. int. A comma should perhaps be placed after ὄλου.  
 καμείνων: in C. P. Herm. 127. verso Fr. 15. 4 two κάμνοι are mentioned, and in the next line 240 drachmae, which seem to be the price of them, so that 89 dr. 1 obol in l. 6 here are probably the price of a κάμνος.

6. κοιναίς: cf. l. 4, n. ἐργατεία is clearly used in a concrete sense, but whether it means tools or workmen is not clear.

8. ἐπιστεγώσεως: this word seems to be new. The blank space after it (cf. l. 4, n.) may have extended to the end of the line; cf. ll. 11-12, n.

9. γραφῶν can mean 'paintings'. ζω]γραφῶν is not a correct form, but perhaps ζω]γραφ(ι)ῶν should be read, or ζω]γράφων dependent on another substantive.

πλ(εῖον) ἢ [ἔλατ(τον): cf. ll. 11-12, where, however, there is no abbreviation.

10. το[ῦ . . . . .]υ: βαλανί[ο]υ should perhaps be restored; cf. int. For γυμνασί[ο]υ there is not room.

11-12. After χν is a blank space of about 12 letters up to the end of l. 11; cf. l. 8 n. The next line may well have begun ὥστε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν (or γίνονται) τῆς δαπάνης, followed by a sum. For ἐκ συν[όψεως cf. C. P. Herm. 127. verso Fr. 12. 5, besides ll. 17, 20 below, and P. Stud. Pal. x. 259. 1 σύνοψις ἀναλωμ(άτων).

13. στεγώσεων: cf. l. 9.

24. τῶν οἱ ἡμῶν or ἰμῶν is probable before π]ροεστῶτων.

26. The year is likely to have been the 1st, since Herennius and Hostilianus are not mentioned. They occur in the extant papyri of the 2nd year, 1284. 1-5 (Choiak 19) and C. P. R. 37. 15-19 (Phamenoth 8); cf. 1476. int.

27. ἀρχι]τέκτων: οἱ τέκτων simply. In the Ptolemaic period ἀρχιτέκτων is the title of an official (Fitzler, *Bergwerke* 57 sqq.), as also usually in the Roman period (*op. cit.* 131 sqq.), whereas this individual was probably a private person. A private ἀρχιτέκτων occurs in P. Stud. Pal. x. 259. 6 (6th cent.) together with a τέκτων, and in P. Tebt. 277. 12 (3rd cent.)

an ἀρχιτέκτων occurs in a list of trades; cf. Reil, *op. cit.* 31. Some of the details, e.g. the δοκοί in l. 2 and ἐπιστέγωσις in l. 8, suit a simple τέκτων ('carpenter'; cf. Reil, *op. cit.* 76 sqq.); but the fact that οἰκοδόμοι, ἐργάται (l. 3), and κοιηταί (l. 6) were under his direction suits 'master-builder' better.

## 1451. EPICRISIS OF ROMAN CITIZENS AND SLAVES.

16.2 × 9.3 cm.

A. D. 175.

Of this valuable text ll. 1-10 contain the conclusion of a declaration addressed to a magistrate by a Roman woman, Trunnia . . . This announced the enclosure of (1) an extract from the official records concerning the examination (ἐπίκρισις) of her natural son L. Trunnius Lucilianus and daughter Trunnia Marcella, and three young male slaves, by a praefect of the fleet on behalf of the praefect of Egypt G. Calvisius Statianus, (2) declarations by three witnesses that Marcella was the sister of Lucilianus, and ended with an oath concerning the writer's relationship to her children, and the date. The extract itself follows in ll. 11-33, and the whole document apparently closed with the autograph signatures of Trunnia . . . and the witnesses (ll. 33-4). The papyrus is incomplete on all four sides, but at the end not more than three or four lines are likely to be missing, and at the beginning not more than seven or eight, for neither a column in excess of fifty lines nor the loss of a previous column is at all probable. The extent of the total gap between one line and the next is clearly fixed by the date formula in ll. 8-10 and other certain restorations, derived from parallels, in ll. 11-12, 13-14, 16-17, 21-22; the approximate starting-point of each line is determined by the heading in l. 11.

The extract from the τόμος ἐπικρίσεων of the praefect, which was certified by a βιβλιοφύλαξ of a record-office, probably at Alexandria (l. 3, n.), adds another second-century specimen to an important class of documents, of which most are badly preserved, but several can now be emended; cf. the commentary. It stands closest to B. G. U. 1032 and *Bull. de la soc. arch. d'Alex.* xiv. 196 sqq. (P. Alex.), which both record the epicrisis of illegitimate sons of Roman mothers, and to B. G. U. 1033, which concerns the epicrisis of slaves. Of the other examples, B. G. U. 113 and 265 (= *W. Chrest.* 458-9), 780, and P. Hamb. 31 and 31 a refer to the examination of veterans, while the status of the persons in B. G. U. 847 (= *W. Chrest.* 460) is disputed, a new interpretation of it (that they were Roman citizens) being proposed by us in l. 21, n. P. Flor. 382. 67-91 (= 57 = *W. Chrest.* 143), which records the epicrisis of an Alexandrian candidate for the status of ephebus before an exegetes, is also somewhat similar. The principal discussions of the relation of the extracts which do not concern veterans (all discovered recently) to the rest and to the epicrisis of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι, and

other privileged classes in the nomes (cf. 1452. int.) are in Wilcken, *Grundz.* 196 sqq. and 395 sqq., where the earlier literature is reviewed, and Jouguet's commentary on P. Alex.

The most striking point in 1451, which admits of an almost complete restoration, is the association of a Roman girl of 11 (or possibly 1) on equal terms with her brother, aged probably 23 (ll. 23-4, n.), in the epicrisis conducted as usual by a military representative of the praefect of Egypt. Wessely (*Epikrisis* 8, *Sitz.-Ber. Wien. Akad.* 1900) had already called attention to the circumstance that the title on the verso of B. G. U. 113 appeared to indicate the epicrisis of the daughter of a veteran with her father, and, in spite of Wilcken's rejection of that view in *Chrest.* 458. 16, n., P. Hamb. 31, in which a veteran is associated with his son and daughter in an epicrisis, shows that *θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ* in the title is dependent upon *ἀντίγραφ(αφον) ἐπ[ικρί(σεως)*: the preceding words may well be *καί* followed by a proper name or *τῆς*. Slaves were not more eligible for the army than women, and the epicrisis in a family group of a girl and three young slaves beside a youth of military age, and of a daughter beside her father, shows that, even if the current view concerning the military character of the epicrisis of youthful Roman citizens before the praefect be accepted, these examinations served other purposes which cannot have been military at all. Elsewhere the epicrisis of women is only known for certain in the case of a Jewess, subject to the taxes called *Ἰουδαίων τέλεσμα* and *ἀπαρχή* in her 61st year although *ἐπικεκριμένη* in her 59th (P. Stud. Pal. iv, p. 71. ll. 159, 184 = W. *Chrest.* 61). In l. 86 of the same papyrus *Θ[ερ]μουθαρίου ἐπ[ικ(εκριμένης) ὁμοίως ἀδελφῆς*, referring to a woman whose parents obtained Alexandrian citizenship, was doubtfully restored by Wessely, but not accepted by Wilcken, and it is noticeable that in P. Flor. 382 the evidence of status produced by an Alexandrian woman is not an epicrisis-certificate but a payment (?) of *ἀπαρχή*, apparently corresponding to the payment of poll-tax adduced as evidence in e.g. 1452. 21. Poll-tax was not paid by women in Egypt, so that no epicrisis for their admission to the privileged class of *μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι* was necessary. Hence it has been generally assumed that they required no epicrisis before assuming the title of *ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*; but this is not quite certain, for in P. Amh. 99. 4 *Ἐρμιόνη ἢ διὰ ἐπικρίσεως Μία ἢ καὶ Ἐρμιόνη* occurs, and though this can be explained away, as is done by Wilcken, following us, *διὰ ἐπικρίσεως* may refer to an *ἐπίκρισις* of the woman herself. But whatever may have been the case with regard to the epicrisis of Graeco-Egyptian women in the nomes, it is now clear that Roman girls—probably in order to prove their legal status—sometimes or even regularly underwent the same epicrisis as their brothers or fathers before the praefect of Egypt or his military deputy.

Secondly, the ages of the persons subject to epicrisis in 1451 and the evidence produced in support of their claims lend no support to Jouguet's view (*op. cit.* 213) that Roman and Alexandrian male citizens were subject at the age of 14 to a 'financial' epicrisis, resembling that of *μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι*, before a military epicrisis at the age of about 20. If Lucilianus had already undergone epicrisis nine years before the date of 1451, the circumstance ought to have been mentioned in ll. 22-6 along with or in place of the *μαρτυροποίησης* of his birth. That Marcella and the slaves had never been subject to epicrisis previously is obvious, and the reason which led Jouguet to infer the existence of a 'financial' epicrisis of Roman citizens at the age of 14, the possibility of evasions of poll-tax from the age of 14-19 by persons falsely claiming to be Roman citizens, seems to us insufficient in the absence of any direct evidence for his view. Male Roman citizens were not, so far as is known, brought up for epicrisis before the age of 20 or 23 (1451. 23-4, n.); but women appeared at the age of 11 (1451. 32) and slaves at the age of 19 (B. G. U. 1033. 17), 11 or 12 (B. G. U. 1033. 18, 33), 9 (1451. 32), and 5 (1451. 33). Since the examination was apparently held as a rule at Alexandria, so that a journey was in many cases necessary, it may have been the custom to present the whole family when the time came for the epicrisis of the father or son.

The occurrence of the epicrisis of girls by a praefect of the fleet on behalf of the praefect of Egypt opens, however, a wider question concerning the fundamental meaning of that term. Owing to the accident that the earliest papyri which mention epicrisis to be discovered either referred to veterans or introduced references to soldiers, the term was at first supposed to have a definite military significance, and though the subsequent evidence adduced by Kenyon (P. Brit. Mus. ii. 43 sqq.), ourselves (257. int.), and Wessely (*op. cit.* and Stud. Pal. iv. 58 sqq.) established the existence of a financial epicrisis conducted by local officials in the *χώρα*, epicrisis at Alexandria before the praefect or military officers has continued to be regarded as in the main a military proceeding with the object of enrolling recruits. From this point of view the badly written B. G. U. 143 (= W. *Chrest.* 454) *ἐπεκρίθη Γάιος Πετρώνιος Σερήνος ὑπ[ὸ] Κρο[ί]που ἐπάρχου(ν) [κλ]ιάσ[η]ς Ἀλεξανδρίνης τῷ (ἔτει) κγ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶφι ιβ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Γάιος Πετρώνιος Μακελλίνος* is usually explained as a recruiting-certificate of a soldier employed in the fleet, and B. G. U. 142 (= W. *Chrest.* 455) *ἐπεκρ. Ἰσιδώρος Γερμανοῦ ὑπὸ Πρίκου ἐπάρ. κλάσ. Ἀλεξ. κγ (ἔτ.) Ἀντ. Καίσ. τοῦ κυρ. Φαῶ. ιβ ἐκ σπείρης β Οὐλπία ἱππεῦ[ς] τύρμης Ἀπο[λ]λιναρίου ὑ[πὸ] Ἰσιδώρου* as a certificate of the transference of a soldier from a cohort to the fleet. Presumably, however, the epicrisis in those two cases was of the same character as that of Lucilianus, Marcella, and the slaves by Juvenus Valens in 1451, where there is no indication

that the praefect of the fleet was anything more than the deputy of the praefect of Egypt. In B. G. U. 1033 the epicrisis was held, partly at any rate, by the praefect of Egypt himself, and instances of the delegation of the judicial powers of that official to military praefects occur in C. P. R. 18 and 237. viii. 3. Probably the epicrisis for the whole country, so far as Romans and Alexandrians were concerned, was being conducted in 175 by Juvencus Valens, as is indicated (1) by a comparison of 1451 and its parallels with P. Flor. 382, where it is expressly stated that the presiding exegetes was concerned with a particular *γράμμα*, (2) by the arrangement of the numbering of the *σελίδες* and the local subdivisions in the headings of these extracts (l. 17; cf. l. 3, n.). Marcella and the slaves were not recruits for the fleet, and that all the youths examined at the same time as Lucilianus were intended for the fleet is highly improbable, while in the case of e. g. P. Alex. it is very unlikely that all the youths examined with G. Julius Diogenes were intended for the cohort of the president. In fact we are prepared to go a step further, and maintain that, just as the epicrisis of veterans on settling in the country was quite distinct from their formal discharge (*ἀπόλυσις*) from the army (cf. e. g. 1508, where veterans from the fleet are discharged *διὰ τριη(ρ)αρχῶν*), so the epicrisis of youths of military age was quite distinct from their enrolment in the army. B. G. U. 143 we regard as a certificate that Marcellinus had undergone an epicrisis similar to that described in 1451. His father seems to have occupied the position of Lucilianus' mother (1451. 20) and that of the *πατ[ήρ]*, if that is the right restoration (cf. l. 21, n.), in B. G. U. 847. 11. The word to be supplied before *ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός* is probably either [. . .] *μηνος* or *γνωστεύμενος*, as in P. Flor. 382. 80. Marcellinus, like Lucilianus and Diogenes, may have been intending to become a soldier, but not all Roman citizens in Egypt entered the army. In B. G. U. 142 the circumstances were different. Here the examinee was a soldier, but the supposed transfer from one branch to another rests on a forced interpretation of *ἐκ*, which as e. g. P. Grenf. ii. 51. 5 *διπλοκάρης ἐξ ἄλλης [ο]νάτραν[ῶ]ν* indicates, implies that he belonged to a cohort, not that he was leaving it. The evidence of his name, Isidorus son of Germanus, suggests that he belonged rather to the *ἕτεροι* (1451. 13) than to the *Ῥωμαῖοι* or *Ἀλεξανδρεῖς*. That the military authorities in Egypt were not very particular as to the citizenship of recruits, at any rate in the auxiliary cohorts, is clear from the occurrence of non-Roman names in 735 and B. G. U. 696, and we should regard the epicrisis of Isidorus after he became a soldier (he seems to have been vouched for by himself; cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 455. int.) as parallel to that of Sempronius Herminus in B. G. U. 447. 20. This person was a *ἱππεὺς εἴλης Μαυριτανῆς ἐπικεκρμένος ὑπὸ Σεμπρωνίου Λιβεράλιος* (praefect in 154-9) and probably was not an Alexandrian, much less Roman, citizen before he entered the army (cf. Lesquier, *Rev. de phil.*

1904. 30), for he is mentioned together with a number of Graeco-Egyptian inhabitants of an Arsinoïte village. The strongest argument for the military character of epicrisis in certain cases is the apparent correspondence of ἐπικεκριμένος to *probatus* in the phrase *tirones probati voluntarii* in B. G. U. 696. i. 28 and *tir. prob.* in 1022. 4 (= W. *Chrest.* 453), which is parallel to Trajan's phrase (Plin. *Ep.* x. 30) *dies quo primum probati sunt* (sc. *tirones illi voluntarii*). *Probatus* is the nearest equivalent of ἐπικεκριμένος: that this term ever corresponds to *translatus*, *lectus* (ἡρημένος; cf. B. G. U. 435. 4), or *missus* (ἀπολελυμένος), as supposed by Lesquier, *op. cit.* 21, we do not believe. But it is quite impossible to attach the technical military sense of *probare* to ἐπικρίνειν when this term is applied to veterans, girls, and slaves, and the proceedings connected with epicrisis before the praefect of Egypt or his representative do not in the least resemble a *dilectus*. That ἐπικρίνειν approximates to ἐξετάζειν was shown by B. G. U. 562 (cf. Wessely, *op. cit.* 25), and that it does not imply selection was proved by 39 (= W. *Chrest.* 456), a certificate of ἀπόλυσις concerning a weaver of Oxyrhynchus, ἐπεκρίθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ being added three times at the end, and probably representing the signatures of different officials in the original document of which 39 is a copy. That papyrus has generally been considered to refer to rejection from the army, but we now prefer to regard it, with Wessely, as referring to a discharge from a liturgy of some kind; cf. 1415. 9.

To sum up the evidence concerning epicrisis by the praefect of Egypt, the following different classes can be distinguished: (1) veterans; (2) other Ῥωμαῖοι, whether of advanced years (P. Stud. Pal. iv. 69. 342, though the reading of the figures *νθ* is doubtful and possibly the individual was a veteran) or of military age; (3) Roman women; (4) Alexandrians; (5) freedmen and (6) slaves of Romans (or Alexandrians); (7) others, i. e. Graeco-Egyptians, whether soldiers or not (B. G. U. 142 and 39). The examination was generally held by a military representative of the praefect, but the majority of the persons examined was not eligible for military service, and probably the object of the procedure was in all cases the same, i. e. the determination of legal status, corresponding to the epicrisis of Graeco-Egyptians in the χώρα, which, as is now clear (cf. 1452. int.), was by no means confined to the question of remission of poll-tax. Whether epicrisis was universal in the case of Roman citizens in Egypt is uncertain. Out of the ten extracts or certificates concerning them, five refer to veterans (in one case with a daughter) and three to illegitimate sons (in one case with his sister); there are only two cases (B. G. U. 143 and 847) in which an apparently legitimate son is presented by his father. Since these veterans may only have obtained Roman citizenship by enlisting, and there is no evidence that they had ever gone through the process of epicrisis as youths, there is a presumption that epicrisis

was not resorted to in the case of Romans until or unless circumstances required a legal definition of their status. But this question can hardly be settled unless the use made of these extracts can be determined, and it remains to consider the declaration to which the extract in 1451 was appended.

Here the loss of the beginning of the document unfortunately renders the object of the declaration in ll. 1-10 obscure. The date shows that it was not a *κατ' οίκίαν ἀπογραφή*, and the census held a year or two before the declaration is actually referred to in l. 26. The other extracts from the *τόμοι ἐπικρίσεων* of praefects do not help, being all independent documents. In P. Flor. 382 the *ἀντίγραφον ἐπικρίσεως* of an Alexandrian citizen (cf. p. 148) is appended to a petition from him to a praefect many years later; but the declaration on oath in 1451 is of a different character. P. Hawara 401 (*Archiv*, v. 395) bears more resemblance to 1451, and ll. 1-7 may be restored as follows: <sup>1</sup> 'Ευρ[ή]μονι ἱερεῖ ἐξηγητῆϊ τοῦ Ἀρσινοῖτου? <sup>2</sup> παρὰ Γαίου Θέωνος Ὀρίωνος οὐ[ε]τρανοῦ τῶν ἐντίμως ἀπολλε(υμένων), <sup>3</sup> ὡς δὲ πρὸ τῆς σ[τ]ρατίας κεχρ[η](μάτικε) 8 l. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινοῖτων <sup>4</sup> πόλεως ἀναγρα(φομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Λυσανίου [τόπων. βουλόμενος 10 l. κα-<sup>5</sup> τατα[γ]ῆναι εἰς το[.] . . εντας . . [ 10 l. ἐπευήνοχά σοι τὴν <sup>6</sup> ἐπικρίσιν μου καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρὸς π[α]τρὸς (οἱ μ[η]τρὸς) ἀδελφίδου (name) πρὸς τὸ ἐ? -<sup>7</sup> π' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἀκόλουθον πραχθῆνα[ι]. The epicrisis-return concerning a boy called Dionysius, which follows in ll. 8 sqq., is of the usual Arsinoite type corresponding to 1452. 1-27, and, unless *Διονυσίου* is restored after *κεχρ[η](μάτικε)* in l. 3, refers to *τὴν τοῦ πρὸς κτλ.* not to *ἐπικρίσιν μου*, so that an epicrisis extract (*ἐπικρίσιν μου*) corresponding to 1451. 11-33 may perhaps have been added later, the conclusion of the document being lost. That the general arrangement of the declaration in 1451 was similar is not improbable, though the end was different, and *σοι* in l. 3 may well be the exegetes or strategus, the document in any case probably being a notification of the epicrisis to a local official for a special purpose. That it refers to a change of residence is possible; cf. the phrase *βουλόμενος παρεπιδημεῖν πρὸς καιρὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοῖτι* regularly found in the extracts concerning the epicrisis of veterans. But a close parallel for 1451. 1-10 is not at present obtainable.

· · · · ·  
[ἐ]πάρχου Αἰγύπτου διὰ Ἰουου[ένκ]ο[υ] Ο[ύ]αλ[ε]ντος [ἐ]πάρχου [σ]τόλου  
Σεβαστοῦ Ἀλεξαν-

[δ]ρίνου τῆ . . τοῦ? Φαμεν[ὸ]θ ιε (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντω[νεῖ]νου Καίσα[ρος]  
τοῦ κυρίου γεγε-

[ν]ημένην ἐπικρίσιν ἐπι[φ]έρειν σοι ἐπεσκεμμένην ἐκ τῆς ἐν [16 letters

[β]ιβλιοθήκης δι' Ἀν[ου]β[ί]ωνος τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου βιβλιοφύλακος, ἧς ἀντί-  
γραφον ὑποτέτα-

- 5 [κται, μετὰ προσ]φωνή[σεω]ν μαρτύρων τριῶν περὶ τοῦ εἶναι τὴν [Τρουνηίαν  
Μάρκελλαν  
[ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Τρο]ννίου Λουκιλλιανοῦ, καὶ τῶν δούλων μου Εὐ[φροσύνου  
καὶ . . . . . ολύτου  
[καὶ Πλουτάρχου, κ]αὶ ὀμνύω τὸν ἕθιμον Ῥωμαίοις ὄρκον εἶναι αὐ[τοὺς  
ἐμαυτῆς υἱοὺς  
[καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλο]τρίῳ κεχρηῆσθαι, ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. (ἔτους) [15 (οἱ  
15) Ἀυτοκράτο-  
[ρος Καίσαρος Μάρ]κου Ἀύρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μ[ηδικοῦ  
Παρθικοῦ  
10 [Γερμανικοῦ Σαρμ]ατικοῦ Μεγίστου μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ.  
[ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπικρίσ]εως. ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων Γαίου Καλουισίου[ν Στατιανοῦ  
ἐπάρχου  
[Αἰγύπτου εὐ] προγρ[αφή· οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι οὐετρανοὶ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ  
ἀπελεύθε-  
[ροι καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ] ἕτεροι ἐπεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ Καλουισίου Στ[α]τιαν[οῦ] ἐπάρχου  
Αἰγύπτου  
[διὰ Ἰουουένκου Ο]υάλεντος ἐπάρχου στόλου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρινου ἀπὸ  
Φαμενῶθ  
15 [τοῦ ιε (ἔτους) Ἀύρηλίου]ν Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἕως Παῦν[ι] τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ (ἔτους), ἃ δὲ παρέθεν-  
[το δικαίωματα τ]ῷ προγεγραμμένῳ Ἰουουένκῳ Οὐάλεν[τ]ι ἐκάστ[ῳ] ὀνόματι  
παράκειται.  
[μεθ' ἕτερα σελίδων] οἶ· Ὁξυρυγχείτου Λούκ[ι]ος Τρούνν[ι]ος Λουκ[ι]λλιανὸς  
Σπουρίου  
[υἱὸς ἐτῶν , Τρουνηί]α Μάρκελλα ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν , δοῦλ[οι] Εὐφρό-  
σύνος  
[ἐτῶν , . . . . .] ὀλ[ύ]τος ἐτῶν , Πλούτ[α]ρχος ἐτῶν . ἐπή[νεγκεν  
ἢ τῶν προκει-  
20 [μένων παίδων μήτη]ρ τῶν δὲ δούλων δέσποινα Ε[. . . .]ια Τρο[ν]νία 10 1.  
[. . . . χρηματίζο]υσα τέκνων δικαίῳ ἑαυτῆς δέλτον προφ[ε]ρ[ε]σειῶνος ἐπὶ σφραγί-  
[δων κεχρομισμένη]ν τῷ ιε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων [δέλτους  
μαρτυροποιή-  
[σεως δύο ἐπὶ σφρα]γείδων κεχρομισμένας τὴν μὲν Λουκιλλιαν[οῦ] 15 (ἔτει)  
θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου



[τὴν δὲ Μαρκέλλης] δ (ἔτει) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου, δι' ὧν ἡ προγεγραμμένη  
Τρουνία . . .

25 [12 l. ἐμ]αρτυροποιεῖτο εἶναι αὐτῆ[ς] υἱοὺς τοὺς ἐπικρ[εινομένους] ἐκ μὴ  
[νομίμων γάμων, κ]αὶ τῶν δούλων οἰκογένειαν καὶ κ[ατ'] οἰκ[ίαν] ἀπογραφὴν  
τοῦ ιδ (ἔτους)

[Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνί]νου δι' ἧς οἱ δούλοι ἀνεγράφησ[αν.] ἔδω[κεν] ἡ Τρουνία  
καὶ γνω-

[στῆρας . . . . .]ν Ἐρμαῖσκον, Ἰουλίους δύο Ἐρμ[ι]ππον κ[αὶ] . . . . .  
συγχειρο-

[γραφοῦντας αὐτῆ] μηδενὶ ἀλλοτρίῳ κεχ[ρ]ῆσθαι. καὶ τῆς τ[οῦ] προκειμένου ?  
Ἰουοῦν-

30 [κου Οὐάλεντος σημ]ειώσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ προ[κειμέ]νου Τρου[νίου] Λουκιλ-  
λιανοῦ Σπου-

[ρίου υἱοῦ εἴκοσι τρ]εῖων ἄσημος, ἐπὶ δὲ Τρουνίας Μα[ρ]κέλλ[ης] Σπουρίου  
θυγατρὸς

[ἔνδεκα ἄσημος, καὶ ?] δούλων ἐπὶ μὲν Εὐφ[ρο]σύνου ἑννέα ἄσημος, ἐπὶ  
δὲ . . . . . ο-

[λύτου . . . . ἄσημος,] καὶ ἐπὶ Πλουτάρχου πέντε ἄσημος. (2nd hand ?)  
Τρο[νία] 12 l.

[. . . ἐπίδεδωκα ? (3rd hand) Γά?]μ[ο]ς Καικίλλιος Κλήμ[η]ς ὁ καὶ Βερε-  
μ[ικιανὸς] 9 l.

. . . . .

11. γαῖου καλουῖσιου Π; so in l. 13. 16. ἰουοῦνκω Π. 25. υἱοὺς Π. 28. ἐρμαῖσκον  
ἰουλίους Π.

' . . . to produce for you the record of the examination held by Calvisius Statianus, praefect of Egypt, through Juvenus Valens, praefect of the Imperial Alexandrine fleet, on the . . of Phamenoth of the 15th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, certified by the record-office at . . through Anubion also called Dionysius, keeper of the records, of which a copy is appended, with declarations of three witnesses to the effect that Trunnia Marcella is the sister of Trunnius Lucilianus, and of the examination of my slaves Euphrosynus, . . olytus and Plutarchus; and I swear the usual oath made by Romans that they are my children and I have made no false return, under penalty of being liable to the consequences of the oath. The 16th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Sarmaticus Maximus, in the month Hadrianus.

Copy of an examination-certificate. Extract from the volume of examinations held by Gaius Calvisius Statianus, praefect of Egypt, of which the heading is "The hereinafter named veterans, Roman citizens, freedmen, slaves and others were examined by Calvisius Statianus, praefect of Egypt, through Juvenus Valens, praefect of the Imperial Alexandrine

fleet, from Phamenoth of the 15th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord until Pauni of the same year. The claims presented by them to the aforesaid Juvencus Valens are affixed to each name." After other details, sheet 74: "Oxyrhynchite nome: Lucius Trunnius Lucilianus, illegitimate, aged years, Trunnia Marcella, his sister, aged years; slaves, Euphrosynus aged years, . . . olytus aged years, Plutarchus aged years. The mother of the aforesaid children and mistress of the slaves, E . . . ia Trunnia . . ., acting by the *ius liberorum*, produced concerning herself a tablet of declaration under seal dated in the 15th year of the deified Hadrianus, and concerning the children two tablets of evidence under seal, dated, that of Lucilianus in the 16th year of the deified Antoninus, and that of Marcella in the 4th year of Aurelius Antoninus, in which the aforesaid Trunnia . . . testified that the persons under examination were her children by unlawful marriage, and concerning the slaves the certificate that they were born in the house, and a census-return of the 14th year of Aurelius Antoninus, in which the slaves were registered. Trunnia also provided as certifiers . . . Hermaiscus and two Julii, Hermippus and . . ., who declared jointly with her that no fictitious evidence had been used." And (a copy) of the description made by the aforesaid Juvencus Valens, in the case of the aforesaid Trunnius Lucilianus "illegitimate, 23 years, with no distinguishing mark", in that of Trunnia Marcella "illegitimate, 11 years, with no distinguishing mark", and with regard to the slaves, in the case of Euphrosynus "9 years, with no distinguishing mark", in that of . . . olytus "[.] years with no distinguishing mark", and in that of Plutarchus "5 years, with no distinguishing mark".

Presented by me, Trunnia . . . I, Gaius Caecilius Clemens also called Berenicus, . . .

1-2. Cf. ll. 14-15, nn. The previous words probably were τὴν Τρουννίου Λουκιλλιανοῦ καὶ Τρουννίας Μαρκέλλης ὑπὸ Καλουισίου Στατιανοῦ (γενομένου?; cf. l. 8, n.), preceded by a verb governing the infinitive in l. 3 (e.g. ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην or ἐκελεύσθην); cf. p. 153. For γεγενημένην ἐπίκρισιν cf. 1452. 43-7. γενομένην is hardly long enough.

• 3. ἐπι]φέρειν: cf. l. 19. ἀνα]φέρειν would also be suitable.

ἐπεσκευμένην: cf. 1587. 3 sqq., and ἐπίσκο(εψις) ὑπομνή(ματος) in 1649, a document emanating from a βιβλιοθήκη, and B. G. U. 73. 15.

ἐν [16 letters: if δημοσίας is supplied, there is hardly room for ἐν [Ἀλεξανδρία or [Ὀξυρυγχίτη before it, but ἐν[θάδε would be possible, especially since the first two letters of βιβλιοθήκης may have come in l. 3 and the α of διά may not have been elided. Alexandria was probably the scene of this epicrisis, conducted by a praefect of the fleet, as it was the place of epicrisis of Tryphon in 39 and Heron in P. Flor. 382; cf. p. 148. The other parallels mentioned on p. 148 contain no clear indications of the place, but for the most part suggest Alexandria; cf. P. Hamb. p. 132. Whether, however, the official records of epicrisis, which were tabulated geographically (l. 17), were kept at Alexandria or forwarded to the nomes is not certain, where residents in the χώρα were concerned. Wilcken (*Chrest.* 143. int.) supposes that the extract quoted in P. Flor. 382 was deposited at Hermopolis, but we should interpret the difficult ll. 76-7 of that papyrus differently. εἰκονισθέντων, which he connects apparently with βιβλιδίων understood and interprets as 'made in extract', is probably parallel to the preceding participle εἰσκρινομένων and qualifies παίδων, meaning 'described' and referring to the σημείωσις (cf. 1451. 30 and εἰκονισμός in B. G. U. 562. 6), while βορωοῦ is likely to refer not to 'das bekannte Nordquartier von Hermopolis', which is not attested and ought in any case to have been more explicitly indicated, but to a subdivision of the previously mentioned γράμμα at Alexandria; cf. the πλωθίον ζ βορρι(ν)όν of the 2nd γράμμα at Antinoë in P. Brit. Mus. 1164. (d) 12. Since the πρὸς τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ [γρα]φείον may also be at Alexandria, and Heron's residence in the

Hermopolite nome may date from a period long after his epicrisis at Alexandria, the Florence papyrus does not really provide any argument for supposing that the records of epicriseis held at Alexandria were sent away from that city, and since the position occupied by the place-name in 1451. 17 and similar extracts suggests that the *σελίδες* refer to the whole of Egypt, not the particular nome, [*Ἀλεξανδρεία* or some locality within it is on the whole more probable than [*᾽Οξυρύγχων πόλει* in l. 3. Another alternative is *ἐνκτήσεων τοῦ νομοῦ* (cf. B. G. U. 73. 13); but *τῶν ἐνκτήσεων* would be expected.

5. *μετὰ προσφώνη[σεων]* : *καὶ προσφώνη[σιν]* is less likely, especially as *τῶν δούλων* in l. 6 appears to be dependent upon *ἐπικρισιν*, there being no room for another accusative after it. The name of the first witness probably occurs in l. 34; he was not identical with any of the three *γνωστῆρες* in l. 28.

5-6. For the restoration cf. l. 18.

6-7. Cf. ll. 18-19 and 32-3. For *ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίους ὄρκον* cf. Wenger, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xx. 252-3.

7-8. Cf. ll. 25 and 29.

8. *ἔτους [εἰς : εἰς]* is equally possible, for the association of Commodus with Marcus Aurelius, which took place in the 17th year, is ignored in papyri written in Tubi (P. Amb. 170) and Mecheir (P. Brit. Mus. 1265f.) of that year, i. e. later than Hadrianus-Choiak (l. 10). Juvencus Valens is not called *γενόμενος ἑπαρχος* in l. 1, but whether Calvisius Statianus was still in office when the declaration was written is uncertain. He took part in the revolt of Avidius Cassius and was superseded by Pharmouthi 6 of the 16th year (April 1, 176; B. G. U. 327. 1).

11. [*ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπικρίσ]εως* : cf. P. Hamb. 31 a. 18, B. G. U. 113, verso 1, P. Flor. 382. 67. If *ἀντίγραφον* was written out, this line probably projected by about 3 letters; for an addition of 3 letters to the lacunae at the beginnings of lines would cause a large increase in the number of words divided between two lines.

*Γαίον Καλουσιό[υ Στατιανού]* : cf. l. 8, n. and Cantarelli, *Prefetti*, i. 57. 1451 agrees with C. I. L. 12048 concerning his praenomen, which according to Dio lxxi. 28 was Flavius. An epicrisis held by him apparently in person, which is mentioned in B. G. U. 847. 13 (cf. l. 21, n.), was probably different. For *οὐ προγραφή* (l. 12) cf. e. g. P. Alex. 2.

12-13. Cf. P. Alex. 2-3 *Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀπελεύθεροι (καὶ) δούλοι. Ἀλεξανδρεῖς*, which follows *Ῥωμαῖοι* in B. G. U. 1033. 2, can be substituted for *ἀπελεύθεροι*.

14. *ἐπάρχου στόλου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρινου* : cf. B. G. U. 142-3 (quoted on p. 150), 1033, where in l. 8 *στόλου ἐπιτρόφου Σεβαστοῦ ἐκά(σ)τω | ὀνόματι παράκειται* and in l. 34 *ἐπ[άρχου] στόλου* are certainly to be restored, and 1032. 16, where *ἐπάρχου στ[όλου]* seems more likely than *ἐπάρχου ση[είρης]*. The *classis Augusta Alexandrina* occurs in C. I. L. iii. 43, &c.

14-15. For *Φαμενώθ* cf. l. 2, where *Θῶθ* is the only alternative but is excluded by the mention of *Παῦν* here, the period of epicrisis usually occupying three months or less; cf. B. G. U. 265. 14, where it began and ended a month earlier than in 1451, and P. Hamb. p. 132<sup>1</sup>. For the omission of the day cf. B. G. U. 780. 5, 847. 5. There is hardly room for the insertion of it twice here, even though a day may well have been mentioned in l. 2. For *ἀ δὲ κτλ.* cf. P. Alex. 8, B. G. U. 1033. 7.

17. The figures, of which the reading *οδ* is very uncertain, had a stroke over them. *᾽Οξυρυγγεῖτου* confirms Wilcken's reading *Ἀρσινο[εῖτου]* in B. G. U. 847. 9 as against Jouguet's suggestion *Ἀρσινό[ης]*, based upon *Πηλουσίου* in P. Alex., which he referred to the village of Pelusium near Theadelphia, where the papyrus was found. A nome, however, is usually mentioned at this point (cf. B. G. U. 1033. 9 *Ἀρσινο[εῖτου]*), and Pelusium in P. Alex. is, we think, more likely to be the well-known city, which issued separate coins corresponding to those of the nomes and stood apart from the Sethroite nome; cf. 1380. 74, n.

17-18. For Σπουρίου υἱός cf. P. Alex. 11, B. G. U. 1032. 17. The omission of the numbers referring to the ages is usual at this point, but they were inserted in the *σημείωσις*; cf. ll. 23-4, n.

18-19. For the names of the slaves cf. ll. 32-3. Ἰππόλυτος is too short in both places, only a brief space being left blank after ἐτῶν here.

19-20. προκειμένων (cf. l. 30) suits the space better than ἐπικρινομένων, found in P. Alex. and B. G. U. 847. 11.

20. δούλων δέσποινα: on this analogy B. G. U. 1033. 19, where the editor reads δικαίω]μα[τ]ῶν δὲ εἰ[s] τῆ]ν] ἐπί[κ]ρισιν (Διμίλιος Μάρκος above the line) ε[. . .]το |, is probably to be restored ἐπήνεγκεν ὁ τῶν δούλων δεσπ[ό]τη[s] (Αἴμ. Μάρ.) ἐπί[κ]ρισιν εἰ[α]ν[το]ῦ].

Ε[. . .]ια Τροφυνία . . . : σ can be read for ε, but not τ, so that the first name was certainly not Τροφυνία. That she had a long third name is rendered probable by ll. 24-5 and 33. The occurrence of three names for a woman is unusual, but seems inevitable. χωρὶς κυρίου is common in third-century papyri in connexion with χρηματίζουσα τέκνων δικαίω (cf. 1467. int.), but does not occur in the parallel passages of P. Alex. and B. G. U. 1032.

21. δέλτον προφε[σσι]ῶνος: cf. B. G. U. 1032. 1-2. For examples of Latin *professiones* of birth see the Cairo tablet Inv. 29807 and 894 (= W. *Chrest.* 212-13). The word is also to be recognized in B. G. U. 847. 16 (= W. *Chrest.* 460) where the editors read ] . . . β[. . .] οφεστι . [ . . . ]ων (for the confusion of σσ with στ cf. e.g. *Archiv.* vi. 102 Κλαστικός). The whole passage in B. G. U. 847. 9-17 we should restore on the analogy of 1451. 17-24 thus: <sup>9</sup> μεθ' ἔτ]ερα σελίδων ιζ' Ἀρσινο-<sup>10</sup>εἰτον 17 letters] Μάξιμος ἐτῶν , Πολυδεύκη(ς) <sup>11</sup> [ἐτῶν ἐπήνεγκεν ὁ τῶν ἐπικρινομένων πατ[ῆ]ρ] <sup>12</sup> [20 letters] δι . [ . . . ] (a proper name, possibly ending Πολυ]δει[κη]ς) ἐπέ[κ]ρισειν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεὶ <sup>13</sup> [τοῦ ι. (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὔρηλιου Ἀντ]ωνίου γενομένην ὑπὸ Καλου-<sup>14</sup>ισίου Στατιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμ]ο[ν]εύσαντος καθ' ἣν αὐτὸς <sup>15</sup> [22 l.] ἀπὸ χαλκῆς τάβλη[ς] ἐ]πεκρίθη, <sup>16</sup> [καὶ τῶν ἐπικρινομένων δέλτο]υς β[ ] [προφ]εσ[σ]ιῶ]ν ἐπεὶ <sup>17</sup> [σφραγίδων κεχροισμένας, τῆ]ν μ[ε]τ[ε]ν Μαξιμ[ου] τ]ῆ] πρὸ ε . . . Jouguet had in ll. 10-11 suggested Πολυδεύκη(ς) <sup>11</sup> [δοῦλος ἐτῶν ἐπήνεγκεν ὁ τῶν ἐπικρινομένων πάτ]ρων |, supposing that Maximus was a freedman; but it is unlikely that the two ἐπικρινόμενοι possessed a different status (cf. 1451. 18, where the slaves are distinguished from the Ῥωμαῖοι), and sealed *professiones* of birth do not suit freedmen, slaves, or even Alexandrians. Hence we prefer to suppose that both Maximus and Polydeuces were Romans, and presented for examination by their father. Polydeuces as a Roman cognomen in Egypt is not more remarkable than e. g. Diogenes in P. Alex.

22. For the restorations at the beginning cf. l. 23, and for those at the end P. Alex. 18, B. G. U. 1032. 3. In P. Alex. the *μαρτυροποίησης* concerning a twin sister of Diogenes was also produced, but she was not included in the epicrisis, being perhaps dead.

23-4. The dates of the two *μαρτυροποιήσεις* are no doubt the years of birth, as is shown by P. Alex., where the correspondence between the year of Diogenes' birth and the date of his mother's *μαρτυροποίησης* is not only to be inferred, as is done by Jouguet, from the circumstance that the *μαρτυροποίησης* was made in the same year as the mother's enfranchisement, but was actually stated in the undeciphered last word of the papyrus, which is εἰκοσ], ἐτῶν being omitted, as in 1451. 31-3. Concerning Lucilianus' and Marcella's age all that is quite certain is that he was aged either 3, 13, or 23 in the 15th year (l. 31), and that the *μαρτυροποίησης* of her birth was made in the 4th or 14th year of Marcus. There is a slight space between δ (ἔτει) in l. 24 and the lacuna, which favours the 4th as against the 14th year, and though one of the slaves was aged 5 (l. 33), and in P. Tebt. 316 Alexandrian boys became ephēbi at the age of 3 and 7, the epicrisis of a girl under 2 is improbable. Hence the 4th year may be taken with much confidence as the year of Marcella's birth, especially as this suits the restoration of the lacuna in ll. 31-2. The circumstance that the 4th year, which belonged to the joint rule of Marcus and Verus, is ascribed in the 15th year to

Marcus alone is not a serious objection; cf. the references to the 1st and 6th years in 1449, written after the death of Septimius Severus. The age of Lucilianus is more open to question. There is hardly any presumption that he was older than his sister simply because he is mentioned first, for a girl would in any case be likely to be mentioned after a boy; cf. the arrangement of the sexes in κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί, e. g. 1547-8. The age of the youth in P. Alex., 20 years, suggests 23 as the number in l. 31, and in 1022 the ages of *tirones probati* (cf. p. 152) range from 20 to 25. On the other hand Τρου[ννίου Λουκιλλιανού | Σπουρίου υἱοῦ τρ]ειῶν would be sufficient for the lacuna in ll. 30-1, and the insertion of εἴκοσι not only makes the end of l. 30 rather long, but requires in ll. 23-4 Λουκιλλιαν[οῦ ις (ἔτει) θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου | τὴν δὲ Μαρκέλλης] δ (ἔτει), omitting τῶ before the numbers (cf. l. 2), although it occurs in l. 22. With the omission of εἴκοσι in l. 31, Λουκιλλιαν[οῦ τῶ ιβ (ἔτει) τὴν | δὲ Μαρκέλλης τῶ] δ (ἔτει) is the natural restoration of ll. 23-4; but this is too short by about 7 letters (which might be supplied by the insertion of a month after ιβ (ἔτει) or Τρουννίας before Μαρκέλλης), and makes the position of Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου rather unusual, since it would be expected to follow ιβ (ἔτει), and [οὔ ιβ (ἔτει) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου] is too long. There is a great advantage in having a different reign contrasted with Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου in l. 24, and in view of the parallel in P. Alex. we have no hesitation in preferring the insertion of εἴκοσι before τρ]ειῶν in l. 31 either to that of δέκα (which is practically as long as εἴκοσι and requires τῶ β (ἔτει) in l. 23, not evading the difficulty there) or to the omission of any number before τρ]ειῶν. ἐτών εἴκοσι in place of Σπουρίου υἱοῦ in ll. 30-1 would remove the difficulty caused by the length of the supplement, but would not be in accordance with P. Alex. or B. G. U. 1032 or the probable restoration of ll. 31-2. If, however, the ages of Lucilianus and Marcella were not 23 and 11 but 13 (or 3) and 1, that only serves to strengthen the argument on p. 150, against the military character of epicrisis. A higher age for Lucilianus than 23 is excluded by the term παίδων in l. 22.

25-6. υἱός: P. Alex. 21 in referring to a son and daughter uses τέκνα. For τοὺς ἐπικρ[εινομένους κτλ. cf. B. G. U. 1032. 10, P. Alex. 18, 23.

26. Cf. B. G. U. 1033. 22 sqq., where a κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή and two οἰκογένειαι are produced as evidence at the epicrisis of slaves. The census of the 14th year of Marcus is the only one that could have included slaves of which the eldest was 9 (l. 32).

27-8. Three was the regular number of the γνωστῆρες (certifiers to identity) in this context; cf. P. Alex. 24-5, where και in the lacuna before the third name is to be omitted, B. G. U. 1032. 11-13, and 1033. 28 sqq., where ἔδωκεν και γνωστῆρ[ας] Αἰμιλλίου | [δύο, . . . και . . .]. . . Ἰουστον, τοὺς τρεῖς | [συγχειρογραφοῦντας αὐτῶ μηδέ τοι (οἱ μηδενί) ἀλλοτρίῳ] μηδὲ ὁμω[ν]υμία? (cf. 1266. 35) κεχρηῆσθαι is to be restored. [μηδ]έ τοι ἀλλοτρίῳ was also written in P. Alex. 26, the lacuna at the beginning of the line requiring 3 not 5 letters, and though B. G. U. 1032. 14 suggests that it is there an error of the copyist for μηδενί, μηδέ τοι seems possible in B. G. U. 1033. Probably τῶν γ' Ἐπιμάχου in P. Flor. 79. 16 refers to γνωστῆρες, as suggested by Wilcken, *Chrest.* 145. 13, n. For other kinds of γνωστῆρες cf. 1490. 2, n., and P. Hamb. p. 137.

30. σημ]ειώσεως: cf. P. Alex. 27 and l. 3, n. The genitive is dependent on ἀντίγραφον understood.

31-2. On the ages of Lucilianus and Marcella see ll. 23-4, n.

33-4. Τρουννία is written thicker than the preceding and following lines, but is not certainly in a different hand from one of the other two: l. 34 is distinctly not by the first hand, and presumably contains the signature of one of the three witnesses mentioned in l. 5, not a writer on behalf of Trunnia, who is unlikely to have been illiterate. ἐπιδέδωκα και ὁμώμοκα τὸν ὄρκον is expected after Τρουννία on the analogy of e. g. 1266. 41; but, unless the following name (cf. ll. 20-1 and 24-5) was omitted here, as in l. 27, there is not room for more than ἐπιδέδωκα. Κλήμ[ε]νης και Βερεν[ικ]ιανός is possible, but less satisfactory.

## 1452. TWO EPICRISIS-RETURNS.

18.8 x 8.8 cm.

A. D. 127-8.

These two epicrisis-returns concerning a Graeco-Egyptian boy of thirteen called Sarapion, both sent simultaneously by his uncle to the strategus, basilicogrammateus, and other officials (l. 2, n.), are parallel to several published papyri from Oxyrhynchus. The first, which is a claim for the admission of Sarapion to the class of inhabitants of the metropolis paying 12 drachmae for poll-tax (less than the normal amount; cf. 1436. 8, n.), closely resembles 258, 478, 714, 1028, 1109, 1306, and Wilcken, *Chrest.* 217; the second, a somewhat different claim for his admission to the privileged class of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, corresponds to 257 (= W. *Chrest.* 147; A. D. 94-5) and 1266 (A. D. 98). Both returns break off just before the point at which the parallel documents give the ancestry on the mother's side; but since Sarapion's father and mother were full brother and sister (ll. 10-12, 36-9), no separate statement of his ancestry on the mother's side is required, and it is probable that practically nothing is lost in either return except the customary oath, signature, and date.

The occurrence of these two distinct returns side by side serves to throw light on several disputed points in connexion with the much discussed subject of epicrisis (cf. 1451. int.). The view of Schubart (*Archiv*, ii. 157) and Lesquier (*op. cit.* 26), that these two classes of Oxyrhynchite claims were not really different from each other, but alternatives, and that οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου were equivalent to μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχοι, which was controverted by Wilcken (*Grundz.* 199) and Jouguet (*Vie munic.* 79-80), is shown to be incorrect. The references in the second return in 1452 to οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου also tend to confirm Wilcken's and Jouguet's wide interpretation of that expression, i. e. 'belonging to the gymnasium', not 'descended from a gymnasiarch', as suggested in 257. int. Though some points remain in doubt (cf. ll. 34-5, 53, 54, nn.), the second return, like 257 and 1266, traces the ancestry back through the epicrisis of A. D. 72-3 (cf. ll. 44-6, n.) to the γραφή of A. D. 4-5; but it does not describe the individual entered in the γραφή as either the grandson of a gymnasiarch (257. 20), or a guard of the palaestra (1266. 8). Probably, however, descent from a member of that γραφή, rather than actual membership of a gymnasium, was the main qualification for admission into the class of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ (or ἀπὸ) γυμνασίου, or, as it is called in 1202. 18, the τάγμα τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν γυμνασίου: for in P. Amh. 75 and Ryl. 102, two Hermopolite returns which correspond with some variations to the second return in 1452 and trace descent back to the reign of Nero, women are called ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, and a child aged 1 is entered on the list of ἀφήλικες of that category (P. Ryl. 102. 34).

The Arsinoïte epicrisis-returns, B. G. U. 109, 324, 971, P. Gen. 18, 19, Grenf. ii. 49, Fay. 27, 209, 319, Tebt. 320, Hawara 401. 8 sqq. (cf. 1451. int.), Ryl. 103-4, all belong to the same class as the first of the two in 1452. The formula naturally differs to some extent from that of the Oxyrhynchite examples, but Wilcken, *Grundz.* 199-200, somewhat exaggerates the amount of the variation. The Arsinoïte examples do not insert the phrase *εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μητροπολιτῶν δωδεκαδράχμων εἰσίν* (1452. 7-8), and the evidence in them is mainly that of census-lists, which are seldom, if ever, adduced as evidence in the Oxyrhynchite returns (cf. l. 27, n.), these referring to payments of poll-tax (e. g. l. 21) or *ἐπικρίσεις* (e. g. 478. 31); but the evidence adduced in the Arsinoïte examples, where it is not stated that *κάτοικοι* are concerned and *εἰκοσίδραχοι* are probably meant, proves that the boy was *ἐξ ἀμφοτ. γον. μητροπ.*, the *ἄμφοδα* being carefully noted. Nor can we agree with Wilcken's view that the Arsinoïte expression *ὑπετάξαμεν τὰ δίκαια* refers, not to the details immediately following (census-lists, sometimes supplemented by *ἐπικρίσεις* of members of the family), but to quotations which were written on a separate papyrus, originally enclosed but not preserved. *ὑποτάσσειν* is commonly used with reference to something included in the same document (e. g. 1470. 6), and *μὲν οὖν*, which follows in e. g. P. Tebt. 320. 11, indicates that the *δίκαια* were given in the next sentence. *συμπαρεθέμην*, which Wilcken regards as parallel to *ὑπέταξα*, seems rather to be contrasted with it. Concerning Hermopolis fresh information is afforded by the unpublished P. Brit. Mus. 1600 (Bell, *Archiv.* vi. 107-9), a series of applications for epicrisis, one of them written by a *Ἐρμοπολίτης ἀπὸ γυμνασίου ὀκτάδραχμος*. The evidence of that papyrus, and still more that of 1452, serves to settle the question discussed by Jouguet (*Vie munic.* 83-5) about the relation of the returns concerning *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου* to those referring to *μητροπολίται δωδεκαδράχμοι*. It is now clear that these terms are not mutually exclusive, and that the epicrisis in the case of *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου* had a different object from that attained by the other class of returns, which were concerned with the remission of poll-tax. Probably the local officials were chosen from *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου*, who must have been less numerous than the *μητροπολίται δωδεκαδράχμοι* or *ὀκτάδραχμοι*. Admission by epicrisis into *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμν.* was also a necessary preliminary for attaining to the *ἐφηβεία*; cf. 1202, P. Flor. 382, Jouguet, *op. cit.* 150 sqq., Wilcken, *Grundz.* 140-3. Before becoming an ephebus, however, an *εἴσκρισις* was necessary, and applications concerning admission to the *ἐφηβεία* were addressed in the first instance to the exegetes of Alexandria in the case of Alexandrian citizens resident in the *χώρα* (477 and P. Flor. 382), or to the exegetes of the nome in the case of ordinary Graeco-Egyptian youths (P. Flor. 79, Ryl. 101), not to the strategus, basilicogrammateus, &c., as is the case with 1452 and no doubt 257 and 1266 (which

have lost the address, if it was ever written). Hence the latter class of returns stands apart from those referring to ephebi, and nearer to the epicrisis-returns concerning *μητροπολίται*, though the epicrisis of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου was of a municipal rather than financial character.

The following list of the successive generations in Sarapion's ancestry combines the evidence of both returns; cf. ll. 27, 44-6, and 57-8, nn. (1) Pkaës (?), (2) Ammonius, (3) Ptolemaeus, included in the *γραφὴ* of A. D. 4-5 (ll. 53-4), (4) Diodorus, *ὑπερετής* in 72-3 (ll. 4, 26, 51), (5) Plution, *ἐπικριθείς* in 72-3, registered in the census (?) of 89-90, and dead before 127-8 (ll. 3, 25, 49), (6) Sarapion, *ἐπικριθείς* in 95-100, married to his full sister Tnephersois, registered in a poll-tax list of 123-4, and dead before 127-8 (ll. 11, 20, 37, 56), (7) Sarapion, born in 113-14, *ἐπικριθείς* in 127-8 (ll. 13-14, 39-40).

Above each column is a cross like a large χ, as in 1028 and 1547.

## Col. i.

- Ἀγαθῶ Δαίμονι στρα(τηγῶ) καὶ  
 Ἰέρακι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) καὶ οἷς ἄλ(λοις) καθή(κει)  
 παρὰ Διοδώρου Πλουτίω(νος)  
 τοῦ Διοδώρου μητρὸ(ς) Τατρείφιο(ς)  
 5 Ἀμόιτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως.  
 κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) περὶ ἐ[πι]κρί(σεως) τῶν  
 προσβ(εβηκότων) εἰς (τρискаιδεκαετείς) εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτ(έρων)  
 γονέων μητροπ(ολιτῶν) (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν,  
 ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Κρητικοῦ  
 10 ὁ τῶν ὀμοπατρῶν μου ἀδελ(φῶν)  
 Σαραπίω(νος) καὶ Τνεφερσόιτος  
 μ[η]τρὸ(ς)] Δωγύμεως υἱὸς  
 Σαραπίων προσβ(εβηκῶς) εἰς (τρискаιδεκαετείς) τῶ  
 διελθ(όντι) ια (ἔτει) Τραιανοῦ  
 15 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου·  
 ὅθεν παραγενόμε(νος) πρὸς τὴν  
 τούτου ἐπικρι(σιν) δηλῶ [εἰ] [να] [ε]  
 αὐτὸν (δωδεκάδραχμον), καὶ τὸν τ[ο]ύτου  
 πατέρα ἐμοῦ δὲ ὀμοπά-  
 20 τριον ἀδελ(φὸν) Σαραπίωνα τετελ(ευτηκέναι)  
 τὸ π(ρὶν) ὄντα (δωδεκάδραχμον) δι' ὀμολόγ(ου) λα[ο]γρα(φίας)



η (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ [ἀμ]φόδ(ου) [Παμμέ(νους)  
 Πα[ρ]αδείσου, καὶ τὸν π[ατ(έρα) τῶν ὁμο-  
 πατρίων μου ἀδελφῶν τοῦ  
 25 δὲ ἀφήλ(ικος) πάππο(ν) Πλουτίω(να)  
 Διοδώ(ρου) τετελ(ευτηκέναι) τὸ π(ρὶν) ὄντα (δωδεκάδραχμον),  
 [δ]ν καὶ θ (ἔτει) Δ[ομιτιανο]ῦ

## Col. ii.

ll. 28-32 = 1-5.

33 κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) περὶ ἐπικρι(σεως) τ[ῶν  
 προσβ(εβηκότων) εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνα(σίου) ἢ ἐκ [ ]  
 35 τοῦ γένους τούτου (εἰσίν), ἐτάγη  
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Κρητικοῦ ὁ τῶν ὁ-  
 μοπατρίων μου ἀδελ(φῶν) Σαραπίω(νος)  
 καὶ Τνεφερσόιτος ἀμφο(τέρων) μητ[ρ]δ(ς)  
 Δ[ωγύ]μ(εως ?) υἱὸς Σαραπίων πρ[ο]σβ(εβηκῶς)  
 40 εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ διελθ(όντι) ἰα (ἔτει) Τραιανοῦ  
 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 ὅθεν παραγενόμε(νος) πρὸς τὴν τούτου  
 ἐπικρι(σιν) δηλῶ κατὰ τὴν γενομέ(νην)  
 τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ) ὑπὸ Σουτωρί[ου]  
 45 Σωσιβ(ίου) στρα(τηγήσαντος) καὶ Νικάνδ(ρου) γενομέ(νου) βα[σιλ(ικοῦ)]  
 γραμματέως) καὶ ὧν ἄλ(λων) καθή(κει) τῶν ἐκ τοῦ  
 γυμνα(σίου) ἐπικρι(σιν) ἐπικεκρίσθ(αι) τὸν  
 πατέρα ἡμῶν τοῦ  
 δὲ ἀφήλ(ικος) πάππον Πλουτίω(να)  
 50 [ἐπ' ἀ]μφόδ(ου) Δρόμου Γυμνα(σίου) [ἀκο]λο(ούθως)  
 οἷς ὁ πατ(ήρ) αὐτοῦ ἐν ὑπ(ερ)χ(ετέσιν) ἐπήνεγ[κ(εν)]  
 ἀποδείξ(εσιν) ὡς καὶ ὁ αὐτοῦ πατ(ήρ)  
 Πτολεμαῖο(ς) Ἀμμω(νίου) Πκᾶητ(ός ?) ἐστιν  
 ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ Καίσαρος γρα(φῆ) α . [·]ι( ),  
 55 [τετ]ελ(ευτηκέναι) τὸ π(ρὶν), κ[α]ἰ [τὸν τ]οῦ ἀφήλ(ικος) π[ατ(έρα)]  
 [ἐμοῦ] δὲ ὁμοπάτριο(ν) ἀδελ(φόν) Σαραπ[ί]ω(να)  
 [ὁμοί]ω(ς) [ἐπι]κεκρί[σθ(αι)] τῷ γ (ἔτει) θ[εοῦ]

[Τραιανου ὑπὸ Διογ(υσίου) στρα(τηγήσαντος) καὶ ᾧ[ν ἀλ(λων)  
 [καθήκ(ει) ἐπ]ὶ τοῦ προκειμένου [  
 60 [ἀμφόδ(ου)] Δρόμου [Γυμνα(σίου),

. . . . .  
 21. τοῦ Π; so in ll. 26, 55. 34. l. εἰ for η. 51. ν) L Π.

‘ To Agathodaemon, strategus, and Hierax, basilicogrammateus, and the other proper officials, from Diodorus son of Plution son of Diodorus, his mother being Tatriphis daughter of Amoïs, of Oxyrhynchus. In accordance with the orders concerning the examination of boys who have reached the age of thirteen years, if both their parents are inhabitants of the metropolis rated at 12 drachmae, Sarapion the son of my brother and sister on the father’s side Sarapion and Tnephersois, whose mother is Dogumis (?), was put in the list at the Cretan quarter as having reached the age of 13 in the past 11th year of Trajanus Hadrianus Caesar the lord. Wherefore coming forward for his examination I declare that he is rated at 12 drachmae, and that his father, my brother on the father’s side Sarapion, died some time ago being rated at 12 drachmae in an undisputed (?) poll-tax list of the 8th year of Hadrianus in the quarter of Pammenes’ Garden, and the father of my brother and sister on the father’s side and grandfather of the minor, Plution son of Diodorus, died some time ago, being rated at 12 drachmae, who was also registered (?) in the 9th year of Domitian . . .

To Agathodaemon, &c. In accordance with the orders concerning the examination of those who have reached the class of persons belonging to the gymnasium, if they are of this descent, Sarapion, son of my brother and sister on the father’s side Sarapion and Tnephersois, whose mother is in both cases Dogumis (?), was put in the list at the Cretan quarter as having reached the age of 13 in the past 11th year of Trajanus Hadrianus Caesar the lord. Wherefore coming forward for his examination I declare that at the examination of those belonging to the gymnasium held in the 5th year of the deified Vespasian by Sutorius Sosibius, then strategus, and Nicander, then basilicogrammateus, and the other proper officials our father, the grandfather of the minor, Plution, was examined as resident in the Gymnasium Square quarter in accordance with the proofs adduced by his father, who was over age, that his father also, Ptolemaeus son of Ammonius son of Pkaës (?), was in the list of . . . of the 34th year of the deified Caesar, which Plution died some time ago, and that the father of the minor, my brother on the father’s side, Sarapion, was likewise examined in the 3rd year of the deified Trajan by Dionysius (?), then strategus, and the other proper officials, as resident in the aforesaid Gymnasium Square quarter . . .’

1. Ἀγαθῶ Δαίμονι: cf. 1422. 3 (year lost). He was succeeded by Asclepiades before Hathur 17 of the 14th year (1024. 1).

2. Ἱέρακι: he was still in office in the 14th year with Asclepiades as strategus (1024. 7), for whom he became deputy (1024. 43, undated). The Hierax of 579, who was contemporary with Apollinarius, strategus in the 20th–22nd years (1472. 1, 484. 2), was probably a different person.

οἷς ἄλλοις καθήκει: by these are meant the two βιβλιοφύλακες καὶ ἐπικρίται and the γραμματεὺς πόλεως (714. 5 sqq.; cf. 1028. 3, where γ(υμνασιαρχήσαντες) probably implies βιβλιοφύλακες, as remarked by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 201<sup>1</sup>, and there are two γραμ. πολ.). In the other Oxyrhynchite parallels mentioned on p. 160 the address is omitted, as in P. Ryl. 104.

12. Δωγύμεως (?): the name seems to be abbreviated in l. 39. Διονυσίας or Διδύμης cannot be read.

21. ὁμολόγ(ου): the latest discussion of this obscure term is in P. Ryl. 209. 10, n., where it is sought to show that it means 'undisputed' in all cases.

27. θ (ἔτει) Δ[ομυτιανο]ῦ: this was a census-year, and the verb may have been ἀπογεγράφθαι; cf. the Arsinoïte parallels discussed on p. 161. [δ]ν καὶ κτλ. in any case probably supplied the evidence for Plutonium being a δωδεκάδραχμος, and corresponded to δι' ὁμολόγ(ου) λαογρα(φίας) in l. 21. There is hardly any doubt about the reading, ε being much less suitable than θ, and neither θ[εοῦ Τίτου]ν or Τραιανοῦ nor Ο[ύεσπασιανο]ῦ being admissible. Plutonium underwent epicrisis in the 5th year of Vespasian, so that ἐπικεκρίσθαι cannot be restored here; but his age at the time of that event is not clear; cf. ll. 44-6, n.

34-5. ἡ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτου (εἰσίν): if η is ῆ, these words can be construed as they stand; but the correction of η to εἰ is suggested not only by the parallel passage in l. 7 and by the use of ῆ for εἰ at the corresponding point in Wilcken, *Chrest.* 217. 7, but also by the Strassburg papyrus from Hermopolis quoted by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 200, in which some persons undergo epicrisis εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων τὸ μητροπολιτικὸν γένος σώζουσι, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου εἰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τάγματός εἰσι (cf. p. 160). η εἰ[σι] or η επ[ι] might be read, but is unsatisfactory. With ῆ there would be a contrast between persons who were actually members of the gymnasium and those who were descended from such persons, but this does not suit the usage of ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, since ἀπὸ γυμνασίου is applied to women and children (cf. p. 160) and designates a class. That the ancestry was an essential point of the evidence is indicated both by the details found in all epicrisis-returns concerning οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμν. and by 1202. 20 ἐπικριθέντα κατ' ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τοῦ γένους. The age at which young Graeco-Egyptians frequented the gymnasia is not directly attested, but has generally been assumed to be 14, that being the age of epicrisis and normally of ἐφηβεία. But at Athens the period of ἐφηβεία (from 18-20) followed after that of education at a gymnasium, and since Egyptian youths became epehebi younger than Athenians, they may have also frequented the gymnasia at an earlier age.

44-6. Cf. 257. 12-15 and 1266. 25-9: in the latter case the praefect is mentioned as well as the local officials. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that the same epicrisis of 72-3 is referred to in all three papyri, suggests that the epicrisis at Oxyrhynchus in that year, which coincides with the date of the returns made by Heraclides for Arsinoë in P. Stud. Pal. iv. 62 sqq., was not an ordinary epicrisis such as was held at Arsinoë every year after 54-5 for κάτοικοι. At Oxyrhynchus the earliest mention of an epicrisis is in 60-1 (257. 33), and P. M. Meyer (*Heerwesen*, 230) supposed that epicrisis of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου was not introduced before that year. By 94-5, the date of 257, it had evidently become annual. The origin of epicrisis is still obscure (cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 199-200), and that Plutonium was aged exactly 14 in 72-3 is very doubtful, since his father was then over 60 (l. 51) and the ages of the κάτοικοι at Arsinoë ἐπικεκκριμένοι in 54-5 range from 18 (not 8, as stated by P. M. Meyer, *op. cit.* 116) to 62; cf. 257. 12, n. Plutonium's son, Sarapion (cf. the list on p. 162), was, however, born probably in 85-6, since he was apparently aged 14 in 99-100 (ll. 57-8, n.), and a date approximating to A. D. 58-9 is the most suitable for Plutonium's birth.

51. ὁ πατ(ήρ) is Diodorus; cf. l. 4. For ἐν ὑπ(ερετίσω) cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 197.

53. Πκοῆτ(ός) ἐστίν: the name is remarkable, and the omission of τοῦ before it is not in accordance with l. 4 and the usual practice. 257 and 1266 do not give a third name at this point, but have ὕτος (l. ὕδοῦς) γυμνασιάρχων ἐστίν (257. 20), κ[. . . .] (257. 36), or simply ἐστίν (1266. 10). β can be read in place of κ and λ instead of α, but there is nothing after π to indicate that the writer meant π(ροσ)κλητ(ός) or π(ροσ)βλητ(ός), which would have to mean 'added', and neither of those words is satisfactory in that sense.

54. γρα(φῆ) α . [.]ι( ) : 1266. 11 has γρ. τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου παρα . . . μενων, 257. 21 γρ. τῶν ἐκ τ. γυμ. ἐπὶ ἀναμφοδάρχω{ι}ν, 257. 37 [γρ. ἐπ'] ἀμφόδου τοῦ αὐτοῦ. A particle or ὄν καί (cf. l. 27), to connect [τετ]έλ(ευτηκέναι) with ἐπικεκρίσθ(αι), is expected; but there is no room available in l. 55, and since ἀλ[λ]ά cannot be read in l. 54, an asyndeton seems likely. ἐφ[ῆ]β(ων) is also inadmissible.

57-8. θ[εοῦ] Τραιανοῦ ὑπὸ Δ]ιον(υσίου): the name of the strategus is very uncertain, the lacuna having barely room for Δ, if Τραιανοῦ is right. This can hardly be doubted, for Δ[ομι]τιανοῦ cannot be read, and θ[εοῦ] Τίτου would make the date of Sarapion's epicrisis, presumably at the age of 14, 80-1, which does not combine suitably with the dates of the epicrisis of his father Plution (72-3) and his son (127-8, certainly at the age of 14). On the other hand 99-100 is just midway between 72-3 and 127-8, as is quite natural if Plution was not much over 14 in 72-3; cf. ll. 44-6, n.

### 1453. DECLARATION OF TEMPLE LAMPLIGHTERS.

32.5 × 13.5 cm.

30-29 B.C. Plate II.

This declaration on oath, addressed by four lamplighters (λυχνάπται), two from each of the two principal temples of Oxyrhynchus (cf. 1449. int.), to the officials called οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν (l. 13, n.), is especially noteworthy as being the earliest extant papyrus of the Roman period. The date in ll. 29-30 is for the most part lost, but the lamplighters undertook to provide oil 'from Thoth 1 to Mesore 5 of the present 1st year of Caesar', as they had provided it up to the preceding 22nd and 7th year (of Cleopatra and probably Antony; cf. l. 22, n.), which, according to Porphyry (*ap. Euseb. i. 168*), was the last year of her reign. Alexandria was captured on Aug. 1, 30 B.C. (C. I. L. i. 327), and since the 23rd year of Cleopatra is not attested (Svoronos is certainly wrong in assigning a series of Cypriote coins ranging from the 1st to 23rd years without double dates to Cleopatra, instead of Ptolemy Auletes, to whom they are assigned by Poole and Regling), and the custom of starting a 2nd regnal year on Thoth 1 following an accession prevailed in Egypt after the third century B.C. (cf. P. Hibeh, App. i), it was not clear whether the 2nd year of Augustus was reckoned from Aug. 31, 30 B.C., or from Aug. 30, 29 B.C. In the case of Hadrian, whose accession took place on Aug. 11, 117 according to the *Vita Hadr.* 4, his 2nd year began on Aug. 29 of the same year, whereas the 2nd year of Tiberius, who acceded on Aug. 19, 14, began on Aug. 30, 15 (P. Brit. Mus. 276. 17, n.), the news of Augustus' death having evidently reached Egypt after Aug. 29, 14. 1453 is clearly inconsistent with the view that Augustus' 1st year in Egypt consisted only of Aug. 1-30, and demonstrates that his 2nd year began in 29 B.C., as maintained by Wilcken (*Ost. i. 786-7*); but a difficulty arises from the apparent inference to be drawn from l. 20 that Mesore 5 (July 30, 29 B.C.) was the last day of the 1st year. Probably there is an error of omission, for the

insertion of ἐπαγομένων after Μεσορή renders the passage normal and parallel to e. g. 1116. 12. The choice of Mesore 5 could, however, be explained without any alteration of the text by connecting it with the statement of Dio li. 19, that in 30 B. C. the senate decreed τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω (i. e. Mesore 6) ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα ἔτη ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι. Wilcken (*Hermes*, xxx. 151 sqq., *Ost. l. c.*) connected this with the era of the κράτησις Καίσαρος found occasionally in papyri of Augustus' reign after his 30th year, and perhaps indicated by the mentions of his 46th year, which occur at least twice on coins, and are difficult on any other view to reconcile with the evidence pointing to the 43rd year as the date of his death (Hohmann, *Chronol.* 51, in discussing 721 overlooks the fact that the 44th year of Augustus in that papyrus is εἰσιόν). Owing to the agreement between the years of the κράτησις Καίσαρος and ordinary regnal years, especially in B. G. U. 174, written on Mesore 29 of the 36th year according to both systems, Wilcken concluded that the reckoning in both cases began on Thoth 1, 30 B. C., and if the reading [λ]5, not [λ]ε or [λ]ζ, in B. G. U. 174. 5 is certain, it seems impossible to make any distinction between them. Since we are unwilling to suppose that the ordinary regnal years of Augustus ended on any other day than Mesore Epagomenon 5, we prefer the insertion of ἐπαγομένων in l. 20, though the chronology of the beginning of Augustus' reign is not yet quite clear. Cleopatra is thought by Wilcken and Bouché-Leclercq to have outlived the beginning of her 23rd year (Aug. 31, 30 B. C.), and the introduction of the 6th intercalary day appears to date from 22 B. C.; cf. Hohmann, *op. cit.* 48 sqq. In favour of the correction of l. 20 is the circumstance that the scribe of 1453 was in any case not very accurate, small omissions and other slips being frequent. Palaeographically the papyrus is valuable as a dated specimen of first-century B. C. uncial writing, resembling that of 659 (Part iv, Plate iii, Pindar's Παρθένεια) and Schubart, *Pap. Graecae*, Plate xia (Menander).

[ ] .<sup>a</sup>  
 Ἀντί[γ]ρ[α]φον ὄρκου. Θῶ[ν]ις δς καὶ  
 Πατ[ο]ίφι{ο}ς [Θ]ώνι(ο)ς καὶ Ἡρακλείδης  
 Τρο[τ]ή[?]ου, ἀμφότεροι λυχνάπτοι  
 5 ἱεροῦ Σαράπιδος θεοῦ μεγίστου καὶ [  
 τοῦ ἀντόθ]ῃ Ἡσίου, (καὶ) Παᾶπις ὁ Θώνιος [  
 καὶ Πετ[όσι]ρ[ι]ς ὁ Πατοίφι(ο)ς τοῦ προγε-  
 γραμμέν[ου], ἀμφότεροι λυχνάπτοι  
 τοῦ ἐν Ὀξύρυ(γ)χων πόλει [ἱ]εροῦ Θούριδος  
 10 θεᾶς με[γί]στης, οἱ τέσσαρες, ὁμ[ν]ύο-

- μεν Καίσαρος θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ Ἑλιοδώρω[ι  
 Ἑλιοδώρου καὶ Ἑλιοδώρῳ Πτολεμαίου  
 τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Ὁξυρυ(γ)χίτου κ[αί  
 Κυνοπολείτου εἰ μὴν προστατήσ[ειν  
 15 τοῦ λύχνου τῶν προδεδηλωμέν[ων  
 ἱερῶν καθὼς πρόκειται, καὶ χορη[γ]ή-  
 σειν τὸ καθήκον ἔλαιον εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡ-  
 μέραν λύχνους καομένους ἐν τοῖς  
 σημαινομένοις ἱεροῖς ἀπὸ Θωῦθ α  
 20 ἕως Μεσορῆ (ἐπαγομένων?) ε τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους)  
 Καίσαρος ἀν[. . .]ρ[. . .] ἀκολου-  
 θως τοῖς ἕως τοῦ κβ τοῦ καὶ ζ (ἔτους)  
 κεχωρηγημένοις, ὄντων ἡμῶν  
 ἀλληλεγγύων τῶν προγεγραμμέ-  
 25 νων, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῶν πάν-  
 των ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιή-  
 {η}σειν κα{ι}τὰ τὰπιγεγραμμένα. εὐ-  
 [ορ]κ[οῦντι μὲν] μοι εὖ εἶη, ἐφιορ[κοῦν-  
 [τι δὲ τὰ ἐναν]τία. (ἔτους) [α] Καίσαρος [. . .  
 30 [. . . . .] ἀντίγρ[α(φον).] Παᾶπις Θῶνι(ο)ς  
 [ὀμώμοκα] καὶ ποιήσω καθότ[ι] πρό-  
 [κειται. Θ]ῶνις Ἀρπ[α]ήσι(ο)ς γέγρα-  
 [φα ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεῖς τιὰ τὸ  
 [μὴ εἰδ]ῆναι αὐτὸν γράμμα[τ]α.  
 35 [Ἑ]ρακλεί[δης] ὀμώμοκα καὶ πο[ι]ή[σ]-  
 [ω καθό]τι πρόκειται.  
 [Πε]τόσιρι[ς] ὀμώμοκα καὶ ποιή[σ]ω  
 [καθό]τι πρόκειται. Ὡρος Τοτοεῦτ[ος  
 [ἔ]γραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεῖς διὰ τὸ  
 40 [μὴ εἰδ]ῆναι αὐτὸν γράμματα. Θ[ῶνι]ς  
 [ὀμώμοκα] ὁμοίως καθότ[ι] πρ[ό]-  
 [κειται. ]

4. l. λυχνάπται: so in l. 8.      6. l. Ἰσειού.      11. l. Καίσαρα.      17. ν of ελαιον corr.  
 from ν.      23. l. κεχορηγ.      27. τα of ταπιεγρ. added above the line.      33. l. διά.  
 40. τα of γραμματα corr.      41. θοτ of καθοτ[ι] corr.

'Copy of an oath. We, Thonis also called Patoiphis son of Thonis and Heraclides son of Totoë's, both lamplighters of the temple of Sarapis, the most great god, and of the Isis-shrine there, and Paapis son of Thonis and Petosiris son of the aforesaid Patoiphis, both lamplighters of the temple of Thoëris, the most great goddess, at Oxyrhynchus, all four swear by Caesar, god and son of a god, to Heliodorus son of Heliodorus and Heliodorus son of Ptolemaeus, overseers of the temples in the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes, that we will superintend the lamps of the above mentioned temples, as aforesaid, and will supply the proper oil for the daily lamps burning in the temples signified from Thoth 1 to Mesore (intercalary day?) 5 of the present 1st year of Caesar . . . in accordance with what was supplied up to the 22nd which was the 7th year; and we the aforesaid are mutually sureties and all our property is security for the performance of the duties herein written. If I observe the oath may it be well with me, but if I swear falsely, the reverse. The 1st year of Caesar . . .' Copies of the signatures of the parties, those of Paapis and Petosiris being written by proxies.

1. ] . a : this is perhaps a number (κα?), or possibly ἐγδ(όσιμον) (cf. 1548. 1), and may have been written in a different hand from that of the main text.

4. Τοτ[ή?]ου: cf. l. 38 Τοτοεὔ[ος. Τοτοῆς (gen. Τοτοήους or Τοτοῆτος) is the usual nominative of this name; cf. e.g. P. Grenf. ii. 18.

λυχνάπτοι: λυχνάπτται, the correct form, known only from Hesychius, cannot be read either here or in l. 8. Oil for λυχναψία was one of the chief items of expenditure in the accounts of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoë (B. G. U. 362 = W. *Chrest.* 96). In the Roman period it was often provided by gymnasiarchs (cf. P. Amh. 70. 10 (=W. *Chrest.* 149) and 1449. 64-5, n.), who were also responsible for oil for λυχναψία (1413. 19, n.).

6. (Ἰ)σίον: this subordinate shrine in or by the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus is mentioned next after the Serapeum in 43. verso ii. 14.

11. Καίσαρ(α) θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ: cf. B. G. U. 543. 2-3, an oath written in the 3rd year of Augustus, Καίσαρα Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱόν, as in P. Tebt. 382. 21 (year uncertain) with Αὐτοκράτορα last.

13. τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν: this title is found in the Ptolemaic period (cf. P. Tebt. 313 1-2, n.) apparently as a variant for ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἱερῶν. In P. Tebt. 313 (A. D. 210-1) an ἀρχιπροφήτης of the reigning Emperors was ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει καὶ Ἀφροδίτης [ἱ]ερῶν, and since the Oxyrhynchite nome is here coupled for purposes of religious administration with the Cynopolite, as in 1449, where priests of temples situated in both nomes occur, the Aphroditopolis there may well have been the capital of the Aphroditopolite nome, which probably adjoined the south of the Heliopolite nome. The Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes were administered by one strategus in the second century B. C., as appears from a papyrus to be published in P. Tebt. iii.

19. Θωὺθ a : δ or λ could be read instead of a, the bottom of the letter being lost; but Thoth 1, being new year's day, is so common in this connexion that there is hardly any doubt about the reading in spite of the difficulties discussed in int.; for even if people at Oxyrhynchus began dating by Augustus before Thoth 1 (Aug. 31), 30 B. C., which is improbable, it is very unlikely that 1453 was written before that day. The analogy of leases, which generally cover regnal years, and were usually written in Thoth, Phaophi, or Hathur (cf. Gentilli, *Stud. ital. di Filol.* xiii. 289), suggests one of those three months as the most probable supplement of the lacuna in ll. 29-30, which is of quite uncertain length, since the blank space before ἀντίγρ[α(φον)] may have extended to the beginning of l. 30.

20. Μεσορή ε: cf. int. Μεσορή[ ] ε could be read, but there was probably a short blank space between Μεσορή and the number, as in l. 19 between Θωὺθ and the number. The

reading Μεσορή [ι]ε is in any case most improbable, the line above the figure being no longer than that above the single figure in l. 19, and Mesore 15 being inexplicable as the last day of the year. Of the ε only the top survives, coming above the line like e.g. the first ε of κεχωρηγημένους in l. 23, a circumstance which renders γ or ζ, the only possible alternatives, much less satisfactory readings.

21. The word following Καίσαρος was probably an adverb (ἀν[υπε]ρ[θέρως]?), not Ἀν[τοκ]ρ[άτορος], which is not very often used in mentioning Augustus and never occurs in date formulae of his reign (cf. e.g. ll. 29-30, where there is no room for it). Moreover, the vestige of the second letter suits ν but not υ, the tail of the ρ of ρος ought to have been visible, and [ατορος] is rather too long for the lacuna.

22. κβ τοῦ καὶ ζ (ἔτους): cf. int. and P. Ryl. 69 (18th and 3rd year). The nature of the second reckoning is disputed, Bouché-Leclercq and Svoronos referring it to Antony, Mommsen to a second reckoning of Cleopatra, Strack to Caesarian. The recent discovery by Lefebvre of an inscription (*Mélanges Holleaux*) dated in the 11th year of the joint reign of Cleopatra and Caesarian confirms Porphyry's statement that from the 8th to the 15th year only one reckoning was employed, but from the 16th to the 22nd two, thus disposing of Dittenberger's restoration ἔτους ι τοῦ καὶ β in *Or. Gr. Inscr.* i. 194, and rendering the reading '12' much more probable than '16' (either number can be read according to Spiegelberg) in the figures of the regnal year of Cleopatra and Caesarian in P. Cairo dem. 31232. Strack's view fails to account for the introduction of a new system in the 16th year, and the numismatic evidence strongly favours the reference to Antony.

23-7. ὄντων ἡμῶν κτλ.: the construction is difficult, and would be improved either by the insertion of ἐκ before τῶν in l. 25 and the omission of ὄντων in l. 26, or, preferably, by the insertion of something like κατοχίμων or ἐν κατοχῇ after ὄντων, and alteration of τοῦ to τῷ in l. 26. Probably the space left in l. 26 after ὄντων indicates something in the original which the copyist could not read.

29-30. There need not be any letters lost in l. 29 after Καίσαρος, but there is room for e.g. [Θάθ | or Φαῶ|φι. Part of l. 30 may have been blank; cf. l. 19, n.

38. Τοτοεῦ[ος]: cf. l. 4, n.

#### 1454. DECLARATION OF MUNICIPAL BAKERS.

28.7 × 21 cm.

A. D. 116.

On the recto of this papyrus is 1434. The verso contains the concluding column of an undertaking (or of the signatures to an undertaking) by bakers, addressed to officials of some kind, concerning the manufacture and sale of bread, partly from wheat supplied to them by an agoranomus (l. 8). Arrangements were made for the quality and weight of the loaves, the transfer of the price, and the commission to be received by the bakers for their trouble. Concerning the municipal supply of bread in the Roman period in Egypt very little was known; cf. Jouguet, *Vie munic.* 324-7, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 365-6. The only other papyrus which throws much light on the subject is 908, a contract between eutheniarchs in 199 for the grinding of wheat for bread. There is no evidence at present of the existence of distinct officials of this name so early as the reign of Trajan, to which 1454 belongs;



but after A. D. 150 the title  $\delta$  ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας occurs at Alexandria either alone (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 705) or combined with that of agoranomus (B. G. U. 578. 9), and in the nome-capitals combined with the office of exegetes (P. Tebt. 397. 18) or cosmetes (P. Flor. 57. 75); cf. 1412. 1-3, n. Hence 1454 is more likely to have been addressed to a board of officials, perhaps including, besides local ἄρχοντες, the strategus, who in second-century papyri (cf. 1455. int.) is found managing ἀγοραί, than to agoranomi or eutheniarchs alone. It is presumably a copy or draft of the original, being written in a large, somewhat irregular hand with a thick pen.

[Φ. . . ρα( )]

[προθήσομεν εἰς πᾶσι]ν μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους πρατῶν ἤτοι ἐνθάδε  
 [ἢ ὅπου ἐὰν κελευσθῶμεν ?] καὶ τὴν τ[ει]μὴν ἀποκαταστήσομεν ὑμείν,  
 [καὶ ἄρτους παραστ]ήσ[ο]μεν ὑμ[εῖ]ν ὀπτοὺς ἠρτυμένους ἀρεστοὺς  
 5 [ . . . . . καθ' ] ξ[καστ ?]ρον ἄρτων[.] σταθμοῦ λείτρας δύο, λογιζομένων  
 [ὑπὲρ ἐκάστ]ης (ἀρτάβης) ἄ[ρτ]ω(ν) λ, λημψόμεθα δὲ ὑπὲρ πρακτικοῦ καὶ  
 κοπτου(ργ ?)ίας  
 [καὶ δαπάν]ης πάσης ἐκάστης (ἀρτάβης) ὀβολοὺς ι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄς  
 παρειλήφαμεν  
 [παρὰ . . . ]ος ἐνάρχ(ου) ἀγορανόμ(ου) ἐν Ὁξυρύγχ(ων) πόλει ἐν τρισὶ δόσεσι  
 μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ  
 [ . . . . . ] (ἀρτάβας) ὡς ἀλευροποιήσομεν καὶ ἄρτοποιήσομεν ὅποτε ἐὰν  
 10 [κελευσθῶ]μεν κα[ὶ] προθήσομεν εἰς πᾶσιν μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους πρατῶν ὡς πρό-  
 [κειται, καὶ εὐδοκῶ]μεν πᾶσι τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις. (ἔτους) κ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 [Καίσαρος Νερούα Τρα]ϊαν[ο]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Φαῶφι λ.

5. *ον* of *αρτων* corr. 8. *εν τρισι* above *εν* deleted.

' . . . we will expose it for sale with the customary sellers either here or wherever we are ordered to expose it (?), and will restore you the price and provide for you loaves which are baked, prepared, acceptable, . . . , each weighing 2 pounds, 30 loaves being reckoned to each artaba, and we are to receive for selling and making the flour and all expenses 10 obols for each artaba; likewise also with regard to the 856 artabae by the public . . . measure which we have received from . . . , agoranomus in office, at Oxyrhynchus in three instalments, we will make them into flour and manufacture loaves whenever we are ordered to do so, and expose them for sale with the customary sellers, as aforesaid; and we consent to all the above-mentioned stipulations. The 20th year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, Phaophi 30.'

1. Apparently not ἀντίγρα(φον).

2. τῶν ἐξ ἔθους πρατῶν: for the restoration of ll. 2-3 cf. ll. 9-10. *πρατῶν* might come

from *πράτος*, but *πράτης* is much the commoner word (cf. 1455. 5, P. Ryl. 226. 5, and the *ἀρτοποιαί* in B. G. U. 304), and suits *μετά* better; cf. also the *πρατικόν* in l. 6.

4-5. *ἄρτους* is probably to be supplied in the initial lacuna of one of these two lines; but *κατὰ μῆνα* or an adverb may have occurred at the beginning of l. 4, and the construction of l. 5, where there has been a correction, is obscure. The alteration of *λείπρας* to *λιτρῶν* is attractive; for with *ἔχοντας* in l. 5 *σταθμὸν λιτρῶν* would be expected; cf. 1449. 20. The description of the loaves seems to refer to the bread in general, not to a present for the officials, though e.g. *ἐκατόν* might be read in l. 5. But if *καθ'* *ἑ[καστ]ον* is right, the preceding word is likely to have been another adjective, or a participle in the nominative. For *ὄπτους* cf. Hdt. ii. 92 *ἄρτους ὄπτους πυρί: ὑμ[ίν] κοπτούς* (cf. l. 6, n.) is unsuitable. *ἡρτυμένους* probably refers to the leavening; cf. P. Tebt. 375. 27 *ζύμης ἡρτυμένης*.

6. *ἀ[ρτ]ω(ν) λ* (*μ* is a less satisfactory reading) is expected at this point, 30 pairs (*ζεύγη*) of loaves being reckoned as 2 artabae (i. e. 30 loaves to 1 art., as here) in P. Brit. Mus. 18. 22 (i. 22); cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 755. *ζ[ευ]γ(ῶν)* and *χ[ι]ο[ν](ίκων)* are much less suitable readings, and, though an artaba of 30 choenices is known from P. Rev. Laws xxxix. 2, the particular kind of artaba meant here had probably been already indicated; cf. ll. 8-9 where a fresh number of artabae is stated to be *μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ* . . .

*πρατικοῦ*: cf. Preisigke, *S. B.* 4425. v. 13 *τῶν [ἡ]γορασμένων χωρὶς πρατικῶν*: it stands in the same relation to *πράτης* (cf. l. 2, n.) as *μισθωτικόν* in P. Amh. 88. 26 to *μισθωτής*; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv.* v. 253.

*κοπτο(ρ)γ[ί]ας*: this word is new, but seems appropriate to the context; cf. *ἀλευροποιήσομεν* in l. 9 and *κοπτάρια* meaning cakes of some kind in P. Goodsp. 30. xlii. 5. *κοπτο(αι)γ[ί]ας* does not suit the traces of the sixth letter so well, and to read *ὄπτου(ρ)γ[ί]ας* or *ὄπτο(αι)γ[ί]ας* (cf. *ὄπτους* in l. 4), and suppose that the initial *ο* was corrected from *ω*, is also unsatisfactory, *κο* here being written small, as in *Δακικοῦ* in l. 12.

8. *]ος*: *]ως* or *]ι(ο)ς* might be read. *το]ίς ἐνάρχ(οις) ἀγορανόμ(οις)* is unlikely.

9. Before (*ἀρτάβας*) an abbreviation of *ἡμαρταβίῳ* is not unlikely; cf. 1472. 19. The word in any case probably agreed with *μέτρῳ*. *πυροῦ*, if mentioned again (it must have occurred in connexion with the artabae to which ll. 2-7 refer), ought to have preceded *μέτρῳ*.

#### 1455. DECLARATION OF AN OIL-SELLER.

21.8 × 9.1 cm.

A. D. 275.

A declaration on oath, addressed probably to a strategus, by an oil-seller of Oxyrhynchus, who undertook to sell fine oil (l. 10, n.) in the public market and to provide a surety. 83, a similar declaration to a logistes fifty-two years later by an egg-seller, differs by containing no mention of a surety and a more precise prohibition of any secret sale; B. G. U. 92, 649, and 730 are parallel declarations to the strategus of the Pharbaethite nome in the second century by owners of pigs, and several bonds of sureties for the performance of duties by dealers in supplies are extant in P. Brit. Mus. 974 (iii. 115; *καρπώνης* at Hermopolis, A. D. 305-6) and Strassb. 46-51 (butchers of various kinds at Antinoöpolis, A. D. 566); cf. also 1454. int. and the monthly reports of various guilds to the logistes in 85 and P. S. I. 202. The date of the papyrus, Phaophi 21 (Oct. 19 in 275) of the 7th year of Aurelian, is very important for the

chronology of that reign, being inconsistent with the scheme proposed by Preisigke, which allowed Aurelian only part of a 6th year as his last; cf. 1476. int.

- Αὐ[ρηλίω] 12 letters στρα-  
 τη[γῶ] Ὀξυρυγίτου Αὐρήλιος Θε-  
 [όδωρος] Ὀρίωνος τοῦ Θ[ώ]νως  
 [μη(τρὸς) . . .] . [.] . [.] ἀπὸ τῆ]ς λαμπρᾶς καὶ  
 5 λαμπροτάτης) Ὀξυρυγιτῶν) πόλεως πρᾶτης ἐλαίου  
 χρηστοῦ. ὀμνύω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου  
 ἡμῶν Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 τύχην παρέξειν ἡμερισείως  
 ἐν ᾧ ἔχω ἐργαστηρίῳ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 10 [ἀ]γορᾶς αἴλαιον χρη[σ]τὸν πρὸς  
 διάπρασιν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς  
 [πό]λεως εἰς τὸ μηδεμί[α]ν ἐγέ-  
 ρ[αν] ἐπακολ[ουθε]ί[ν], ἢ ἔνο-  
 [χος] εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. παρέσχον  
 15 [δὲ] ἐ[μ]αντοῦ ἐγγυητὴν Αὐρή-  
 λιον Σαραπάμωνα Σαπρί-  
 ωνος μη(τρὸς) Θαήσιος ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως παρόν-  
 τα καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα.  
 20 (ἔτους) ζ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Λουκίου Δομιτίου Αὐρηλιανοῦ  
 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Περσικο[ῦ]  
 Μεγίστου Γοθθικοῦ Μ[ε]γίστου  
 Καρπικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 25 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 Φαῶφι κα.  
 2nd hand Αὐρήλ(ιος) Θεόδωρος Ὀρίωνος ὄμοσα  
 τὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἕκαστα ποιήσω ὡς  
 πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμ-  
 30 μων Σαπρίωνος ἐγγυῶμαι τὸν  
 Θεόδωρον ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐ[ρηλ(ιος)]

Σιλβανὸς Ἀμμωνίου ἔγρα[ψα ὑπὲρ  
αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδόντων γρ[άμματα.

3rd hand Ἀὐρή[λιος] Τ[ ] 13 letters

35 [σε]σημ[είωμαι] ?

6. ν of ομνω corr. 8. l. ἡμερησίως. 10. l. ἔλαιον. 11. ὑπηρεσιαν Π. 21. δομῖτιον Π.  
29. ἀρηλιος corr. from σαραπαμ.

'To Aurelius . . . , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Theodorus son of Horion son of Thonis, his mother being . . . , of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, seller of fine oil. I swear by the fortune of our lord Aurelianus Augustus that I will provide daily in the factory which I possess in the market-place fine oil for sale and service of the city, so that no fraud may ensue, under penalty of being liable to the consequences of the oath; and I have provided as my surety Aurelius Sarapammon son of Saprion and Thaësis, of the said city, who is present and gives his consent. The 7th year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Germanicus Maximus Persicus Maximus Gothicus Maximus Carpicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi 21.' Signatures of Theodorus and his surety, written by Aurelius Silvanus, and of another Aurelius.

1. Perhaps Ἀ[ρ]ηλίω Τερεντίω Ἀρ(ε)ίω: cf. ll. 34-5, n.

10. (ἐ)λαιον χρη[σ]τόν: olive or sesame oil is probably meant; cf. P. Gen. 63. iii, where ἔλ. χρ. is opposed to ἔλ. ραφάννον, and Reil, *Beiträge*, 137-8.

34-5. If [σε]σημ[είωμαι] (or σε]σημ.) is right, these lines presumably contained the signature of the strategus (cf. int.). The only known strategus of this reign at Oxyrhynchus is Τερέντιος Ἀρειος (1414. 17), and Ἀὐρή[λιος] Τ[ερέντιος] Ἀρειος is possible here; cf. l. 1, n. [ἐ]πήμ[εγα] (cf. 1409. 23) or [ἐ]πηκ[ολούθηκα] might be read, but neither word is expected in this context.

#### 1456. DECLARATION CONCERNING APPEARANCE IN COURT.

9.7 × 8.6 cm.

A. D. 284-6.

A declaration on oath, addressed to a strategus by a citizen of Oxyrhynchus, undertaking to appear at the session of the praefect's court about to be held at the city or in the nome (cf. l. 9, n.). The grounds of the action, which was directed against certain comarchs, were being stated when the papyrus breaks off. The date of 1456 is fixed within the period Oct. 284—March 286 by the mentions of Diocletian without Maximian, and of the strategus, who is known from other papyri (l. 1, n.). The praefect, M. Aurelius Diogenes, who was probably identical with Diogenes, a high official mentioned in P. Cairo 10531 (3rd-4th cent.), seems to have held office between Pomponius Januarianus and Flavius Valerius Pompeianus (ll. 1, 8, nn.). Similar declarations are 260 (M. *Chrest.* 74), 1195, 1258, B. G. U. 891. recto, P. Leipzig 52-3, Hamb. 4; cf. Wenger, *Rechtshist. Papyrusstud.* 61 sqq.

[*Αὐρηλίῳ Φιλιάρχῳ τῷ καὶ Ὀρίωνι στρα(τηγῷ) Ὀξ(υρρυχίτου)*  
 [*Αὐρήλιος Ζοίλας Θεογένους μητρὸς) Ταύριος*  
 [*ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρρυ-*  
 [*χ]ειτῶν πόλεως. ὀμνύω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου*  
 5 [*ἡμῶν Γαίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ*  
 [*Καί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ τύχην ἐμφανῆ ἐμαυ-*  
 [*τῶ]ν καταστήσασθαι τῷ διασημοτάτῳ*  
 [*ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνι Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ [[Σαλ]]*  
*Διογένει ἐνθάδε εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημήσαν-*  
 10 [*τ]ι ἢ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστυγείτονει νομῶ, καὶ δικά-*  
 [*σ]ασθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ*  
 [*. . . ἰ δῶδε γενομένους κωμάρχας ἐπισ-*  
 [*. . . . .]ς ἔνεκεν ἧς οὐ δ[έ]οντως?*

2. *ζοίλας Π.* 10. First *ε* of *αστυγειτονει* corr. from *ι*.

'To Aurelius Philiarchus also called Horion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Zoilas son of Theogenes and Tauris, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. I swear by the fortune of our lord Gaius Valerius Diocletianus Caesar Augustus that I will present myself before our most eminent praefect, Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, when he auspiciously visits this place or the neighbouring nome, and will bring an action in his court against the comarchs from the nome now (?) present . . . on account of the . . . which they wrongly . . .'

1. This strategus also occurs in 1260. 1 (where l. *Φιλιάρχῳ* for *Φιλίππῳ*: Pauni 18 of the 2nd year of Diocletian and 1st of Maximian, i.e. June 12, 286), P. S. I. 162. 1 (2nd and 1st year, month lost), and 1115. 1 (Pachon 26, i.e. May 21, of the 2nd year of an unnamed Emperor). In the last mentioned papyrus the praefect in office was Pomponius Januarianus, who is also to be recognized in P. Thead. 18. 3, where l. *Πομπ[ω]νίφ [Ἰ]ανου[αριαν]ῷ*, the year being the 2nd of a reign (l. 19), and the months Hathur and perhaps Mecheir occurring (the date in l. 22 is mainly undeciphered). A different praefect is found in 1456. 8, and in the 2nd year of Diocletian (A.D. 285-6) the elevation of Maximian to the rank of Augustus was known in Middle Egypt on Pharmouthi 5 (= March 31; B. G. U. 1090. 36) and Pachon 29 (= May 24; B. G. U. 922. 2), so that it must have taken place somewhat earlier than April 1, the date assigned to it by Idatius. Hence both 1115, which on other grounds appeared to belong to the reign following that of Probus (cf. int.), and P. Thead. 18 are to be assigned to the 2nd year of Carinus and Numerianus (i.e. 283-4) rather than to the 2nd of Diocletian (285-6), and Aurelius Philiarchus' tenure of office lasted from May 21, 284, to June 12, 286. On Sept. 19, 287, the strategus was Apollonius, as is shown by a papyrus to be published in Part xiii. The accession of Diocletian took place in the autumn of 284, Carinus and Numerianus having entered on their third year in Egypt, as is shown by coins; cf. 1476. int. The date of 1456, which ignores Maximian in ll. 4 sqq., is thus limited to the period between Oct. 284 and March 286, and M. Aurelius

Diogenes (l. 8) was probably the immediate successor of Pomponius Januarianus and predecessor of Flavius Valerius Pompeianus (cf. 1416. 29, n.).

8. The deleted Σαλ looks like a mistaken reference to Ἀδριάνιος Σαλλούστιος, praefect in 280 (1191. 4), who was apparently succeeded by Pomponius Januarianus (cf. l. 1, n.).

9. ἐνθάδε: i.e. at Oxyrhynchus. In the Roman period the *conventus* of the praefect for cases concerning the Heptanomia and Thebaid was usually held at Memphis (705. 6-7; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv. 366 sqq.); but he probably held courts at various points of Middle and Upper Egypt more frequently than is allowed by Wilcken; cf. P. Ryl. 74. int.

10. ἀστυγείτων νομός (i.e. the Oxyrhynchite nome) is a novel expression in papyri.

12. Perhaps [ν]υὶ ὄδε γενομένους; but the second word is very doubtful. It cannot be read as an accusative ending in *s*, and [ε̅]νθάδε (cf. l. 9) is also inadmissible.

κωμάρχας: or κωμάρχ[ο]υς. There might be another letter or two at the end of the line, and e.g. ἐπιτη[ρ]ήσεως is possible. ἐνκε[κ]λημένου<sub>s</sub> (or ἐγκ.) is unsatisfactory, though a participle is not unlikely.

#### 1457. REGISTRATION OF ASSES.

16 × 8.4 cm.

4-3 B.C.

A return addressed to the farmers of the six-drachmae tax upon asses by a citizen of Oxyrhynchus, who registers two asses for the current year. This impost has previously occurred only in 1438. 19, but is clearly identical with the εἶδ(ος) ὄνων in an unpublished Strassburg papyrus of A. D. 119-20 mentioned by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 205, which is also an ἀπογραφή to tax-farmers. It is remarkable that 1457 and that papyrus are the only ἀπογραφαί of asses which are known, although returns of camels, sheep, and goats are numerous (cf. Wilcken, *l. c.*, and 1458), being addressed, unlike 1457, to the strategus and basilicogrammateus. For a return of a different character addressed to a tax-farmer cf. 262, a notification of death sent to an ἐκλήπτωρ γερδιακοῦ. The known imposts connected with asses are (1) a licence called the δίπλωμα ὄνων, which appears in B. G. U. 213 (A. D. 112), and for which 8 drachmae were paid annually on one ass, as in the case of the δίπλωμα ἵππων 8 dr. 8 obols annually on each horse (cf. P. Hamb. 9. int.); (2) a tax of 4 drachmae per ass levied on purchasers (P. Hamb. 33, A. D. 150-200; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 305, which mentions in ll. 2-3 ἐπιτη(ρη)τ(αῖς) ἐκ . . . ( ) καὶ δεκ(άτης?) ἀγορᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρου, sc. Νήσου, and in l. 4 τέλος ὄνου . . . οὗ ἡγό(ρασε), A. D. 144); (3) τέλος ὀνηλ(ατῶν?), for which 2 dr. 1 obol. are paid in one case, but much larger sums (75 dr. and 150 dr.) when ὀνηλ(ατῶν) is coupled with ἀμαξ(ῶν); cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 272); (4) πενθήμερος ὄνων, for which 8 dr. were paid in P. Ryl. 195. 5 (cf. 1409. 20, n.). All four seem to be distinct from each other, and though the ἐξαδραχμία is possibly identical with the δίπλωμα, the sum found in 1438. 19 (5 dr. 1 ob.) does not accord with that in B. G. U. 213.

<p>Ἀρίστωνι καὶ Πτολ[εμαίω          τοῖς ἐξειληφόσι τὴν ἐξαδρα-          χμῆαν τῶν ὄνων          παρὰ Θεώνι(ο)ς τοῦ Θώνιος.          5 ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ ἐνε-          στηκὸς κς̄ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος          τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι ὄνους          θηλήας δύο λεῖγκόχρους</p>	<p>ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ μ[οι ο]ί-          10 κία ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύγ-          χων πόλει Σαραπιῆου ἀπὸ          νότου τοῦ δρόμου ἐργαζο-          μένας μου τὰ ἴδια ἔργα.          14 εὐτυχεῖτε.          2nd hand σεσημείωται. [           (ἔτους) κς̄ Καίσαρ[ος] Τῦ[βι] . .</p>
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2. τ of την corr.      4. σ τ of θουως του corr. from os.      7. 1. τὰς ὑπαρχούσας.

‘To Ariston and Ptolemaeus, farmers of the six-drachmae tax upon asses, from Thoönis son of Thonis. I register for the present 27th year of Caesar the two light-coloured female asses which belong to me at the house belonging to me at the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus on the south of the Square, and are employed upon my own work. Farewell. Signed. The 27th year of Caesar, Tubi . .’

8. λεῖγκόχρους: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 333. 22 (ii. 199). There is not room for λεῖγκοχρώμους, which occurs in a sale of an ass to be published in Part xiii.

11-12. ἀπὸ νότου τοῦ δρόμου: the ἄμφοδον Νότου Δρόμου (339, 786, &c.) refers to the Serapeum; cf. 1105. 7.

12-13. ἐργαζομένας μου τὰ ἴδια ἔργα: the Strassburg papyrus mentioned in int. is more explicit, having μὴ ἐργαζομένη(ας) μισθοῦ ἀλλ’ εἰς ἰδίαν χρεῖαν.

## 1458. REGISTRATION OF SHEEP AND GOATS.

14.9 × 13.1 cm.

A D. 216-17.

The chief interest of this return of sheep and goats addressed to a basilicogrammateus lies in the fact that the papyrus was written in the Athribite nome (in the south of the Delta), like 500. The formula differs a little from those of the second-century Oxyrhynchite (74), Hermopolite (P. Amh. 73), and Arsinoite (B. G. U. 133) parallels, and the third-century Heracleopolite one (Hartel, *Gr. Pap. Erz. Rain.* 74), which is also addressed to a basilicogrammateus, the others, as well as 245-6 (first century), having been sent to a strategus (καὶ οἷς καθήκει in 74). The papyrus is joined to a similar but fragmentary return by a woman Aurelia Ammonia (?) also called Heraclea, the ends of both documents being lost. They had been glued together as part of a series, and apparently brought to Oxyrhynchus, before the verso was used for writing a list of abstracts of contracts concerning land. The proper names Ἀρθῶνις, Δημητροῦς, and Κεφαλοῦς, and Ὁξυρύ[γ]χ(ων) πόλ( ) ἐκ τοῦ

Νεικάμ[ορος (or [δρου] κλήρ)]ου occur; but the lines, of which parts of ten survive, were very broad, and no connected sense is obtainable.

- Ἀϋρηλίωι Ἀ[. . .]γι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἀθριβ(ίτου)  
 Ἀϋρήλιος Αἰλ[ου]ρίων ἔναρ-  
 χος κ[οσ]μητῆς βουλ(ευτῆς) τῆς  
 Ἀθριβιτῶν πόλεως, πρὶν δ[ὲ]  
 5 τυχῖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτί-  
 ας Αἰλουρίων Ζωίλου Νε[ο]-  
 κόσμ[οσ] ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς. ἀπ[ε]-  
 γρα(ψάμην) τῶ διεληλυθότι κδ (ἔτει) ἐ[πὶ  
 τῆς μητροπόλεως πρόβ(ατα) ξ,  
 10 [ἄ]ρρ(ενα) ζ, θηλ(υκὰ) λ[.],  
 [αἰ]γα α, ὑποτίθ(ια) κ[.],  
 κα (ἔτει) πρόβ(ατα) ιθ, αἶγα α,  
 / πρόβ(ατα) ἐβδομήκοντ[α  
 ἐννέα, αἶγες δύο,  
 15 ὦν πρόβ(ατα) ἄρρ(ενα) ις, θηλ(υκὰ) ξ[γ],  
 αἶγες β. ἐξ ὦν  
 διεφθάρη πρόβ(ατα) ἄρ[ρ](ενα) [.] ,  
 [θη]λ(υκὰ) ια, [ 10 letters  
 . . . . .

'To Aurelius . . ., basilicogrammateus of the Athribite nome, from Aurelius Aelurion, cosmetes in office and senator of Athribis, before he received Roman citizenship called Aelurion son of Zoilus, of the Neocosmian tribe and Althaeian deme. I registered in the past 24th year at the metropolis 60 sheep, 7 male, 3[.] female, 1 goat, 2[.] lambs, in the 21st year 19 sheep, 1 goat, total 79 sheep, 2 goats, of which 16 are male, 63 female, 2 goats. Out of these there have perished . . male, 11 female . . .'

4-5. πρὶν δὲ κτλ. : cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1071. 5.

6-7. Νε[ο]κόσμι[οσ] ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς: the Neocosmian tribe at Alexandria is known from P. Flor. 92. 1, Hamb. 32. 4, but the combination with the well-known Althaeian deme is new.

11. ὑποτίθ(ια): this spelling also occurs in the other return (cf. int.) and B. G. U. 629. 14, &c.

12. κα (ἔτει): κε or κγ cannot be read. There is no corresponding entry in the parallel returns from other nomes. As the reports were, so far as is known, sent in annually, the interval of three years between the dates in ll. 8 and 12 is somewhat remarkable.



## 1459. RETURN OF UNWATERED LAND.

35.5 × 11.2 cm.

A. D. 226.

This return sent to a basilicogrammateus by a veteran concerning his land, which had not been reached by the inundation and was dry (*ἄβροχος*) or artificially irrigated (*ἐπηνητλημένη*), is similar to 1113, 1549, and an Apollinopolite and several Arsinoite papyri (P. Hamb. II. int.). Part of the land was βασιλική (ll. 12, 36); the rest, which was taxed at the usual rates of 1 or 1½ artabae per arura (cf. l. 11, n.), was apparently κληρουχική which had passed into private ownership, and may have been a grant to the veteran from the State (cf. P. Giessen 60. int.). The names of the lessees (or in the case of βασιλική γῆ the sub-lessees) form a lengthy list, the property being situated mainly near Palosis, but partly near two other villages in the Thmoisepho toparchy. These returns were probably made not annually, but when there was a low Nile (cf. Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, 188, Lewald, *Grundbuchrecht*, 79, 1113. i. 14, n.); the orders in the present case are attributed to unnamed praefects and an ex-epistrategus, whereas in the other instances they were issued by a praefect or *procurator usiacus*.

- Α[ύρηλ]ίφ Νεμεσίωνι τῶ κ(αί) Δι[ο]ν[υσίω] βα[σιλ(ικῶ)]  
 [ ] γραμματεῖ Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 παρὰ Ἰουλίου Ὀρίωνος οὔετρανοῦ τῶν  
 ἐντείμως ἀπολελυμένων. ἀπογρά(φομαι)  
 5 πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστ(ὸς) ε (ἔτος) Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Σεουήρου  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κ[α]τὰ τὰ κε-  
 λευσθ(έντα) ὑπὸ τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ Ἰουλίου Σω-  
 πάτρου ἐπιστρατηγήσαντος ἢν ἔχω ἄβρο-  
 χ[ου] καὶ ἐπηνητλημένην περὶ κώμην Παλω-  
 10 σιν ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ἄνδρωνος σὺν τῶ Μενεσθ(έως) κλη(ήρῳ)  
 εἰς Πέτσειριν Ἡρακλήου α (ἀρτάβης) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρούρας) βδ',  
 καὶ [ἐκ τ(οῦ) α(ὔτοῦ)] εἰς Ἡράκλη[ο]ν Πετσειρί[ο]ς βασιλ(ικῆς)  
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.). ., καὶ ἐ[κ] τ(οῦ) 13 letters ]. [. .  
 να Π[. . . . .] . . [. .] .[.] ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἄρου.) α, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
 15 αὐτοῦ [εἰς . . .] . . . Πανεχώτου αL ἀβρόχ(ου)  
 (ἀρού.) [. ., καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λοι[π]οῦ Μενεσθ(έως) κλη(ήρου) εἰς  
 Π[ 14 letters ] . [. .] ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) Lξ'δ',]  
 κ[α]ι [ἐκ τ(οῦ) α(ὔτοῦ) εἰς . . . . . Ἀλεξάνδρου α (ἀρτ.) ἀβρό-

- χου (ἀρού.) [. . . , κα]ῖ ἐ[κ τ(οῦ) . . . . εἰς] Θατρῆν Πανσείρι-  
 20 [ο]ς α (ἀρτ.) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) [. . . , καὶ ἐ]κ τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) εἰς Σαραπιά-  
 δην Ἀμμωνίου α? (ἀρτ.) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) γ, καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ)  
 λοιποῦ Μενεσθέως εἰς Θατρῆν Ἀρι-  
 τάνδρου α (ἀρτ.) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) Λ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ) εἰς  
 Σαραπιάδην Ἀμμωνίου αΛ καὶ α (ἀρτ.) ἀβρό-  
 25 χου (ἀρού.) εγ', καὶ ἐκ τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ) εἰς Πέ[τσει]ριν  
 Πανεχώτου αΛ ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) δ'ή'ί'ς', καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ)  
 εἰς Πέτσειριν Πανσείριος α [(ἀρτ.)] ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) δ'ή',  
 καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) εἰς Θερμούθιον Ἀριστάνδρου αΛ  
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) αβ', καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) λοιποῦ Μενεσθ(έως) κλ(ήρου)  
 30 εἰς Μάρκον Πετρώνιον Πρέισκον α (ἀρτ.) ἀβρό-  
 χου (ἀρού.) βΛ, καὶ περὶ τὸ Νεικοστρά(του) ἐπ(οίκιον) ἐκ τ(οῦ)  
 Πτολεμαίου καὶ Φιλίππου κλ(ήρου) εἰς Πέτσειριν  
 Ἑρακλήου α (ἀρτ.) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) αΛ, καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) εἰς Ὀν-  
 νῶφριν Πετσείριος α (ἀρτ.) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρού.) α, καὶ περὶ Σε-  
 35 φῶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Παρμενίωνος κλ(ήρου) εἰς Πέτσειριν μητ(ρὸς)  
 Θαήσιος βασιλ(ικῆς) ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρού.) α. (ἔτους) ε Ἀυτοκράτορο[ς]  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ Φαμενώθ ι.

2nd hand Ἰούλι(ο)ς Ὀρίων ἐπιδέδωκα.

On the verso traces of an address (?).

'To Aurelius Nemesion also called Dionysius, basilicogrammateus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Julius Horion, an honourably discharged veteran. I register for the present 5th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord in accordance with the commands both of praefects and of Julius Sopater, ex-epistrategus, the unwatered and irrigated land which I own: in the area of the village of Palosis in the holding of Andron with that of Menestheus, entered to Petsiris son of Heracleus, rated at 1 artaba, unwatered,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  arurae; and in the same holding, entered to Heracleus son of Petsiris, Crown-land unw., . . aru.; and in the holding of . . ., entered to . . ., unw., 1 aru.; and in the same holding, entered to . . . son of Panechotes, rated at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, unw., . . aru.; and in the remainder of Menestheus' holding, entered to . . ., unw.,  $\frac{3}{8}$  aru.; and in the same holding, entered to . . . son of Alexander, rated at 1 art., unw., . . aru.; and in the holding of . . ., entered to Thatres daughter of Pausiris, rated at 1 art., unw., . . aru.; and in the same holding, entered to Sarapiades son of Ammonius, rated at 1(?) art., unw., 3 aru.; and in the remainder of Menestheus' holding, entered to Thatres daughter of Aristander, rated at 1 art., unw.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  aru.; and in the same holding, entered to Sarapiades son of Ammonius, rated at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 1 art., unw.,  $5\frac{1}{3}$  aru.; and in the same holding, entered to Petsiris son of Panechotes, rated at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  art., unw.,  $\frac{7}{16}$  aru.; and in the same holding, entered to Petsiris son of Pausiris,

rated at 1 art., unw.,  $\frac{3}{8}$  aru.; and in the same holding, entered to Thermouthion daughter of Aristander, rated at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  art., unw.,  $1\frac{2}{3}$  aru.; and in the remainder of Menestheus' holding, entered to M. Petronius Priscus, rated at 1 art., unw.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  aru.; and in the area of Nicostratou farmstead in the holding of Ptolemaeus and Philippus, entered to Petsiris son of Heracleüs, rated at 1 art., unw.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  aru.; and in the same holding, entered to Onnophris son of Petsiris, rated at 1 art., unw., 1 aru.; and in the area of Sepho in the holding of Parmenion, entered to Petsiris whose mother is Thaësis, Crown-land, irrigated, 1 aru.' Date and signature.

1. τῷ κ(αί) Δί[ο]υ[υσί]φ: cf. P. Hamb. 19. 1, where the same basilicogrammateus is mentioned, also probably in the 5th year.

7. Ἰουλίου Σωπάτρου: this new epistrategus is to be inserted between Aurelius Severus, deputy-epistrategus (1202. 1, P. Flor. 382. 50; A.D. 222-3), and Di . . . Balbinus (B. G. U. 659. 7; A.D. 228-9) in Martin's list, *Épistratèges*, 185. He may be identical with the judge Σώπατρος in 1408. 1-10.

9. For the association of ἐπηγελημένη γῆ with ἀβροχος cf. P. Giessen 4-7, Ryl. 96. 16. In the case of the former half of the charges was let off, in that of the latter the whole.

10. Ἄνδρωνος σὺν τῷ Μενεσθ(έως) κλη(ήρῳ): cf. 1044. 10, 23. That papyrus clearly refers to the village of Palosis, which also occurs as a personal name in ll. 6 and 19. Πέτσειρις Ἡρακλήου in l. 19 might even be identical with the person of that name in 1459. 11, 32.

11. εἰς Πέτσειριν: cf. the preceding n. σωματιζομένης is to be supplied; cf. 1113. 17 1460. 11, nn.

a (ἀρτάβης): this was the normal rate of land-tax upon an arura of catocic, cleruchic, or ordinary private land; cf. P. Ryl. 202. 3, n. and 1434. 23, 1445. 8, n., 1549. 16. The  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabae rate found in ll. 15 and 24 sqq. also occurs in 1044. ii (i. 7, n.) and B. G. U. 139. 13 in connexion with private land.

16. λοι]πὸν Μενεσθ(έως): cf. l. 29, 1044. 24.

31. Νεικοστρά(τον) ἐπ(οίκιον): cf. 593, where the Πτολ. καὶ Φιλ. κληρος is also mentioned (l. Φιλίππου for Φιλίσκου), and 1534. int. A Νεικοστρά(τον) κληρος at Palosis occurs in 1044. 11 (cf. l. 10, n.). The ἐποίκιον was no doubt in the Thmoisepho toparchy, like Palosis and Sepho (ll. 9 and 34).

## 1460. REVISION OF LISTS OF LAND-OWNERS.

9.8 x 9.2 cm.

A.D. 219-20.

This return of landed property, addressed to a strategus, is of an unusual character, being intended for a revision of the government survey-lists, in which the names of the cultivators had ceased to correspond to the facts; cf. the list of deceased cultivators of Crown-lands and their successors in 1446. The reign is fixed by the name of the strategus, Aurelius Harpocraton, who is known from 1283. 1 to have been in office in the 2nd year of Elagabalus (A.D. 218-19); the year was apparently indicated in a marginal note at the top (3rd?). Another strategus of the same name in A.D. 278 is known from 1409. 1, but the handwriting decisively indicates the earlier date. 6-8 letters are lost at the ends of lines, and the papyrus breaks off before reaching the main sentence, describing the writer's own land, but not without providing some interesting information about the nature of the revision. On the left it was joined to another document,

of which the ends of 14 lines survive, mentioning ] ἡ κρατίστη | [βουλή? and ] τῶ ἐπιστρα[τήγω.

- [ . γ (ἔτους?)  
[ . [ . ] θ.  
 Αὐρηλίω Ἄρποκρα[τ]ῶνι στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυχ(ίτου)  
 παρὰ Φλανίας Μ[α]ρκέλλης χρημα[τιζούσης  
 5 χωρὶς κυρίου κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθῃ [τέκνων  
 δικαίω. ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀπαίτησι[s] τῶν [σιτικῶν  
 ἐγείνεται ἀπὸ ἀρχαίων ὀνομάτων [τῶν πλεί-  
 στων γενομένων ἐπιπλάστω[ν καὶ ἀπαί-?  
 τησιν ἐποιού[ν]το ἐξ ἧς πολλοὶ ἠ[δικοῦντο,  
 10 ἐκελεύσθη ἀνανεωθῆναι εἰς τὰ ν[. . . . .  
 καὶ κατ' ἔτος σωματισθῆναι καὶ κα[ταχωρισθῆ-?  
 ναι τύπῳ τῷδε· τί ἐκάστω ὑπ[α]ρ[χει] ἐφ' ἐκά-  
 στης κώμης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποίου ἰδ[ους], τί  
 ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς, τί δὲ δημοσίαι[s], ποῖαι  
 15 [δ]ὲ κα[ρ]πέαι[ι] ἐπ' ἀρουρηδῶ καθ' ἕ[κ]αστο[ν] ὄνομα  
 [σὺν το]ῖς ὀφειλομένοις γέ[νε]σι [ 10 letters  
 . . . . .

4. φλανίας Π.

12. ὑπ[α]ρ. Π.

13. ἰδ[ους] Π.

14. ἰδιωτικῆς Π.

‘To Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Flavia Marcella, acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by the *ius liberorum*. Since the collection of corn-dues was being based upon old lists of names, most of which were fictitious, and collections were being made which involved injustice to many, orders were given that the dues should be revised . . . , and should be entered on the lists annually and registered upon the following plan, namely with a statement how much is owned by each individual at each village and to what class it belongs, how much is private land and how much public, and what kind of crops are grown in each case on the particular arurae, together with the classes (of produce) due . . .’

2. That this line was written by the writer of l. 1 is not certain, but a reference to a month is possible.

6. [σιτικῶν: δημοσίων is rather long.

8-9. ἀπαίτησις: cf. l. 6. A synonym would be improvement in view of the shortness of the interval, but there seems to be no other suitable word.

10. Probably ν[έ]α or ν[ῦ]ν. The subject of the infinitives is apparently σιτικά, not ἀπαίτησιν.

11. σωματισθῆναι: the latest discussion of this verb and σωματισμός is in Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, 167-8, where references to the earlier literature are given. Preisigke wishes to translate σωματίσειν ‘verkörpern’, i. e. put in the body of a document, and to connect it with the Byzantine use in e. g. P. Cairo Masp. 67133. 6 Ἱερμίας νομικὸς μαμνυρῶ δὲ καὶ

σωματίσας ἔγραψα, which is generally regarded as different from the use in e.g. 1044. 26 ὧν (ἀρουρῶν) ἐσωματίσθησαν Ἀρσινόῃ ἄρουραι ε. An unpublished Byzantine ἐπίσταλμα σωματισμοῦ from Oxyrhynchus, similar to 126, has κούφισον . . . τελέσματα . . . ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰουλιανοῦ . . . καὶ ἔνεγκον καὶ σωματίσων εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν προσηγορίαν, σωματίσων there corresponding to θελήση . . . βαρέσαι in 126. 8. The word seems, in spite of Preisigke, often to have a special reference to responsibility for taxes.

κα[ταχωρισθῆ]ναι: this word gives a suitable sense, but is rather long for the lacuna, which does not elsewhere seem to exceed 8 letters. κα[ταγραφῆ]ναι (in the sense of 'described') is the right length, but καταγράφειν in connexion with land usually refers to transference of ownership.

16. γε[νῆ]μ[ασι] is possible in place of γε[νεσ]ι [ .

## 1461. REGISTRATION OF A SHOP.

17.5 × 7.1 cm.

A. D. 222.

This registration (ἀπογραφῆ) of a vegetable-shop in the reign of Severus Alexander presents some novel features, being addressed apparently to a former ὑπομνηματογράφος and a former chief-priest. The papyrus is broken at the top, but the writing on the verso, which was subsequently used for an account of payments for rents (beginnings of 12 lines), has a margin above it, and probably nothing is lost before l. 1 of the recto, though it is possible that two former ὑπομνηματογράφοι were mentioned, not one. Property-returns, other than κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί (with which 1461, as is shown by the date, has nothing to do) and returns of unwatered land (e.g. 1459), were usually sent to two βιβλιοφύλακες, and this may have been the actual rank of the two ex-magistrates in 1461; cf. the omission of the title βιβλιοφύλακες with the γ(υμνασιαρχήσαντες) in 1028. 3 (1452. 2, n.). As a rule ex-gymnasiarchs are found as βιβλιοφύλακες, but several instances of other ex-magistrates in that position occur (cf. Preisigke, *Beamtenwesen*, 34-9). Of the two in question here one had held a higher, the other a lower, office than that of gymnasiarch; cf. 1412. 1-3, n. The shop was owned by the Imperial *fiscus*, and the writer of the papyrus, who was apparently the lessee, was liable for the repairs, appending a receipt for payments which he had made to an ἀπαιτητής (cf. 1419. 4, n.). General ἀπογραφαί of property according to the rules laid down by Mettius Rufus in 237. viii are not known to have taken place in the third century, and are not certainly attested after A. D. 131. 1461 seems to belong to the same class as P. Brit. Mus. 940-5 (iii. 117-21), but to have been sent in unduly late. Sellers of vegetables were apparently subject to a tax called διπ(λώματος) λαχα(νοπώλου); cf. P. Tebt. 360.

[Αὐρηλ(ίω) . . . . .]	.. [ 11 letters	15 (ἔτους) β	Αὐτοκράτο(ρο)ς	Καίσαρος
[. . . . .]ω	γενομ(ένω) ὑπομνημα-		Μάρκου	Αὐρηλ[ί]ο]υ
τ[ογράφω]			Σεουήρου	Ἀλεξάνδρου

	[κα]ὶ Αὐρη[λ(ίφ)] 'Ωρίωνι γενομ(ένφ) ἀρχιε[ρ]εῖ		Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἀθῦρ κ.
	παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἑρμαῖσκου.	20	ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἀποχ(ῆς) τὸ ἀντί- γρα(φον)·
5	ἀπογράφομαι ἔχειν ἔργασ- τήριον λαχανοπωλ(ικόν) ἐνερ- γ(όν) ἀπὸ Παχῶν γ (ἔτους) μέχρι σήμερον, ὃν ἐπὶ το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ) γ (ἔτους)		λαχανοπωλεῖ[σ]υ Ἑρμα- ῖσκου ἔσχον διὰ Διοσκόρου εἰς κατασκευὴν ἀ{ι}λ(λας) (δρ.) κ,
	πρὸς τῷ Ψοῦ ἐν κτήσει	25	(ἔτους) δ ἐπὶ λόγου (δρ.) κ, κα(ί) ὁμοί(ως) (δρ.) κ, καὶ ὁμοί(ως) (δρ.) κ, καὶ ὁμοί[σ] (δρ.) κ, καὶ ὁμοί(ως) αἰ λοιπ(αἰ) (δρ.) κδ,
10	κυριακῆ πρὸς τῇ Πλατεί- α, καὶ διαγεγραφέναι με εἰς κατασκευὴν ἀλ(λας) (δραχμὰς) κ δι(ἀ) Διοσ-		
	κόρου ἀπαιτητοῦ, ὡς ἦ ἀποχῆ περιέχει.	30	γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) ρκδ.

6. ενεργ(όν) Π.

8. γ corr. from α (?); cf. exegetical n.

‘To Aurelius . . ., ex-hypomnematographus, and Aurelius Horion, ex-chief-priest, from Aurelius Hermaiscus. I register the fact that I have a vegetable-seller’s shop in working order from Pachon of the 3rd year up to the present day, situated in the said 3rd year at Psou in Imperial ownership in Broad street, and have paid for repairs 20 drachmae more through Dioscorus, collector, as stated in the receipt. The 2nd year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Hathur 20. The copy of the receipt is as follows: For the vegetable-seller’s shop of Hermaiscus I have received through Dioscorus for repairs 20 drachmae more; the 4th year on account 20 dr.; item 20 dr.; item 20 dr.; item 20 dr.; item the remaining 24 dr.; total 124 dr.’

6-7. ἐνεργ(όν): or ἐνεργ[ο]ῦ (with λαχανοπωλ(είου) preceding; cf. l. 22) or ἐνεργ[ο]ῦ(ν); cf. crit. n.

7. γ (ἔτους): sc. of Elagabalus, the mention of whose name is avoided, as in l. 25.

8. το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ) γ (ἔτους): the number was apparently α, at any rate originally, but this is inconsistent with το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ), and, as β (cf. l. 15) cannot be read, it is best to suppose that some superfluous ink above the end of the α represents the cross-bar of a γ, the loop of the α being left uncorrected.

9. πρὸς τῷ Ψοῦ: an island called Ψῶ near Syene is known from Dittenberger, *Gr. Or. Inscr.* i. 168. 42 (cf. ii. 547), and -ψῶ with the prefix Τετρον- (found in several Hermopolite villages) occurs in P. Ryl. 108. 12. Ψοῦ seems to have been a building or τόπος, but the last letter is doubtful, being perhaps η. Ψόφ cannot be read, if ἐν is right; and, as the vestige before ν suits ε better than ω, Ψόφ (ἐ)ν or Ψόων (ἐ)ν is unsatisfactory.

10. The Πλατεία gave its name to an ἀμφοδον at Oxyrhynchus; cf. e.g. 248. 17.

12. ἀλ(λας) (δραχμὰς) κ: cf. l. 24, to which this payment refers, having been made apparently in the 3rd year of Elagabalus. κ suits the vestiges better than any other number,

κδ or ρκδ (cf. ll. 29-30) being inadmissible. It is not possible to read αἰ λ(οἰπαί) here (cf. l. 29) and regard it as a mistake for τὰς λ(οἰπάς), though in l. 24 the writer seems to have confused ἄλ(λας) with αἰ λ(οἰπαί).

22. λαχανοπωλείο[υ]: or possibly λαχανοπωλίου, but not -πώλου or πωλικό[υ].

23. ἔσχον: who issued the receipt is not stated.

24. ἄ{ι}λ(λας): cf. l. 12, n.

## 1462. TWO NOTIFICATIONS OF CESSIONS.

15 × 11.7 cm.

A.D. 83-4.

These two documents, addressed to the official in supreme charge of the administration of catoecic land (καταλοχισμοί), were joined together and numbered probably in the office of the local agent of the department (ll. 2-3, n.). They were written by persons to whom landed property had been ceded (at any rate in the second case by purchase; cf. ll. 29-30, n.), but owing to the loss of the conclusions the precise purpose of the notifications is obscure. Probably, however, they exemplify the process of μετεπιγραφή, i. e. transference of ownership in the official register of catoecic land, referred to in 273. 18 sqq. (= M. *Chrest.* 221) κα[τοι]κικῆς γῆς ἀρούρας πέντε ἄς καὶ ἐξέσ[ται] τῇ Γαίᾳ . . . ἀπὸ τῆσδε [τῆς ὄμο]-λογίας δι' ἐαυτῆς μετεπιγράφεσθαι [διὰ τῶν κ]αταλοχισμῶν. The communications addressed by the office of καταλοχισμοί to subordinates (P. Flor. 92) or to agoranomi (e. g. 45-6) are likely to have been the direct consequence of similar notifications. On the general evidence concerning the transfer of catoecic land see 45. int., Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 497 sqq., where the process as explained is probably much too elaborate, Mitteis, *Grundz.* 111-12. Both documents in 1462 mention contracts made through village γραφεῖα, i. e. parallel to those drawn up in the ἀγορανομείον or μνημονεῖον of the metropolis, which are probably indicated by the ὁμολογία in 45. 7 (cf. Mitteis, *Chrest.* 222. int.). In the second case there was an interval of at least three months between the date of the contract (Pauni of the 2nd year, l. 35) and the notification (in the 3rd year), which is accounted for by the fact that the contract was made in a distant part of Egypt; in the first case the interval is likely to have been less, especially if Παχ[ί]ον (the 9th month of the year) in l. 14 is right. But in any case the procedure seems to have been slower than that exemplified by 45, where the officials of the καταλοχισμοί-office are found communicating with the agoranomi on the day on which the sale was drawn up. With regard to the nature of the contracts we share Mitteis's objections to Preisigke's hypothesis that two different ones were necessary, and regard 273 as on a level with C. P. R. 1 (M. *Chrest.* 220) and an example of the kind of agreements indicated in 1462.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

	[	<sup>a</sup>	]		
	[	Ταρουτιλλίω?	τῷ	πρὸς τοῖς	κ]ατα-
		λ(οχισμοῖς)			
	[	διὰ Πλουτάρχ(ου)?	χειρισ]τοῦ	2nd hand	Ταρουτιλλίω
	[	παρὰ . . . . . ο]ν	Διοσ-		κ(αταλο)χ(ισμοῖς)
5	[	κόρου τοῦ Ἑρα]κλείδου			διὰ Πλουτάρχ(ου) χειριστοῦ
	[	11 letters ]	ίου τοῦ	25	παρὰ Δημη[τρ]ίου τοῦ Καλ-
	[	καὶ . . . . . ]	παρακε-		λίου τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης Σιναρῦ
	[	χώρηται δι']	έμοῦ ἢ ἀφῆ-		τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας. πα-
	[	λίξ μου θυγά]τηρ	Ἑραῖο-		ρακεχώρημαι σὺν ἐτέ-
10	[	κη? κατὰ ὁμο]λογίαν	τὴν		ροισ ὑπάρχουσι ὑποπέπτο(υσιν)
	[	τελιωθῆσαν]	διὰ τοῦ	30	ἐνκυκλίω καθ' ὁμολο-
	[	τῆς κόμης Σί]ναρὸν	τῆς		γίαν τὴν τελειωθεῖσαν
	[	κάτω το]π[αρ]χίας	γραφίου(υ)		διὰ τοῦ τῆς Νώεως καὶ
	[	τῷ Παχ]ῶν	μηνὶ		ἄλλων κωμῶν [τῆ]ς
15	[	ἐνεσ]τῶ[το]ς	γ (ἔτους)		Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρας
	[	Ἀυτοκ]ράτορος	Καίσαρ[ος]	35	γραφίου τῷ Παῦνι
	[	Δομ]ιτιανοῦ	Σεβαστοῦ		τοῦ διεληθόντος δευτέ-
	[	Γερμ]ανικοῦ	παρὰ τοῦ		ρου ἔτους Ἀυτοκράτο[ρ]ος
	[	. . . . .]ς	μου		Καίσα[α]ρος
	[	φου . . . . .]χου	Τηρω[.]ο-		Δομιτιανοῦ
20	[	15 letters ]	αλ-		β[α(στοῦ)]
	.	.	.		[Γερμ]ανικοῦ
	.	.	.		παρὰ
	.	.	.		Εὐτυχ( )
	.	.	.		40 [ . . . . . ]τ[οῦ] [ . . . . . ]ανου[ς]?
	.	.	.		.
	.	.	.		.

## ii. '2.

Το Tarutillius, superintendent of the distribution of lands, through his agent Plutarchus, from Demetrius son of Callias, inhabitant of the village of Sinaru in the lower toparchy. I have had ceded to me together with other property subject to the ἐγκύκλιον-tax, by a contract executed through the record-office of Nois and other villages in the territory of the Alexandrians in the month of Pauni of the past second year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, from Eutyech . . . son of . . . son of . . .'

2-3 (= 23-4). These lines must have projected if the restoration is correct, for only 14 and 13 letters would be expected in the two lacunae. Possibly a whole line is lost at the top, but Col. i is already higher than Col. ii. For πρὸς τοῖς κ]αταλ(οχισμοῖς) cf. P. Grenf. ii. 42. I Πύρρος ὁ πρὸς τοῖς καταλοχ(ισμοῖς) τῶν κατοίκ(ων) τῆς Αἰγύπτου in A. D. 88. Tarutillius was already in office in A. D. 81 (165). Ἑρακλείδης Ταρουτιλλίου ὁ ἀσχολ(ούμενος) τοὺς καταλοχισμοὺς τοῦ Ἐρμιοπολίτου in A. D. 84 (P. Flor. 92. 1) may have been his son. For Πλούταρχος



cf. 174, where he is called ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπιτηρητῆς καὶ χειριστῆς καταλοχισμῶν Ὀξύρυγχίτου (A. D. 88), and 345.

6-7. For the Alexandrian tribe-name there are several possibilities, but of the known deme-names Ζήνειος is the only one short enough for l. 7. It occurs in combination with the tribe-names Προπαπποσεβάστειος and Σωσικόσμιος, which are both unsuitable here; cf. the list in Jouguet, *Vie minic.* 130-1.

9-10. Ἡραΐσ[κη κατά: Ἡραΐς is a very common feminine name, but it is not easy to fill up the lacuna. Ἡραΐσκος is fairly common.

19. [. . . .]εσίον: the vestige before σ suits ε or a better than η, and to [όμογν]ησίου there is the further objection that the word following ]χου (or ]ρου) in l. 20 is not Διοσκόρου (cf. l. 4), although apparently a proper name. [νίοθ]εσίον 'adopted' is not an attested form (though cf. ἀφέσιος) and is too short.

23-4. Cf. ll. 2-3, n.

29-30. ὑποπέιπτο(υσιν) ἐνκυκλίφ: the tax on sales was 10 per cent. of the price at this period; cf. 242. int. The τέλος καταλοχισμῶν paid by incoming catoeci (P. Tebt. 357, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 305) was different; cf. 1472. 25.

32. Νώεως: this village was unknown. For the Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα see 1273. 8, n.

#### 1463. APPLICATION FOR EXAMINATION OF A SLAVE.

27.2 × 15 cm.

A. D. 215.

An application for the examination (ἀνάκρισις) of a female slave, sent to the nomarch of Antinoöpolis (l. 1, n.) through his deputy by the intending purchaser, with her signature and that of the seller. All this part of the papyrus is very well preserved, but the last few lines (26-35), which contain a letter from the deputy-nomarch, either issuing the required certificate of ἀνάκρισις or authorizing it to be made, are in the essential portion too much damaged to be intelligible. The application was written a few years after the *constitutio Antoniniana*, and naturally all the persons referred to are Aurelii. The mention in two cases (those of the guardian of the purchaser and his proxy; ll. 5 and 20) of Alexandrian tribe- and deme-names is not surprising (cf. e. g. 1458. 6); but, since the buyer was resident at Oxyrhynchus and the seller in the Heracleopolite nome, it is remarkable that the question of ἀνάκρισις should be referred to an Antinoïte official. Apart from the present document, all that is known about that process is that it was preliminary to the sale of a slave and was conducted by various officials; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 251. 6-8 (ii. 317; = M. *Chrest.* 270) ἀναδέδωκαν δὲ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι τῇ ἐωνημένῃ ἦν πεπόνηται ἐπὶ [τῆς δικαιο[δ]οσίας [τ]ῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνάκρισιν οὔσαν τῇ ἐνεστ[ώ]σῃ, P. Leipzig 4. i. 15-17 (= M. *Chrest.* 171) ἢ ὑπερ ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἀ[πογρα]φ[ῆ]ς καὶ ἀνακρίσεως ἧς πεπ[ο]νῆται two proper names τ[ῷ] καὶ Ἰππία τοῖς ἀξι[ο]λ[ο]γ[ω]τά[ι]οις [ἐ]ν[ἀ]ρχοῖς ὑπομνημ[ατο]γράφοις μετὰ καὶ τ[ῆ]ς . . .] προκτητικῆς ἀσφαλείας . . . ἀνέδωκεν ὁ ἀ[ποδό]μενος], 1209. 19-21 ἀνα[κριθί]σης τῆς Τερεῦτος ὡς διὰ τοῦ προτέρου χρηματισμοῦ [δηλοῦται]. Mitteis (*Grundz.* 192) explains ἀνάκρισις as

a permit for the sale, Preisigke (*Fachwörter*, s.v.) as a certificate containing an official description of the slave. The fact that a precise description of the slave is given in the application (1463. 10-11), and that *γνωρίζων* occurs in the letter of the deputy-nomarch (l. 30; cf. the *γνωστήρες* who appear in connexion with the *ἐπίκρισις* of slaves and others in 1451. 27), indicates that the 'examination' was intended to establish the identity of the slave, and somewhat resembled the process of *ἐπίκρισις*; cf. 1451. int. The intervention of the Antinoïte nomarch may have been due to the circumstance that the birth-certificate of the slave was deposited at Antinoöpolis during a former period of residence of her mistress at that city. The beginnings of ll. 30-1 are on a separate fragment, of which the exact position is uncertain; it can be assigned to the beginnings of ll. 28-9 or 29-30.

Ἀύρηλίωι Ἀμμωνίωι νομάρχηι Ἀντινοῦ πόλεως  
 διὰ Ἀύρηλίου Ἀπόλλωνος τ[ο]ῦ καὶ Σερήνο[υ] διαδόχου  
 παρὰ Ἀύρηλίας Κλαυδίας Σαραπίωνος ἀπ' Ὀξύρυγχων  
 πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸς Μάρκου Ἀύρη-  
 5 λίου Ἀμμωνίου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀμερίμνου Σωσι-  
 κοσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως. βουλομένη ὠνήσασ(θαι) παρὰ  
 Ἀύρηλίας Ἀρτεμείτος Ἀμόιτος μητρὸς Ταφαμί-  
 τος ἀπὸ Χοινώθειας τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου νομοῦ  
 χωρὶς κυρίου χρημα(τιζούσης) δικαίων τέκνων δούλην  
 10 ὀνόματι Τυραννίδαν γένει Ἀσιαγενὴν λευκόχρουν  
 ὡς (ἑτῶν) κδ εἰ καὶ τι(νι) ἔτρω ὀνόματι καλεῖται,  
 ἀξιώ τὴν ταύτης ἀνάκρισιν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ κε-  
 λευσθέντα. διευτύχει. (ἔτους) κδ Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου  
 15 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρεττανικοῦ Μεγίστο[υ] Γερμανικοῦ  
 Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Θωθ ιη. (2nd hand) Ἀύρη-  
 λία Κλ[α]υδία ἐπιδέδωκ[α.] (3rd hand) Ἀύρηλ(ιος)  
 Ἀμμώνιος ἐπιγέγραμμαι τῆς γυ[να]ϊκός  
 μου κύριος. Σερήνος Σαραπίων[ος το]ῦ Χαιρή-  
 20 μονος Φυλαξιθαλάσσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλ[θαιεύ]ς  
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότο[ς] γράμ[μα]τα.  
 {μὴ εἰδότ[ο]ς} (4th hand) Ἀύρηλ(ία) Ἀρτεμείς εὐδοκῶ. Ἀύρηλ(ιος)  
 Καλλίνικος ὁ καὶ Κοπρέας Ἡρακλείδου μητρὸς

- Ἰσεῖτος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως ἔγραψα ὑ-
- 25 [πὲρ] τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γυναικὸς γράμματα  
[μὴ εἰδυίας. (5th hand) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀ]μμώνιος νομάρχης Ἀντι-  
[νόου πόλ(εως) διὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου)] Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Σ[ε]ρήνου διαδόχου  
[ 15 letters ] ἀντὶ ἀποδ[ 20 l.  
[ 14 letters ]ειοις τῶ ὑπ[ 29 l.
- 30 εἴτε[.]ρ[.] . . . . .] γνωρίζων [ 19 l.  
ἐπιτελε[ν] . . . . .]υτον κεινδυ[ν 17 l.  
ὡς σ[ 11 l. ]θη. ἔσημιω[σάμην. (ἔτους) κδ  
Αὐτοκ[ράτορος] Καίσαρος Μ[άρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου  
Παρτικ[οῦ Μεγ]ίστου Βρετα[νικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ  
35 Μεγίστο[ν Εὐ]τυχοῦς Σεβ[αστοῦ

7. ταφamoίτος Π. 9. l. δικαίφ. 11. ερ of ετερω corr. from ω (?). 15. βρετ'τα-  
νικου Π. 17. ω of επιδεδωκα corr. 21. ὑπερ Π; so in l. 24. 24. ἴσειτος Π. 34.  
l. Παρθικ[οῦ].

‘To Aurelius Ammonius, nomarch of Antinoöpolis, through Aurelius Apollo also called Serenus, his deputy, from Aurelia Claudia daughter of Sarapion, of Oxyrhynchus, with her guardian, who is her husband, Marcus Aurelius Ammonius son of Dionysius son of Amerimnus, of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althaeon deme. As I wish to buy from Aurelia Artemeis daughter of Amois and Taphamois, from Choinothis in the Heracleopolite nome, acting without a guardian by the *ius liberorum*, a female slave called Tyrannis, of Asiatic descent, white-skinned, aged about 24 years, or by whatever other name she is called, I request that her examination may be held in accordance with the orders on the subject. Farewell.’ Date, signatures of Aurelia Claudia and her guardian, the latter written by Serenus, and of Aurelia Artemeis, written by the brother of her husband, and part of a letter from the nomarch, through his deputy.

1. νομάρχη Ἀντινόου πόλεως: the nomarch at Antinoöpolis seems to have taken the place of the strategus at other nome-capitals; cf. Kuhn, *Antinoöpolis*, 143 sqq.

8. The early Ptolemaic form of Χοινῶθις was Χοιβνῶθμις, found in P. Hibeh 112. 26 and 68. 3, which also indicates that it was in the Κωίτης toparchy (cf. 1416. 13, n.). Χοινῶθμις occurs in P. Stud. Pal. x. 8. 2 (4th cent.).

11. εἰ καὶ τι(νι) ἐτέρφ οἰόματι: this is the regular phrase; cf. B. G. U. 316. 12, P. Strassb. 79. 2.

22. The fact that Aurelia Artemeis, though acting without a κύριος (l. 9), was unable to write is noticeable in view of the importance elsewhere attached to a knowledge of writing as a condition for dispensing with a κύριος; cf. 1467. int.

27. Ἀπολλωνίου: in l. 2 Ἀπόλλωνος.

28. Perhaps ἀντὶ ἀποδ[όσεως, sc. of the charge for ἀνάκρισις.

29. τῶ ὑπ[: possibly τῶ ἰσι[όντι, with ἔτε[ι in the next line; but the bottom of ι, if that letter followed ετε[ ], would be expected to be visible, and the position of the fragment containing the beginnings of ll. 30-1 is uncertain; cf. int.

31. ἐπιτελε[ν] . . . seems to be a participle, but ἐπιτελε[ι] is possible.

## 1464. DECLARATION OF PAGAN SACRIFICE.

17.2 x 9.8 cm.

A. D. 250.

On the recto of this papyrus is a *libellus* of the period of the Decian persecution, containing a declaration of conformity to pagan worship, like 658. Examples of these *libelli* from the Arsinoïte nome are now numerous; cf. P. M. Meyer, *Abhand. d. Berl. Akad.* 1910 and *Griech. Texte*, 15-17, and P. Ryl. 12, 112. The present specimen differs slightly from the normal type, mentioning a *θεία κρίσις* (i. e. Imperial decree) in l. 6, and indicating that part, if not all, of the writer's family associated with him was represented by himself (l. 10, n.). The official signatures appended to most of the Arsinoïte *libelli* are here absent. 658 is incomplete at the end, but in the light of 1464 the signature in the last extant line of that papyrus is almost certainly that of the writer of the document.

The verso contains parts of ten lines of an account of names (e. g. Βησᾶς, Ψεναμοῦνις) and drachmae, written soon after 250.

[Τοῖς] ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν αἰρεθείισι τῆς  
 [Ὀ]ξύρρυγχειτῶν πόλεως  
 [παρ]ὰ Αὐρηλίου Γαιῶνος Ἀμμωνίου  
 [μη]τρὸς Ταεῦτος. αἰεὶ μὲν θύειν καὶ  
 5 [σπ]ένδειν καὶ σέβειν θεοῖς εἰθισμένος  
 [κατ]ὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς θείας κρίσεως  
 [καὶ] νῦν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν θύων καὶ σπέν-  
 [δων] καὶ γευσάμενος τῶν ἱερείων ἅμα  
 [Τα?]ῶπι γυναικὶ [καὶ] Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ Ἀμμο-  
 10 [νι]ῶν υἱοῖς καὶ Θέκλα θυγατρὶ δι' ἐμοῦ κ[α]ὶ  
 [ἀξί]ῳ ὑποσημιώσασθαί μοι. (ἔτους) α  
 [Αὐ]τοκράτορος Κ[α]ί[σαρος] Γαίου Μεσσίου  
 [Κυ]ίντου Τ[ρ]αιανοῦ Δεκίου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 [Εὐ]τυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειφ γ. Αὐρή[λιος]  
 15 [Γαι]ῶν ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρή[λιος] Σαραπίων  
 [ὁ κ(αὶ)] Χαιρήμων ἔγρ[αψα] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ [εἰδῶ-  
 [τος] γράμματα.

3. γαιῶνος Π; so in l. 15 γαιῶν. 7. ὑμων Π. 8. ἱερειων Π. 12. γαιῶν Π.

'To the commissioners of sacrifices at Oxyrhynchus from Aurelius Gaion son of Ammonius and Tacus. It has ever been my habit to make sacrifices and libations and pay

reverence to the gods in accordance with the orders of the divine decree, and now I have in your presence sacrificed and made libations and tasted the offerings with Taos my wife, Ammonius and Ammonianus my sons, and Thecla my daughter, acting through me, and I request you to certify my statement. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 3. I, Aurelius Gaion, have presented this application. I, Aurelius Sarapion also called Chaeremon, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate.'

1. [Τοῖς] ἐπὶ τῶν θουσιῶν αἰρεθεῖσι: this, with the perfect in place of the aorist, is the usual title of the commissioners; in 658. 1 they are called τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερ(εῖ)ων [καὶ] θουσιῶν.

5. σέβειν: in the Arsinoïte *libelli* εὐσεβεῖν is used, more correctly.

9. [Τα]ῶτι: cf. e. g. 256. 4, B. G. U. 26. 18, and Ταεῦτος in l. 4.

10. Θέκλα: cf. e. g. 1059. 2 (5th cent.). Whether δι' ἐμοῦ refers to her alone, or to the wife and sons also, is not clear; cf. int. In 658 a son and daughter are mentioned; but the Arsinoïte *libelli* generally mention one person only, even when ὑμᾶς occurs in the attestation of the officials.

κ[α]ί: this is superfluous, as the writer has participles instead of indicatives in ll. 6-7; cf. 658. 11-12.

## VI. PETITIONS

### 1465. PETITION CONCERNING THEFT.

14.3 × 10.5 cm.

First century B. C.

A petition to an official, complaining of a theft of corn and asking for the arrest of the suspected thieves. The script is practically uncial, resembling that of 1453 (30-29 B. C.), and the phraseology of the concluding section (ll. 9-16) is in the Ptolemaic style, so that the papyrus is as likely to have been written in the reign of Cleopatra (or possibly Ptolemy Auletes) as in the early part of the reign of Augustus. Owing to the loss of the beginning it is uncertain which magistrate is addressed, but the phrase καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σέ (l. 12) suggests the strategus or ἐπιστάτης φυλακιδῶν: cf. e. g. P. Ryl. 136. 14, 149. 23. Pauses are indicated by short blank spaces after κοιταζόμε[ν]ους (l. 9), π[ρ]οσ[α]γγέλλων (l. 10), and κομίσωμαι (l. 13).

. . . . .

[ἀ]νελεθ[ε]ῖν ἀπὸ ἧς ἔχω ἄλω  
περὶ τὸ Πεκύσιος Ἰσιεῖον ἀπ[η]νέγ-  
[κα]ντο ληστροικῶι τρόπαι εἰς (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) δ,  
ὁμοίως καὶ ἀφ' ἧ[ς] ἔχ]ω περὶ τ[ὸ] αὐτὸ

- 5 Ἴσιειὸν ἀλ[λ]ῆς ἄλω ἧς γεωργῶι  
 βασιλικῆς [γ]ῆς εἰς ἄλλας (πυροῦ) [(ἀρτάβας)] δ.  
 καθυπονοῶν οὖν εἰς Σαραπίωνα  
 ἀλωνοφύλα[κ]α καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκεῖ  
 κοιταζο[μ]έ[ν]ους, ὧν χάριν ἠνομη-  
 10 μ[έ]νος π[ρ]οσ[α]γγέλλων, ἀξιῶ συν-  
 τ[ά]ξαι ἐ[κ]ζητήσαντας τοὺς ἀ[ί]τιο[υ]ς  
 καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σέ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μὲν  
 τὰ εἰλημμένα κομίσωμαι, οἱ δὲ φανη-  
 σόμενοι αἴτιοι τύχω[σ]ι ὧν προσήκει  
 15 πρὸς ἐπίστασιν ἄλλων, ἵν' ὧ ἀντει-  
 λημμένος.

εὐτύχει.

8. φυλα[κ]α of αλωνοφυλ. above the line.

'. . . before I returned, thievishly carried off from the threshing-floor, which I own near Iseum Pekusios, as much as 4 artabae of wheat, and likewise from another threshing-floor, which I own near the same Iseum for the Crown-land cultivated by me, as much as 4 more artabae of wheat. I have suspicions against Sarapion, guard of the threshing-floors, and the others who sleep there. Wherefore having been wronged I appeal to you, and request you to give orders (to your subordinates) to search out the guilty persons and bring them before you, in order that I may recover the stolen property, and the persons who shall be proved guilty may receive due punishment, so as to prevent others, and that I may obtain relief. Farewell.'

1. [ἀ]νελε[ί]ω: πρίν με may have preceded. π can be read in place of ν, and the following ἀπό is very uncertain, but [εἰ]σελεθ[ε]ῖ[ν] εἰς ἀφ' ἧς is inadmissible. The lacuna at the end of the line has room for 2 or 3 more letters, and ἐ[χ]ομεν is possible, in spite of ἐχ[ω] in l. 4.

2. Πεκύσιος Ἴσιειὸν: several villages called after shrines of Isis are known in the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. 1488. 28, n.); but this one is new.

7. καθυπονοῶν οὖν: the sentence begins as if ἀξιῶ was to be the main verb, but the writer makes a fresh start in l. 9 with ὧν χάριν, adding two more participles. εἰς Σαραπίωνα is an unusual construction: the accusative simply after καθυπονοεῖν occurs in P. Ryl. 146. 19, the genitive in P. S. I. 168. 26.

8. ἀλωνοφύλα[κ]α: cf. the 6 ἀλωνοφύλακες mentioned together with an ἀρχέφοδος and ἀρχιπεδιοφύλαξ in a list of δημόσιοι of Seruphis, an Oxyrhynchite village, in a Leipzig papyrus cited by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 415. In P. Ryl. 90. 2, &c., ἀλωνοφυλ(ακίαν) is probably to be read in place of the unusual ἀγωνοφυλ(ακίαν).

10. π[ρ]οσ[α]γγέλλων: a participle has superseded the indicative as in l. 7, the writer making a pause after -λων (cf. int.). This word is common in Ptolemaic petitions; cf. P. Hibeh 36. 1, 37. 2, Ryl. 68. 17, P. S. I. 172. 7.

15. πρὸς ἐπίστασιν ἄλλων: this phrase can now be recognized in the very cursively written P. Amh. 35. 48, where l. πρὸς ἐπίστα(σιν) ἄλλων.

## 1466. BILINGUAL REQUEST FOR A GUARDIAN.

11.3 × 15.7 cm.

A. D. 245. Plate I.

A request for the appointment of a guardian, addressed to the praefect Valerius Firmus by a woman, in both Latin and Greek. The writing is across the fibres, and the right-hand half of the document is lost, but can be restored by the aid of 720 (= M. *Chrest.* 324), a similar request in Latin to the same praefect two years later, and 1201, a bilingual application for *agnitio bonorum possessionis* in A. D. 258. The Latin cursive writing is much smaller and more rapidly penned than that of those papyri and 1114 (A. D. 237) and 1271 (A. D. 246). 720 was the original petition, containing the actual signatures of the applicant and her proposed guardian (both in Greek), with the answer made in the office of the praefect and a remark of assent, probably in the praefect's own handwriting. 1466 also has at the bottom the answer to the petition, but in Greek, not Latin, and since the signatures appended to the Greek text are not autographs, the document is clearly a copy made in the praefect's office, the Greek docket appended to the Latin text giving the number of the original petition, which had been entered in the praefect's books. The Latin version is probably only a partial copy of the original, the Latin date and answer being omitted in l. 2, but translated in ll. 6-7 and 10; cf. 1201. 21-2, where the Latin answer of the praefect is translated. Lines 1-3, which are close to the upper margin, may even have been written after ll. 4-10. The lower part of the papyrus contains traces of an earlier document which has been expunged, and on the verso are three widely separated lines, apparently of an account, in a different hand, besides traces of other writing at right angles, all of which seem to have been intentionally obliterated. The text of the account is <sup>1</sup>λ . . α . ηου εἰς σφ( ) ρ . [, <sup>2</sup> Ἀδρη- λ(ίου) Ἀχιλλ(έως) υἱ(οῦ) φ, <sup>3</sup> Ἀδρηλ(ίου) Ἀμμωνίου Κεφαλ( ) . [.

The juristic aspects of 720 in relation to the other evidence concerning the appointment of guardians are discussed by Mitteis, *Zeitschr. f. d. Savignyst.* xxix. 390 sqq., *Grundz.* 248 sqq. Local magistrates were also competent to appoint them before and after the *constitutio Antoniniana* (cf. 1473. 20, n.), and whether the guardian appointed by the praefect was permanent or *πρὸς μόνην ταύτην τὴν οἰκονομίαν* (56. 16) is not clear. Incidentally 1466 provides the earliest date for the praefecture of Valerius Firmus, which is carried back to Pachon 26 (May 21), 245. In P. Flor. 4. 5, written in the same month without mention of the day, a different praefect is found, Aurelius Basileus. The latter is also mentioned in 1277. recto as holding office on Mesore 25 (Aug. 18) of the 5th year of an unspecified reign, which is more likely to have been Gordian's (i. e. A. D. 242) than that of the

Philippi (248), which was suggested in 1277. int. In 241 the praefect seems to have been Annianus (P. Strassb. 41. 17), and C. Julius Priscus was vice-praefect about this period (C. I. L. vi. 1638).

- 1 *Valerio Firmo praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) ab Aurelia Arsinoe. rogo,*  
*domine, [des mihi auctorem e lege Iulia et Titia Aurelium]*  
 2 *Ermimum.* (ἔτους) β Παχῶν κς. κόλ(λημα) ρδ τ(όμος) εἶς.  
 3 ἐρμηνεία τῶν Ῥω[μαϊκῶν]  
 2nd hand 4 Οὐαλερίῳ Φίρμῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου πα[ρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀρσινόης.  
 ἐρωτῶ, κύριε, δοῦναί μοι  
 5 κύριον ἐπιγραφόμενον κατὰ νόμον Ἰούλιον κ[αὶ Τίτιον Αὐρήλιον  
 Ἑρμείνου. ἐδόθη?  
 6 πρὸ ιβ καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων Αὐτοκρά[τορι Φιλίππῳ Σεβαστῶ καὶ  
 Τιτιανῶ  
 7 ὑπάτοις. Αὐρηλία Ἀρσινόη Σαραπίωνος ἐπιδέδωκα αἰτουμένη τὸν  
 Αὐρήλιον Ἑρμεί-  
 8 νον κύριόν μου ἐπιγραφῆναι. Αὐρήλιος Τιμα[γένης 11 letters  
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς  
 9 μὴ εἰδυῖς γράμματα. Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμείνος Διονυ[σίου εὐδοκῶ τῇ  
 δεήσει. (ἔτους) β Παχῶν κς. ?  
 3rd hand 10 εἰ μὴ ἔχεις ἐτέρου κυρίου δίκαιον ὃν ἀ[ίτε]ί κύριον? δίδωμι.

2. τ) Π.

'To Valerius Firmus, praefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Arsinoë. I ask you, my lord, to give me as guardian according to the Julian and Titian law Aurelius Herminus. The 2nd year, Pachon 26. Sheet 94, vol. 1.

Translation of the Latin:

To Valerius Firmus &c. Presented on the 12th day before the calends of June in the consulship of the Emperor Philippus Augustus and Titianus. I, Aurelia Arsinoë daughter of Sarapion, have presented the petition, requesting that Aurelius Herminus should be appointed my guardian. I, Aurelius Timagenes(?) son of . . ., wrote for her as she is illiterate. I, Aurelius Herminus son of Dionysius, consent to the petition. The 2nd year, Pachon 26.

Unless you have the right to another guardian, I grant you the guardian for whom you ask.'

1. The restoration is derived from 720. 3-4, where *et* is omitted before *Titia*, whereas in l. 14 it was inserted, as probably here, since κ[αὶ] in l. 5 is practically certain, Τ[ίτιον] being inadmissible. *rogo, domine, des mihi* also occurs in 1201. 3. Line 1 seems to have been in any case longer than ll. 4-8, and probably no word corresponding to *ἐπιγραφόμενον* in l. 5 (*inscribendum*?) occurred in it.



2. The Egyptian date, which perhaps occurred also in l. 9, here belongs to the docket, the original Latin date corresponding to that in l. 6 being omitted; cf. int. The  $\tau$  of  $\tau(\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma)$  (cf. crit. n.) was written like a  $\nu$ , as in 1201. 11  $\tau(\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma)$  εἶς.

3. τῶν Ἐρωμαϊκῶν: cf. 1201. 12.

4. ἐρωτῶ . . . μοι: cf. 1201. 15.

5. ἐπιγραφόμενον was probably not represented in the Latin; cf. l. 1, n. For Ἰούλιον κ[αὶ Τίτιον cf. l. 1, n., and for ἐδόθη 1201. 19.

7. For εἰπιδέδωκα cf. 1201. 5 (in 720. 8 there is a lacuna), and for αἰτουμένη 1201. 6.

8. Τιμαγένης: the reading is very uncertain. The first letter might be E or Θ, but Ἐρμεῖνος (cf. l. 9) is unsuitable.

9. εἰδοκῶ τῇ δέσει: cf. 720. 9-10. The insertion of the date is suggested by 1201. 21, but the space may have been blank.

10. 720. 12-15 has *quo ne ab [iusto tutore tutela] (so Wilcken, comparing Lex Salpensana l. 43) abeat, Pl[utammone] e lege Iul. et [Tit. auctorem] do*, which means the same. The point of the reservation is illustrated by P. Tebt. 397. 25-6 ἐνποδίζομαι μὴ ἔχουσα τὸν ἐπιγραφησόμενόν μου κύριον τῶ τὸν συνόντα μοι ἄνδρα . . . ἐπὶ ξένης εἶναι καὶ μὴ περιεῖναι μοι πατέρα μηδὲ τοῦ πατρὸς πατέρα μηδὲ ἕχιν με ἀδελφὸν ἢ υἷόν. That papyrus dates from before the *constitutio Antoniniana*, but Graeco-Egyptian law did not differ appreciably from Roman on this point.

1467. PETITION FOR *IUS TRIUM LIBERORUM*.

25.8 × 8.1 cm.

A. D. 263.

This interesting document is a petition to a praefect from a woman, Aurelia Thaisous also called Lolliane, claiming the right to act without a guardian in virtue of her possession of three children and ability to write, and asking for official sanction of her application. This was duly granted by the response added at the end, which is in the same hand as the petition, showing that the document is a copy, not the original. The beginning is lost, but evidently only a few lines containing the address are missing before l. 1. The date (l. 29) is the 10th year of an unnamed Emperor, who is almost certainly Gallienus both on palaeographical grounds and because the same woman, with her alternative names generally reversed, recurs in 1475 acting without a guardian in the 14th year of that Emperor. The only other possible reign here is that of Severus Alexander, but the handwriting and the use of the epithet *διασημότατος* applied to the praefect strongly favour the later date. The praefect therefore is likely to have been Aurelius Theodotus, who is known from P. Strassb. 5. 6-7, 18 to have been in office on Mesore 21 of the 9th year and in an unknown month of the 10th year. On or before Pharmouthi 2 of the 13th year the praefect was Κουστῳάνιος I[ . . . (P. Ryl. 165. 9), and perhaps another praefect who held office shortly before the 14th year was Claudius Theodorus (C. P. Herm. 119. recto iv. 25).

There are frequent references in papyri, especially after the *constitutio Antoniniana*, to Roman women acting *χωρὶς κυρίου τέκνων δικαίω κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων*

ἔθῃ; cf. 1463. 9, Kübler, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xxx. 156 sqq.; but this is the first papyrus to illustrate the process by which the right was secured. The fact that so high an official as the praefect was addressed on the subject indicates that the privilege was by no means a 'reichsrechtliche Floskel', as suggested by Partsch in reviewing Kübler (*Archiv*, v. 472). The only extant parallel for 1467 is 1264, an application from an Oxyrhynchite citizen to the local magistrates for recognition of the right to ἀπὸ τῶν γόμων ἀσυλία, which was based (the correction εὐπαιδείας for εὐναυδείας in l. 18 is confirmed by 1467. 11) upon the *ius liberorum* established by the *Lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea*; cf. 1264. int. The mention in ll. 4-5 of the number of children (by Roman law three in the case of a Roman woman, four in that of a freedwoman; cf. Kübler, *l.c.*) conveys the impression that they were all living, but it is not certain that the survival of the children was necessary for the granting of the *ius trium liberorum*. That a knowledge of writing was also generally required, though not an absolutely necessary condition (ll. 8-10, 13-15; cf. 1463. 22, n.), is new and interesting. Neither Roman nor Graeco-Egyptian law was known to have laid stress on this condition in connexion with the independence of women, though in the light of 1467 the point of ἐπισταμένη γράμματα in 56. 12 is now clear; cf. 1473. 21.

· · · · ·  
 [· ·] · α[· · ·] · · [·] · · · [· · ·] δ[ιαση-  
 μότατε ἡγεμών, οἵτινες  
 ἐξουσίαν διδόασιν ταῖς γυναι-  
 ξίν ταῖς τῶν τριῶν τέκνων  
 5 δικαίῳ κεκοσμημένα[ι]ς ἑαυ-  
 τῶν κυριεύειν καὶ χωρ[ί]ς κυ-  
 ρίου χρηματίζειν ἐν αἷς ποι-  
 οῦν[τ]αι οἰκονομίαις, πο[λλ]ῶ  
 δὲ πλέον ταῖς γρά[μ]ματα  
 10 ἐπισταμέναις. καὶ αὐτὴ τοί-  
 νυν τῶ μὲν κόσμῳ τῆς εὐ-  
 παιδείας εὐτυχήσασα,  
 ἐνγράμματος δὲ κα[ί] ἐ[ς] τὰ  
 μάλιστα γράφειν εὐκόπως  
 15 δυναμένη, ὑπὸ περισσῆς

ἀσφαλείας διὰ τούτων μου  
 τῶ[ν] βιβλειδίων προσφω(νῶ)  
 τῶ σῶ μεγέθι πρὸς τὸ δύνα-  
 σθαι ἀνεμποδίστως ἄς ἐν-  
 20 τεύθην ποιῶμαι οἰκ[ον]ομία[ς]  
 διαπράσσεσθαι. ἀξιώ ἔχει[ν]  
 αὐτὰ ἀπροκρίτως τοῖς δι-  
 καίοις μ[ο]υ ἐν τῇ σῆ τοῦ [δια-  
 σημοτάτου τ[ά]ξι, ἵν' ὦ β[ε]βο-  
 25 ηθ[η]μένῃ κ[α]ὶ ἐ[σ]ταεὶ ὁμοίας?  
 χάριτας ὁμολογήσω. διευτ[ύ]χ[ει].  
 Αὐρηλία Θαισ[ο]ῦς ἡ καὶ Λολλ[ι]-  
 ανὴ διεπεμψάμην πρὸς ἐ-  
 πίδοσιν. ἔτους ι' Ἐπίφ κα.  
 30 ἔσται σο[ῦ] τὰ βιβλία ἐν τῇ [τάξι.

14. κ Of ευκοπως above β deleted, and οπ possibly corr.  
 27. θαῖσ[ο]ῦς Π.

15. ὑπο Π.

24. ἴν Π.

' . . . (Laws have been made), most eminent praefect, which enable women who are honoured with the right of three children to be independent and act without a guardian in all business which they transact, especially those women who know how to write. Accordingly I too, fortunately possessing the honour of being blessed with children, and a writer who am able to write with the greatest ease, in the fullness of my security appeal to your highness by this my application with the object of being enabled to carry out without hindrance all the business which I henceforth transact, and beg you to keep it without prejudice to my rights in your eminence's office, in order that I may obtain your assistance and acknowledge my unfailing gratitude. Farewell. I, Aurelia Thaisous also called Lolliane, sent this for presentation. The 10th year, Epeiph 21.

Your application shall be kept in the office.'

1. Something like νόμοι γεγένηται is expected, and νόμοι | [πά]λα[ι γε]γέ[ν]ηται is possible; but the vestiges are too slight to afford a real clue, and the verb may have been [.]τα[ι. κατά τούς νόμους takes the place of κατά τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη in P. Strassb. 29. 29.

13. κα[ι] ε[ς] τὰ μάλιστα; οἶσα [καὶ] τά cannot be read.

17. προσφω(νῶ): of the supposed φ only the tail survives, and the top of the σ is lost. προσ[ε]χω and προσ[ά]χω are both unsatisfactory.

22. ἀπροκρίτως: cf. P. Leipzig 64. 17, where it seems to mean 'provisionally', and P. Flor. 68. 13 χωρὶς προκρίμ[μ]ατος.

24. τάξι: cf. l. 30, B. G. U. 981. i. 10 τὰ τῆς τάξεως βιβλία, and the τάξις ἐπάρχου in e. g. 1422. 2. The meaning 'list' (cf. e. g. 1551. 16) is inapplicable here.

25. εἰ[σ]αεὶ ὁ[μοί]ας: the supplement is rather long.

#### 1468. PETITION CONCERNING OWNERSHIP OF SLAVES.

25 × 14.9 cm.

About A. D. 258.

A petition to the deputy-praefect, L. Mussius Aemilianus (ll. 1-2, n.), concerning the rightful ownership of some slaves. After a prelude in general terms (ll. 4-10; cf. 1469. 3-5), the writer accuses Syrus, his great-uncle, of having made a false claim to the ownership of two slaves born to a female slave belonging to his mother. This attempted fraud had been accidentally detected, and the writer's mother had taken steps (by petitioning a praefect?; cf. l. 28, n.) to vindicate her rights, which remained undisputed during her lifetime. Shortly before the date of the petition she had died, and complications had evidently arisen in connexion with the bequeathal of the slaves; but after l. 32 the papyrus, which becomes seriously damaged after l. 25, ceases to be intelligible, and soon afterwards breaks off, apparently at the point where the writer, having finished his narrative, was asking for assistance. Blank spaces, indicating a pause, occur after διήγησω (l. 11), [ἐ]άντην (l. 17), -θεν (l. 20), ἰδίω[υ]ς (l. 26).

On the verso are traces of an expunged document.

Λουκίῳ Μουσιῳ Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ

δίεποντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Θεωνεῖνου τοῦ καὶ Ἀφύνχιος Διοσκόρου μητρὸς Τα-  
αφύνχιος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως. τοῖς κακουργεῖν προχεί-

5 ρως ἔχουσιν τέχνη οὐ δικαίας ἐπινοίας πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν

ὄφελος ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὠρισμένοις

ἐπιτειμίῳς ὑποβάλλει ἢ σὴ εὐτονος καὶ περὶ πάντα ἀκοίμη-  
τος πρόνοια. τοιούτου οὖν κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιχειρουμένου ἐπὶ

τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν καταφεύγω θαρρῶν τεύξεσθαι τῶν προσ-

10 ὄντων μοι δικαίων, ἡγεμῶν κύριε. τὰ δὲ τοῦ πράγματος

τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν διήγησιν. γέγονεν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ μη-

τρὶ Τααφύνχει ἀπὸ κληρονομίας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Θατρῆ-

τος Ἀπολλωνίου θεράπεινα Θαῆσις ἐξ οἰκογενοῦς δούλης

Τααφύνχιος. ταύτην τὴν δούλην ἀπογραψαμένη τῇ

15 πρὸς τὸ θ (ἔτος) τῆς θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείας κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπο-

γραφῇ καὶ τὴν δεσποτείαν καὶ τὴν νομὴν εἶχεν

αὐτῆς [ύ]φ' [ἔα]μτῆν. ζή[τ]ησιν δέ ποτε ποιουμένη περὶ

οἰ[κο]π[έδων ?] καὶ ἀνερα[υ]μῶσα ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τόπων

δημο[σίοις ἀρχ]εί[σ]ις τὰ] ἔνγραφα εὐρέν τι κακουργη-

20 θέν. τὸν γὰρ πρὸ[ς μητ]ρῶ[ς] αὐτῆς θεῖον Σύρον Ἀπολ-

[λω]μίου καὶ τὴν γυναικ[α ἀπογραψαμένους μὲν εἰ-

[δε]ν κ . γ[. . .] τοὺς ἐκ Θα]ήσιος γεγονότας παῖδας Ἀπολ-

[λώ]μιον κ[αὶ Ἀρσει]τα, τὰς] δὲ δεσποτείας καὶ κυρίας ἄλλο-

[τριώ]σαντα[ς, ὃ οὐ . .]δ[.]τον οὐδὲ προσῆκον ἦν, μᾶλλον

25 [δὲ ο]ύκ ἀν[. . . .]ραν ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους

[ὡς ?] ἰδί[σ]υς. μ[. . .]αι τῶ[ν τε] λαογράφων τὸ ἀληθές

[. .]μξαμ[. . . . .] . τ[ῆ]ς κ[α]κουργίας ταύτης μὴ σιωπη-

[σά]ση μ[. . . . .]τ[.]ετ[ο ?] παρὰ Τιτιανῶ Κλωδιανῶ

[. . .]α . [ . . . . . , καὶ ἔ]ως μὲν ἐκείνη περ[ι]ῆν ἀναμφι-

30 [σβή]τητοι ἐγένοντ[ο] ἢ τῆ[ς] Ἀρσε[ῖ]το[ς] καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου

[κυρία καὶ οἱ τοῦτων] καρποί, τ[ου]τέστιν μὴ ἐπιγεγνωσ-

[κ . . . . . μετα]λ[λ]αξάσης τῆς μητρὸς μου πρὸ μη-

[νῶν 16 letters] . . οἱ κληρονόμοι τῶν προει-

[ρημένων . . . . .]ρ[.]α νεαρ[ά]ς περὶ τῶν ἀνδραπό-

35 [δων ἀποδείξεις ? . . . π ?]ώποτε τοὺς κληρονομηθέντας

[ 23 letters ] . τ[ . . . . ] ν ὑπῆρχ[ε] . [ . .  
 [ 28 ,, κα]ταφεύγω αυτ[ι].

4-5. ω of προχειρος corr. 7. ὑποβαλλει Π. 17. [ῥ]φ Π. 27. Above τ of τ[η]ς is an interlinear letter, and others may have been lost. 29. ν of εκεινη corr.  
 32. μετα]λ'[λ]αξιασης Π. 36. ὑπηρχ[ε] Π.

‘To Lucius Mussius Aemilianus, the most eminent deputy-praefect, from Aurelius Theoninus also called Aphunchis, son of Dioscorus and Taaphunchis, of Oxyrhynchus. The wicked designs of those who are ready to commit crimes by artifice are not only made to be no avail, but are subjected to the decreed penalties of the laws by your active and in all cases unrelaxing vigilance. Accordingly I, being the victim of such designs, appeal to your nobility with the full confidence that I shall obtain the rights due to me, my lord praefect. The statement of my case is as follows. My mother Taaphunchis obtained by inheritance from her mother, Thatres daughter of Apollonius, a serving-maid Thaësis, daughter of a slave born in the house, called Taaphunchis. This slave she registered in the house to house census in the 9th year of the reign of the deified Alexander, and held the ownership and possession of her for herself. On one occasion, when conducting an inquiry concerning building-land and examining the documents in the local public archives, she discovered that a fraud had been committed. She saw that her maternal uncle Syrus son of Apollonius and his wife registered . . . the children born to Thaësis, Apollonius and Harseis, and alienated the rights of lordship and ownership, which was . . . and wrong, nay more it was (intolerable?) that they should take away slaves which did not belong to them as if they were their own. . . . (my mother) did not maintain silence about this fraud, (but presented a petition?) to Titianus Clodianus; and during her lifetime the ownership of Harseis and Apollonius and usufruct of them were undisputed, that is to say . . . After my mother’s death . months ago, . . . the heirs of the aforesaid . . . (made) new (declarations) concerning the slaves . . .’

1-2. Mussius Aemilianus is also called διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 11. 9, and in 1201. 14 on Thoth 27 of the 6th year of Valerian and Gallienus (Sept. 24, 258). In 1201. 1 (the same day) he is styled *praef(ectus) Aegypti*, as in P. Ryl. 110. 7 ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμών on an unnamed day of Phaophi of the 7th year (Sept. 28—Oct. 27, 259). The holders of the praefecture during the reigns of Gallus and Aemilianus, and the first five years of Valerian and Gallienus are unknown; in Decius’ reign Aurelius Appius Sabinus was praefect on July 17, 250 (C. P. R. 20. ii. 1), and for the praefects from the 9th to the 14th year of Gallienus cf. 1467. int. A coin with the inscription Α(ὐτοκρ). Κ(αῖσ). ΜΙ Αἰμιλιανός, ascribed by Poole to this Aemilianus (cf. 1201. int.), is, as Mr. Milne informs us, a tooled coin of Philippus I, and therefore not really inconsistent with the names Lucius Mussius, of which the praenomen occurs only in 1468.

18. αἰ[κο]π[έδων] : αἰ[κο]γε[νών] (cf. l. 13) is inadmissible.

24. . . ]δ[.]τον : or ]β[.]τον. ἀν[ε]κ[τόν] cannot be read here, but ἀ[ε]κτόν is possible in l. 25.

25. ]ραν : it is not quite certain whether the supposed tail of a ρ (or possibly ι) before αν belongs to this line or to the line below. ὑπαγαγεῖν is possible in place of ἀπαγαγεῖν.

26. λαογράφων : λαογραφ[ι]ών might be read; but the λαογράφοι received census-returns (e.g. P. Flor. 4. 1; cf. 1468. 14-15), and the two slaves, being described as παῖδες in l. 22, may have been under the age (14) for paying poll-tax. For the stop after ἰδίᾳ[υ]ς cf. int. The first word of l. 27 may be a participle [.] . σαρμ[ένων].

27-8.  $\sigma\omega\pi\eta[\sigma\acute{\alpha}]ση$  :  $\sigma\omega\pi\eta[\sigma\alpha\sigma]α$  ἡ is inadmissible, but the dative is difficult, and perhaps  $\sigma\omega\pi\eta[\sigma\alpha]\sigma(α)$  ἡ  $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$  should be read or  $\sigma\omega\pi\eta\eta$ . There was a correction in l. 27 (cf. crit. n.), and the construction of ll. 26-9 is very obscure.

28. Titianus Clodianus may well have been a praefect. The application to him was made after A. D. 230 (l. 15) and some little time (cf. l. 29) before the date of 1468.

33. ] . . οἱ κληρονόμοι : or possibly ἡμᾶς [ο]ἱ κληρ. ; but the termination of the word before  $\nu\epsilon\alpha\rho[\acute{\alpha}]s$  in l. 34 does not suit  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon[\theta]α$ .

35. Perhaps  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\pi\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ .

#### 1469. PETITION OF VILLAGE-REPRESENTATIVES.

10.5 x 24.3 cm.

A. D. 298.

A well preserved petition to Aemilius Rusticianus, an otherwise unknown deputy-praefect (l. 1, n.), from two comarchs on behalf of the village of Παῖμις which was situated in the western toparchy near the metropolis (1475. 22, n.). Their complaint was concerned with the repair of an embankment, and illustrates the difficulties experienced in carrying out the regulations which had been laid down a few years previously by the dioecetes in 1409. For this state of affairs the multiplication of officials was largely responsible. The embankment in question having broken down was first inspected by the *δημόσιος γεωμέτρης*, who estimated that 400 *ναύβια* (about 600 cubic metres) were required to repair it. The duty of supplying these was imposed upon the village by the *χωματεπέικτης*, and 250 *ναύβια* had already been dug. With these two officials the villagers seem to have been quite satisfied ; their complaint was directed against a subordinate of the strategus, who intervened at this point, being apparently responsible for the ultimate disposition of the earth among different embankments. This individual from corrupt motives, as the villagers hint, credited them with only 100 of the 250 *ναύβια* which they had dug, the remaining 150 being apparently transferred to another village, and the praefect was accordingly requested to set matters right. P. Thead. 17 (A. D. 332) is another petition to a praefect from a village, represented by three persons of whom at least one, Sakaon, was probably a comarch, though *εναρχε δεσποται* in l. 4 represents, as is remarked by Wilcken, *Archiv*, vi. 300, *επαρχε δεσποτα*, not *εν αρχη δεσποται*. The writing of 1469 is across the fibres of the recto and is continued on the verso, which is unusual. Evidently it was a draft or copy, the month being omitted in the date in l. 25, and the signature in ll. 23-4 being in the same hand as the rest of the document. The Greek is of poor quality ; cf. ll. 8-10, nn., and ll. 16-17.

Αἰμιλίω΄ Ρουστικιανῶ τῷ διασημ(οτάτῳ) διαδεχο(μένῳ) τὰ μέρη τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων  
ἐπάρχων παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης

Παείμεως τῆ[s] πρὸς λίβια τοπ(αρχίας) τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου νομοῦ δι' ἡμῶν  
 τῶν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους κωμάρχων Αὐρη(λίων) Πιβήμιος  
 καὶ [Νεμ]εσια[ν]οῦ. μόλις μὲν ἄν, κύριε, τοῦ δικαίου ἐν τοῖ[s] καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 ἐπιτάγμασιν ὑπαρχθέντος ἡμῖν δυνήθειημεν  
 ὀλ[οκλ]ηροῦντες παντελῶς διανύειν τὰ προσήκοντα, ἐπεὶπερ ἐὰν πλεονεξία  
 τις προχωρήσῃ καθ' [ἡ]μῶν  
 5 δι' ἀδυναμίαν ἀναπόστατοι καταστη[σ]όμεθα. χῶμα οὖν ἐστὶν δημόσιον  
 ἐκ νότου τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμης  
 ἐφ' ᾧ διάκοπος καὶ τόποι ἐκνεμ[ι]μμένοι ἀ[ν]αβολῆ[s] εἰκότως δεόμενοι. τοῦτο  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου γεωμέ-  
 τρου συ[ν]ωψίσθη δεῖσθαι ν[αυ]βίων υ, καὶ ὁ τῆ ἐπίξει τῶν χωμάτων  
 ἐπικείμενος καθείζων ἡμᾶς  
 τοῦ[s] οἰκίζοντας τοῖς τόπο[ι]ς ἠνάγκασεν ἀ[ν]αβαλεῖν ναύβια σν. οὐ ταῦτα  
 μὲν οὖν μόνα ἤριστο  
 τῆ κ[ώ]μη ἡμῶν ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ ὅλα τοῦ χώματος ναύβια υ ἐπέκειτο ἡμῖν  
 ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἀναβαλεῖν,  
 10 ἀλλ[ὰ] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῆς διαταγῆς τῶν αὐτῶν χωμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ βοηθοῦ τοῦ  
 [σ]τρατηγοῦ  
 φθάσαντος γινομένης ἴσ[ως] ἀ[ίσ]χροκερ δίας ἔνεκα, αἰὲ γὰρ ὁ δημόσιος  
 γ[εω]μέτρης  
 ἐπιστήμων ὢν τῶν τόπων ] αὐτῶν ποιούμενος τὴν ἐκάστου χώματο[s]  
 ἀπεργασίαν  
 τοῖς πλησίον οἰκοῦ[σ]ι ἀκ[ο]λουθ[εῖ] τῶ ἐκάστ(ης) κώμης σχοιτισμῶ,

On the verso.

ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔφην διὰ λῆμμα εἰς τὸ προκείμενον χῶμα διέταξεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ  
 ναυβίοις ρ,  
 15 ἥδη σν ἀναβαλόντων ἡμῶν, δηλονότι τὰ λοιπὰ ρν ναύβια ἐτέροις  
 παρασχεῖν  
 ἐθέλων. τοῦ οὖν πεπιστευμένου τὰ χώματα ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ οὗτος  
 ἄλλου τινὸς μάρτυρος ἀμείνονος, τὴν γενο(μένην) ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπεργασίαν  
 ἐπισταμέν[ο]ν,  
 καὶ τῆς τοῦ βοηθοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κακουργίας καταφανοῦς ούσης, τὴν  
 πρόσοδον ἐπὶ σὲ

ποιούμεθα διὰ τῆσδε τῆς δεήσεως δεόμενοι κελε[ῦσ]αί σε δι' ἱερᾶς σου ὑπο-  
 γραφῆς

20 φ' ἔὰν τὸ μέγεθος σου δοκιμάσῃ ἢ τῶ χωματεπεϊκτῆ ἀναμετρήσαι καὶ  
 προσδ[έ]ξι[σ]θαι ἡμῖν

τὰ πάλαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀναβληθέντα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χῶμα ναύβια{ν}, ἡμῶν  
 ἐτοίμ[ως] ἐχόντων

ὅσαπερ ἄλλα ἡμῖν αἰρεῖ ἀπεργάσασθαι ἐν οἷς ἐτάχθημεν τόποις.

Αὐρήλιοι Πιβήμις καὶ Νεμεσιανὸς διεπεμφάμεθα πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν. Αὐρή(λιος)

Πλουτίων ἔγρα[ψα]

ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀξιωθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν φαμένων μὴ εἶδέναι γράμματα. ὑπατείας

Ἀνικί[ο]υ

25 [Παυλίνου τὸ β] καὶ Οὐίριου Γάλλου.

3. ὑπαρχθεντος Π. 6. ὑπο Π; so in ll. 10, 16. 9. l. ἐπέθετο for ἐπέκειτο. 11.  
 ἴσ[ως] Π. 12. υ of αυτων corr. (?). 16. l. καὶ τούτου. 19. ἱερας Π. 21. Second  
 a of ναυβια{ν} corr. from ω. εχοντῶ Π. 25. οὐίριου Π.

‘To Aemilius Rusticianus, the most illustrious deputy in the most eminent office of praefect, from the inhabitants of the village of Païmis in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, through us, the comarchs of the present year, the Aurelii Pibemis and Nemesianus. It is with difficulty, my lord, that even when justice is shown to us in commands concerning us we could accomplish in full our duties, since, if any advantage of us is taken, our weakness will leave us no escape. There is a public dyke to the south of our village, in which there is a gap and places washed away, naturally requiring embankment. This dyke was estimated by the public land-surveyor to require 400 naubia, and the overseer of labour on dykes set us, the local inhabitants, to work, and made us bank up 250 naubia. Nor was this all that was imposed upon our village, since it resulted in the overseer of dykes making us responsible for the whole 400 naubia; but when the distribution of earth for the said dykes was made by the assistant of the strategus, who came first, probably for the sake of base profit—for it is the practice of the public land-surveyor, being cognizant of the localities themselves, to assign the repairs of each dyke to the neighbouring population in accordance with the size of each village—he for gain, as I said, credited us with 100 naubia, although we had already banked up 250, clearly proposing to assign the remaining 150 naubia to others. Since the official entrusted with the dykes by the praefecture than whom there is no better witness, knows of the work done by us, and the unfairness of the assistant of the strategus is evident, we appeal to you by this petition, entreating you to order by your sacred signature whomsoever your highness may approve of, or the overseer of dykes, to measure the embankment again, and to credit us with the naubia which we have previously banked up on the said dyke, we being ready to perform any other work which you may choose for us in the locality to which we were ordered.

We, the Aurelii Pibemis and Nemesianus, sent the petition to be presented. I, Aurelius Plution, wrote it on their behalf at their request, as they stated that they were illiterate. In the consulship of Anicius Paulinus for the second time and Virius Gallus.’

1. διαδεχο(μένω) τὰ μέρη τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων ἐπάρχων: cf. P. Flor. 89. 1-2 (corr. by Wilcken, *Archiv.* iv. 453) διέ[π]ων τὰ μέρη τῆς διοικήσεως τῆς . . . ἐξοχώτατος (*eminentissimus*) occurs



frequently in inscriptions, especially those referring to praefects of the Praetorian guard or of Syria (cf. Magie, *De Roman. vocab. sollemn.* 103-4), but in Egypt is very rare. The only instance seems to be P. Cairo Masp. 67009. 1-2 τὴν ἐξοχ[ω]τάτην ἡμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν, referring to a *dux* of the Thebaid. The division of Egypt into three provinces, Jovia, Herculia, and Thebais, is generally assigned to A.D. 297, i. e. the year before that in which 1469 was written, so that Aemilius Rusticianus might be a *praeses Herculiae*; but petitions to the praefect of Egypt from inhabitants of Herculia in the reign of Diocletian or shortly after are common, e. g. 1470 (cf. Gelzer, *Studien*, 5), and that official is more likely to be meant here. The ordinary epithet of both the praefect of Egypt and the praesides of Herculia and Thebais was διασημότατος (*perfectissimus*) at this period. On Aug. 19, 299, the praefect of Egypt was Aelius Publius (1416. 29, n.).

τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης: in P. Thead. 17. 2 τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης: cf. int.

6. διάκοπος: cf. 1409. 16, n.

7. ν[αυ]βίων ν: cf. int. and 1409. 20, 1427. 3, nn.

ὁ τῇ ἐπίξει τῶν χωμάτων ἐπικείμενος: cf. l. 20 χωματεπέικη and 1409. 13-14, n.

8. οἰκίζοντας τοῖς τόποις = οἰκοῦντας τοὺς τόπους.

9. ναύβια ν ἐπέκειτο ἡμῖν ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων: for the confusion of construction cf. 1434. 14, n. ἐπικείμενος had occurred in l. 7.

10. ἐπειδή: this sentence is incomplete, the writer starting on a parenthesis in l. 11, and having forgotten the construction when l. 14 is reached.

11. ἀἰσχροκερ δίας: perhaps ἀἰσχροκερ[δείας ἰ]δίας, but from l. 13, where there was almost certainly a blank in the corresponding space, it appears that a piece of the upper layer had flaked off before the papyrus was written upon. In both ll. 12 and 13 the space below κερ is also blank, though the upper layer is preserved.

12. αὐτῶν is not very satisfactory, especially as the τ is very doubtful and there would be room for another letter in the lacuna after τόπω[ν]. ν[αύβ]ιον (but not ν[αυβ]ίων) could be read; but even if the space before ποιούμενος was not blank and contained a word of five letters, it is difficult to find any construction for another substantive. An adjective making a complement of ποιούμενος and governing τοῖς πλησίον οἰκοῖς would be suitable, or possibly τ[αύτην] (sc. τὴν διαταγὴν) [σκοπεῖ?], with ἀκ[ολο]ύθω[ς τῶ] ἐκάστ(ης) in l. 13, should be read. But ἀ[κολο]υθεῖ τῶ suits the vestiges there better, and part of the ε of ἐκάστ(ης) is written on the lower layer, there being probably a blank before it; cf. l. 11, n.

21. ναύβια{ν}: ναύβια (σ)ν (cf. l. 15) is improbable; for there is no sign of ν here being intended for a figure, and the preceding α is corrected; cf. crit. n.

## 1470. PETITION CONCERNING OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

20.8 × 24.8 cm.

A. D. 336.

The chronological order of the three documents on this papyrus is the reverse of their actual order, the second and third being enclosures; cf. 66-7 and P. Thead. 18. The earliest (ll. 9-18) is a petition to the praefect Flavius Philagrius (l. 4, n.) from a woman called Theodora, whose father, a veteran, had shortly before his death purchased a piece of land in her name. Although the price had been paid to the seller, possession of the land had somehow passed to the seller's brother, Demetrianus, and since he refused to give it up Theodora appealed for assistance. This was granted her by a letter (ll. 6-8) from the

praefect to an official of the Oxyrhynchite nome, forwarding the petition and giving instructions for the settlement of the dispute. A copy of this letter was forwarded by Theodora to the official, with an explanatory note (ll. 1-5), the document having been drawn up probably in his bureau. The loss of 25-30 letters (in ll. 1 and 9, where the restorations are certain, 28 and 27 letters) at the beginnings of lines, though these are often capable of restoration, leaves some points obscure, especially the nature of Demetrianus' claim to the land, and the rank of the nome-official addressed in the first two documents. In A. D. 336 the logistes or the *defensor* rather than the strategus would be expected to be found in such a context; cf. 1426. 3-4, nn. But the name of the logistes on the 30th of the month in which 1470 was written is known from 1265. 5 to have been *Αὐρήλιος Παράνιος ὁ καὶ Μακρόβιος*, for whose full name there is not room in l. 3 (in l. 6 probably only the title was given); and two months later than 1470 *Φλαούιος Ἰουλιανὸς διοικῶν ἐκδικίαν Ὁξυρυγχίτου* occurs in 901. 3, so that it is almost equally difficult to suppose that the *defensor* was addressed, especially since the Nilus (?) who is mentioned in l. 16 may be identical with the official addressed in ll. 3 and 6. Hence there are strong grounds for supposing that the official in question was the strategus, who in 357 is coupled with the logistes in 66, an application corresponding to 1470 with the addition of the answer of the officials addressed. 67, which is arranged on a similar plan, is addressed to a *προπολιτευόμενος*, but this is too long a title for l. 6.

- 1 [Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Ἰουλίου Κωνστα]ντίνου πατρ[ικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπό-  
του ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Ἀγού]γου}στου καὶ Ῥ[ο]υφίου Ἀλβίνου τοῖς  
ἀποδιχθησομ[ένοις]
- 2 [ ] ὑπάτοις Φαμενώθ.
- 3 [ 18 letters στρατηγῶ? Ὁ]ξ[υρυ]γχίτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Θεοδώρας θυ(γατρὸς)  
[[.]] Εὐδαίμονος γενομένου οὐετρανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ[τ]ῆς πόλε[ως].
- 4 [οὐ ἐπέδωκα λιβέλλου προ]σφ[ε]ρ[ε]υγο]μσα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ κυρίου μου  
Φιλαγρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ οὐ ἔτυχον
- 5 [παρ' αὐτοῦ χρηματισμοῦ ἐν]τεταχότος ἐπὶ πέρασ ἀχθῆναι τὰ κεκελευσμένα  
ἐστὶν ἀντίγραφον.
- 6 [Φλαούιος Φιλάγριος στρατηγῶ?] Ὁξυρυγχίτου. Αὐρηλ[ία Θε]οδώρα λίβελλον  
ἐπιδούσα οὐ τὸ ἀντίτυπον ὑποτέτακται ε . . [.] . [.] ἐαυτῆς τῇ δια-
- 7 [ 27 l. ] . . . ται. φ[ρόντ]ι[ς] [ε . . .] ἐ[.]υ ὁμολογούντων αὐτῶν ταῦτα αὐτῇ  
ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ ε[.] ἀντιλέγουσιν
- 8 [ 29 l. ] σοι ἢ [κ]αὶ δοθῆναι. ἔρρωσο. ἀ(ντίγραφον) λιβέλλου

- 9 [Φλαουίῳ Φιλαγρίῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ] ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίας  
 Θεοδώρας θυγατρὸς Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ καὶ . . . [.]ιδίου γενομένου
- 10 [οὔετρανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν] πόλ(εως). ὁ πατήρ μου π[ε]ριῶν ἐώνηται  
 παρὰ Πασίπεντώου Μέλανος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως περὶ κώμην Σεντῶ
- 11 [τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου νομοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπ]ολλοφάνους κλήρου ἐπὶ κυτῶν ἑκατῶν  
 ἐννήα ἀπὸ ὀνόματος Σε[.]ωνίου Πάσιτος κα(ὶ) Ἴναρωούτος
- 12 [ 15 l. γῆς ἄρουραν μί]αν τέταρτον, (ἄρου.) ἀδ', ἐκ πλήρους τούτῳ μετα-  
 βαλ{ε}όμενος τὴν συμφωνη[θει]σαν τιμὴν
- 13 [ . . . . . ἀκολουθῶς τῇ γεγεν]ημένη πράσι τῇ καὶ ἐπὰ ὀνόματός μου  
 συντακτεῖση. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑπο . [.]ων Δημητρι-
- 14 [ανὸς 20 l. ] . . . γων Δημητριανοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ τῷ πατρί μου  
 ἀποδομένου [έλ]πίσας τὴν
- 15 [γῆν ταύτην ἀλλοτριῶσαι? τῆς δὲ ἡ]μετέρας ὀρφανίας καταφρονῶν. διὸ  
 δέομαι τῆς σῆς κηδαιμονίας, λαμπ[ρό]τατε ἔπαρχε,
- 16 [καὶ ἀξιῶ κελευσαί σε διὰ? . . . . .] Νεῖλου, ἐὰν ἐπικρίνης, ἐπαναγκασθῆναι  
 τὸν αὐτὸν Δημητριαγὸν [ . . . . . ] παρὰ
- 17 [ 16 l. τὴν γῆν ἀποδοῦ]ναι πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαί μαι ταύτην ἀπολαβοῦσαν  
 ο . . . . . [ 14 l. ] . μασιν
- 18 [ 24 l. Αὐρηλ]ία Θεοδώρα ἐπιδέδωκα.

1. οἰς of τοῖς corr. from ὦν (?), i.e. the scribe began to write τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων); cf. 1265.

4. 8. ο of ἐρρωσο corr. from ω. 10. ο of πασιπεντωου and ω of σενω corr. 11.  
 l. κοιτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐννέα. 13. l. ἐπὶ . . . συνταχθείση. οἶδ' . . . ὑπο Π. 15. l. κηδεμονίας.  
 16. η of επικρινης corr. 17. l. με.

'The year after the consulship of Julius Constantius, patrician, brother of our master Constantius Augustus, and Rufius Albinus, under the consuls to be appointed, Phamenoth.

To . . ., strategus (?) of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Theodora daughter of Eudaemon, formerly a veteran, of the said city. A copy of the petition which I presented, appealing to the nobility of my lord Philagrius, the most illustrious praefect of Egypt, and of the communication which I received from him ordering that his commands should be carried out, is as follows:

"Flavius Philagrius to the strategus (?) of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Aurelia Theodora having presented a petition of which the copy is appended . . ., See that . . . if they acknowledge her claim it is restored to her, or if they object . . . Farewell." Copy of the petition.

"To Flavius Philagrius, the most illustrious praefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Theodora daughter of Eudaemon also called . . ., formerly a veteran, of Oxyrhynchus. My father in his lifetime bought from Pasipentoüs son of Melas, of the said city, in the area of the village of Sento of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the holding of Apollophanes, plot 109, registered in the name of Se . onius Pasis and Inarouos . . ., one and a quarter arurae, 1½

aru., of . . . land, and paid him in full the price agreed upon . . . in accordance with the sale which had been effected and had been arranged in my name. Somehow Demetrianus . . . Demetrianus, the brother of the man who sold the land to my father, hoping to alienate this land and despising my orphan condition. Wherefore I need your protection, most illustrious praefect, and beg you to give orders through . . . Nilus (?), if you so decide, that the said Demetrianus should be compelled to restore the land to me . . ., in order that I may by recovering it be enabled to . . . Presented by me, Aurelia Theodora."

1. Cf. 1265. 1-4. This line apparently projected to the left. On Pachon 6 (May 1) the consuls of the year were known (901. 1).

3. Νείλω should perhaps be restored; cf. l. 16, n., and int.

γενομένου οὐετρανοῦ: γεόμενος implies that he was dead; cf. ll. 9-10. In P. Gen. 10. 2 [γενο]μένου οὐετρανοῦ is to be restored.

4. Φιλαγρίου: this praefect is known from references in St. Athanasius to have held office from 334-6 and again from 338-40 (cf. Cantarelli, *Prefetti*, ii. 25-6); but he has not previously occurred on a papyrus.

5. For χρηματισμοῦ cf. 1472. 3. 66. 20 has ἀποφάσεως at this point.

ἐν τεταχότος: cf. 67. 5 ἐντάξας.

6. ἀντίτυπον: the use of this word as equivalent to ἀντίγραφον seems to be new.

7. φ[ρόντ]ιζ[ε]: cf. 67. 10 φρόντισον at the corresponding point.

10. Σετώ: a village in the middle toparchy; cf. 1285. 109.

11. κ(οι)τῶν ἑκατ(ὸ)ν ἐνν(έ)α: κοίτη as a parcel of land is used in Hermopolite papyri where Arsinoite papyri have σφραγίς. For the numbering of σφραγίδες and κοίται in the wider sense of subdivisions of village-lands cf. 918 and Preisigke, *S. B.* 4296, 4325.

12. The initial lacuna no doubt contained a patronymic, followed by an adjective such as σιτικῆς.

13. Δημητρι[ανός]: or possibly Δημήτρι[ος], since Δημήτριον is admissible in l. 16 and Δημητριανοῦ in l. 14 might be a different person.

16. διὰ . . . .] Νείλου: cf. int. and l. 3, n. Φλασίου] or Αἰρηλίου] is possible. ]νοιλον or ]νοιδου could be read, but suggests no suitable name; ]νοι δ(ι) ὄν (cf. e. g. 1469. 20) is unlikely, though a name without a title is not very satisfactory.

## VII. NOTIFICATIONS TO ARCHIDICASTAE

### 1471. CONTRACT OF LOAN.

22.5 × 9.4 cm.

A. D. 81.

A contract for the loan of 38 drachmae for four months at the usual 12 per cent. rate of interest, in the form of a συγχώρησις addressed to the otherwise unknown archidicastes Pallas, who may have been related to the well-known freedman of that name in the reign of Nero. This class of public contracts, as distinguished from private χειρόγραφα, is illustrated by numerous Alexandrian papyri of the reign of Augustus in B. G. U. iv; cf. Koschaker, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xxviii. 270 sqq., Schubart, *Archiv*, v. 47 sqq., Lewald, *Röm.-ägypt.*

*Grundbuchrecht*, 87-91, *Mitteis, Grundz.* 65-7. As is the case with most of the later συγχωρήσεις, one of the parties was a Roman citizen; cf. 727. int. 1471, of which the formula closely resembles that of B. G. U. 1056 and 1147. 1-22, is interesting on account of the occurrence of the ἀγώγιμος clause (ll. 22-3), found only in the Alexandrian συγχωρήσεις. The distinction between the right of personal execution conferred by it and by the ordinary clause τῆς πράξεως οὔσης ἔκ τε αὐτοῦ . . . καθάπερ ἔκ δίκης (cf. ll. 29-32) is discussed at length by Lewald, *Zur Personal-execution im Recht d. Pap.* 27 sqq., but without attaining to a very definite conclusion. Apparently some kind of immediate obligation to personal service was meant; cf. *Mitteis, Grundz.* 46. In the Alexandrian συγχωρήσεις containing this clause, with one exception (B. G. U. 1156), the debtor who was ἀγώγιμος was a Persian of the Epigone, and it has been generally supposed that there was a special connexion between that class and this mode of execution. 1471 is incompletely preserved at this point (l. 7); but the reading Πε[ρσίνης] is preferable there to τοῦ [. . . .], and is confirmed by 1639 (22 B. C.), where the debtors who are ἀγώγιμοι are again Persians of the Epigone. The document has been crossed through, showing that the loan had been repaid.

ὀφ(είλημα). κὸλ(λημα) [.]γ.

Πάλλαντι ἱερεῖ κ[αὶ ἀρ]χιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῆ  
ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρη[μα]τιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[λων  
κριτηρίων

- 5                   παρὰ Μάρκου Λογγεῖνου Κ[αστρ]ησίου  
ἀπολελυμένων ἐ(ν)τείμ[ως καὶ π]αρὰ Τετε-  
ώ[ρ]ι(ο)ς τῆς Π[. . .]ος Π[ε]ρσίνης μετὰ  
κυρίου τ[ο]ῦ υἱ[ο]ῦ . . . . .  
ἀ[μ]φοτέρων [τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπό-  
10                   λεως τοῦ Ὁξυρ[υ]γ[χίτου.] συγ[χω]ρ[εῖ] ἢ  
Τετεῶρις ἔχειν παρὰ τοῦ Μάρκου Λογ-  
γεῖνου Καστρησίου δάνειον διὰ χειρὸς  
ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος δρα-  
χμὰς τριάκο[ντα] ὀκτὼ τόκων δρα-  
15                   χμιαίων ἐκ[ἀ]στῆς μνᾶς κατὰ μῆν[α,  
ὄν καὶ εὐτακτῆσειν [τ]αύτην τῷ  
Μάρκῳ Λογγεῖνῳ Καστρησίῳ, τὸ δὲ  
κεφάλαιον ἐπάναγκον ἀποδώσειν  
ἐν μηνὶν τέσσαρσιν ἀπὸ Τῦβι τοῦ

- 20 ἐνεστῶτος πρώτου ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορο[ς  
 Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 ἀνυπερθέτως, ἥ εἶναι αὐτῆ[ν ἀγωγί-  
 μην καὶ συνέχεσθαι μέχρι τοῦ ἐκτεί-  
 σαι τῷ Μάρκῳ Λογγεῖνῳ Καστρησίῳ  
 25 παραχρῆμα τὸ [μ]ὲν δάνειον τὰς τοῦ  
 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τριάκου[τ]α ὀκτώ  
 σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ, τ[οῦς] δὲ τόκους  
 καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου τοὺς [ἴ-  
 σους, τῆς πράξεως οὔσης τῷ Μάρκῳ  
 30 [Δο]γγεῖνῳ Καστρησίῳ παρά τε τῆς Τετεώρι[ος  
 [καὶ] ἐκ τῶν [ὑπαρ]χόντων αὐτῆ πάν-  
 [τ]ων {αὐτῆ [πάντ]ων} καθάπερ ἐγ δίκ[ης].  
 [(ἔτους) α Αὐ]τοκρά[τορος Κ]αίσαρος Δομιτι[ανοῦ]  
 [Σεβ]ασ[τοῦ Τύβι] ε.  
 35 2nd hand ? [ 21 letters ] . [ 10 l.

6. μ[ of ετεμ[ως corr. 16. l. οὔς for ον.

‘Debt: sheet [.]3.

To Pallas, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts, from M. Longinus Castresius, an honourably discharged veteran, and from Teteoris daughter of P . . ., Persian, with her guardian, her son . . ., both inhabitants of the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, Teteoris acknowledges that she has received from M. Longinus Castresius from hand to hand a loan of 38 drachmae of Imperial silver coin at the interest of 1 drachma per mina each month, which she is to pay regularly to M. Longinus Castresius, and is bound to return the capital in four months from Tubi of the present 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus without any delay; otherwise she is liable to arrest and detention until she pays in full to M. Longinus Castresius forthwith the loan of 38 drachmae of silver increased by one half, and the interest, and the interest for overtime at the same rate, M. Longinus Castresius having the right of execution upon both Teteoris and all her property, as if by a legal decision.’ Date and signature of an official (?).

1. The numbering of *συγχωρήσεις* by *κολλήματα* is common in the Alexandrian examples.

5. κ[αστρ]ησίῳ: cf. ll. 12, 17, 24, which show that it is part of M. Longinus’ name, though in origin probably a title meaning ‘born in the camp’; cf. *καστρήσις* in P. Hamb. 31. 14.

7. Πε[ρσίνης]: cf. int.

16. εὐτακτῆσειν corresponds to διδοῦσα . . . εὐτάκτως in B. G. U. 1147. 12. In e.g. B. G. U. 1107. 11 the word is used in the middle, εὐτακτουμένην . . . τροφείοις.

25. παραρῆμα: in the Alexandrian συγχωρήσεις concerning loans this word precedes ἀγώγμον (cf. l. 22), where it is more suitably placed.

32. Συγχωρήσεις usually have ἀξιοῦμεν at the end before the date, but ἀξιοῦμεν is also omitted in B. G. U. 741.

34. [Τῦβι] ε (cf. l. 19) = Dec. 31. The accession of Domitian, which took place on Sept. 13, was known in Egypt before Dec. 6 (P. Brit. Mus. 283).

35. This line, below which probably nothing is lost, presumably contained the signature of an official in the office of the archidicastes. At this point 268 has a name followed by κατακε[χ]ώρισται, 727 a name and an abbreviated word, B. G. U. 729 an undeciphered Latin subscription.

## 1472. APPLICATION CONCERNING DEPOSITS.

15 × 12.8 cm.

A. D. 136.

An application, similar to 1270, to a strategus from a man who had lent some corn on deposit and wished to recover it from the heir of his debtor, enclosing an authorization from the deputy-archidicastes (ll. 8-13, n.) to the strategus for the serving of notice (μετάδοσις) upon the heir (ll. 4-7), this being an answer to an application from the creditor (ll. 8 sqq.). The conclusions of the two applications, corresponding to 1270. 50-61, are lost.

This class of papyri concerning the archidicastes and arranged on the same plan falls into four main groups: (1) B. G. U. 239, 614, 832, 1038, P. Flor. 55-6, Giessen 34, in which the applicant cites in his favour the ὑπογραφή of a praefect to a petition or the result of legal proceedings before the archidicastes; (2) 286, 485, B. G. U. 888, P. Flor. 68, 86, in which the contract violated was a δημόσιος χρηματισμός (i. e. either a notarial agreement, or a συγχώρησις like 1471, or a διαγραφή of a bank; cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* 58-72), and the substance of it was quoted; (3) 719, 1473-4, 1560, B. G. U. 578, P. Flor. 40 (?), *Griech. Texte*, 6, Preisigke, *S. B.* 5692 (?), in which the contract in question was a private χειρόγραφον, so that the application was for registration at Alexandria (δημοσίωσις) as well as μετάδοσις, the contract (in *Griech. Texte*, 6 an ἐπίσταλμα to a banker) being quoted in full; (4) 1200, 1475, 1561, B. G. U. 455, 717, P. Leipzig 10, P. S. I. 74, in which the application was for δημοσίωσις only, with a view to the information of the βιβλιοφύλακες τῶν ἐγκτήσεων, the contract being, as in (3), quoted in full. With regard to 1270, 1472, and P. Brit. Mus. 908 (iii. 132) the difficulty arises that while only the substance of the contracts is given, as in (2), these are described in terms which do not necessarily imply that they were δημόσιοι χρηματισμοί (ὁμολογία in 1270. 21, ἔγγραπτοι ἀσφάλειαι in 1472. 16, ἐνεχυρασία coupled with ἕτερα χειρόγραφα in P. Brit. Mus. 908. 34; cf. e. g. the ἀσφάλειαι in 1473. 26, 1474. 10, which required δημοσίωσις). Possibly, as suggested in 1270. int. with reference to the ὁμολογία in question, the contract

was really notarial in all three cases, and these do not really differ from the examples in class (2); but private χειρόγραφα seem to have been accepted as evidence in actions at law, at any rate in the second century (cf. 1408. 5, n.), and the practice of δημοσίωσις clearly became much more general in the third century, when a clause concerning it was regularly inserted at the end of certain classes of contracts (e. g. 1473. 17-18). A comparison of the dates of these three papyri and those in class (2) with the dates of those in classes (3) and (4) rather suggests that before the reign of Marcus Aurelius (P. Flor. 40) or Commodus (B. G. U. 578) applications to the archidicastes for μετάδοσις were made without much respect to the question whether the contract in question was δημόσιος.

On the archidicastes see 1412. 1-3, n., Koschaker, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xxviii. 254 sqq., xxix. 1 sqq., on the process of μετάδοσις Mitteis, *Grundz.* 124 sqq., and on δημοσίωσις Mitteis, *op. cit.* 84-7, Jörs, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xxxiv. 107 sqq. (especially in its relation to the process of ἐκμαρτύρησις, illustrated by 1502), 1206. 17-19, n.

Ἀπολιναρίωι στρα(τηγῶ)

παρὰ Ἑρακλᾶτος τοῦ καὶ Ἑρακλείδου Ἑρακλᾶτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρ[ύγχ]ων πόλεως.  
οὗ ἐπόρισα ἐκ τοῦ καταλογείου χρηματισμοῦ ἀντίγρα[φ]ον ὑπόκει(αι).

Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ Δομίτιος ὁ διέπων τ[ὰ] κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιδικαστίαν

5 τῶ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχεῖτου στρα(τηγῶ) χαίρειν. τοῦ δεδομέν[ο]υ ὑπομνή-  
ματος ἀντίγρα(φον) σύνταξον μεταδοθῆναι ὡς ὑπόκει[τ(αι)]. ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) κ  
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειφ ε.

Αἰλιανῶ Εὐφράνορος γενομένου ἐξηγητοῦ υἱῶ νεωκόρῳ

τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος γενομένῳ ἐπ[ἀ]ρχῳ σπείρης δευ(έρας)

10 Κομμαγηνῶν ἰππικῆς ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐ-  
πιμελείᾳ τῶν χρ[η]ματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρί[ω]ν,  
διὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ καὶ Δομιτίου ἀποδεδειγμένου ἐξηγητοῦ  
διέποντος τὰ κατὰ [τ]ὴν ἀρχιδικασ[τ]εῖαν,

παρὰ Ἑρακλᾶ τοῦ καὶ Ἑρακλείδου Ἑρακλᾶτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχω[ν]

15 πόλεως. ὀφειλομέν[ων] μοι ὑπὸ Διογένους Ἑρακλείδου  
τοῦ Μιγκίωνος ἀ[πὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως κ[α]τ' ἐνγράφ[ο]υ ἀσ-  
φα[λ]είας δύο γεγυμίας τῶ δωδε[κ]άτω ξ[τε]ι Ἀδριαν[ο]υ Καί[σ]αρος  
τοῦ κυρίου, μίαν μὲν Θῶθ παραθήκη[s] κριθῆ[s] μέτρῳ δη-  
μοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρταβῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων ἡμίσι[ο]υς χοι-  
20 νείκων ἐννεά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν τῶ Φαμενῶθ τοῦ αὐ-



τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἔτους ὡσαύτως παραθήκης πυ[ρ]οῦ μέτρῳ  
 δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρταβῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων χοιν[εί]κω(ν)  
 [τ]ριῶν, ὧν πάντων τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ὡμολόγησεν ποιή-  
 [σα]σθέ μοι ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι, ἔ[τι] δὲ [κ]αὶ [τ]ελῶν ἐνκυ-  
 25 κλίου καὶ καταλ[ο]χισμῶν, ὧν χρ[όν]ων καὶ [δι]ε[λ]θόν-  
 των καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἀποδόσε[ως] γ[έ]γ[ον]υ[ί]α[ς], μετηλ-  
 [λ]αχόν[τ]ο[ς] τε τοῦ [Δ]ιογένους ἐπὶ κλη[ρονό]μῳ υἱ[ῶ] Hμ[. . .]  
 [.], [ἀ]ξιῶ συντά[ξαι] γρ[ά]φαι τῶ τοῦ Ὁξυρ[υ]χίτου σ[τ]ρα[τηγῶ] ἐπι-  
 ῥο[ύ]γα[ι] τούτου [ἀντί]γρα(φον) τῶ H[μ 10 letters] π[ο]. .  
 30 [ 21 l. ]υ[. .] [ 18 l.                    31 [ 35 l. ]υ[. .] .                    32 [ 34 l. ] . ντου δ[ι].  
                   33 [ 35 l. ]υ[.]αν                    34 [ 40 l. ] .

Fr. 1.

Fr. 2.

] . ω[

]ρ . [

]αν[

] . θη[

]αφη[

]μ . [

] . [

]ξ[

5 ]ω[

15. ὑπο Π.

17. γεγωνίας Π.

23. l. ποι[ί]σα[σ]θαι.

27. υἱ[ῶ] Π.

‘To Apollinarius, strategus, from Heraclas also called Heraclides son of Heraclas, of Oxyrhynchus. A copy of the communication which I received from the record-office is appended.

Demetrius also called Domitius, deputy-archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Give instructions that a copy of the memorandum which has been presented be served, as follows. Good-bye. The 20th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 5.

To Aelianus son of the former exegetes Euphranor, *neocoros* of the great Sarapis, formerly praefect of the second cavalry cohort of the Commagenes, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and other courts, through Demetrius also called Domitius, exegetes-elect and deputy-archidicastes, from Heraclas also called Heraclides, son of Heraclas, of Oxyrhynchus. Whereas I am owed by Diogenes son of Heraclides son of Mincion, of the said city, in accordance with two written deeds of security made in the 12th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, the first in Thoth, for deposit, 24½ artabae 9 choenices of barley by the public ½-artaba measure, and the second in Phamenoth of the said 12th year, likewise for deposit, 24 art. 3 choen. of wheat by the public ½-artaba measure, all of which he agreed to repay me whenever I choose, in addition to taxes on sale and assignment of land, and whereas the periods have elapsed and no repayment has been made and Diogenes has died leaving as his heir his son . . ., I beg you to give instructions for a letter to be written to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, stating that he is to serve a copy of this memorandum upon . . .”

1. Ἀπολιναρίωι: he was still strategus on Mecheir 3 of the 22nd year (484. 2; cf. 579, which is undated).

7. The signature of a subordinate of the archidicastes and that of the clerk who wrote the *οἰκονομία* (cf. 1474. 6-7, nn.) are customary after the date at this point.

8-13. Neither Aelianus nor his deputy Demetrius also called Domitius was known previously. A year before the date of 1472 Claudius Philoxenus was archidicastes (B. G. U. 73. 3-5, 136. 23-4), and two years after it Nicolaus was deputy (P. Brit. Mus. 1222. 3 = iii. 126). For the association of the office with that of νεωκόρος of Sarapis cf. Koschaker, *op. cit.* 261. The occurrence of an ex-soldier as archidicastes is somewhat unusual; cf. Koschaker, *op. cit.* 260. The *cohors ii Flavia Commagenorum equitata* is only known to have been stationed in Dacia (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* iv. 274), and seems to have been different from the σπεῖρα δευ(έρα) Κομμαγενῶν ἱππική: but a προσκίνημα of soldiers belonging to an εἰλη Κομμαγενῶν occurs in C. I. G. 5057, an inscription at Talmis; cf. Preisigke, *S. B.* 4575. The mention of the rank of Aelianus' deputy (exegetes-elect) is interesting, since the other references to deputy-archidicastae give no information on this point. The office of archidicastes was sometimes combined with that of gymnasiarch (B. G. U. 614. 10 Ἀπολλωνίω τῷ πρὸς τῷ μέρει τοῦ τῆς πόλεως γυμνασίου ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ), but, as the order in B. G. U. 614 indicates, was superior to it, the exegetes ranking next below the gymnasiarch at Alexandria, as in the nomes; cf. 1412. 1-3, n.

15. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 908. 22 sqq. (iii. 133; = M. *Chrest.* 229), where in the restoration of l. 23 καθ' ἣν is to be omitted, and in l. 26 [Ἀφροδίσιος] to be supplied.

19. ἡμάρταβίω is new in connexion with μέτρον, but is perhaps to be restored in 1454. 9. μέτρον ἐξαχόινικον and μ. τετραχόινικον are common.

24-5. ὀπηῖκα ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι was the usual stipulation with regard to the return of παραθήκαι, e. g. P. Tebt. 387. 9. For [τ]ελῶν ἐνκυκλίου καὶ καταλ[ο]χισμῶν see 1462. 29-30, n.

25-7. ν και, υι of γ[ε]γ[ο]ν[υ]α[ς] and ω υι[ω] were on a separate fragment, which is not certainly placed here, especially as καί [ is not very satisfactory and καὶ χ[ might be read. γεγονίας is however the regular word at this point; cf. e. g. 1474. 23.

27. The word after υι[ω] is presumably a proper name; cf. *Griech. Texte*, 6. 22-3. ]πο[ in l. 29 suggests ὑπὸ[χρε]ω (cf. e. g. P. Flor. 56. 14), but ἡ[μετέρω ὑ] does not fill the lacuna.

28-9. For ἐπι]δο[σ]να[ι cf. 485. 29; but the vestiges do not suit very well, and it is doubtful whether there is room for ἐπι-. For the restoration of the end of l. 29 cf. l. 27, n.

33. ]υ[.]αν might belong to μένο]υ[σ]αν] [κυρίαν: cf. 1270. 52-3.

Fr. 1. 2. ]ω[ does not belong to [ἀντί]γρα(φον) in l. 29.

3. ]αφη[ suggests ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀφή[λικες ὄσι (cf. e. g. 485. 30); but that phrase would be expected in l. 31, and the slight traces of ll. 30-2 do not fit into the formula of 485 or 1270.

#### 1473. APPLICATION CONCERNING A REMARRIAGE.

26.2 × 25.4 cm.

A. D. 201.

An application to a strategus from Horion, enclosing an authorization from the archidicastes for the serving of notice (*μετάδοσις*) upon Horion's wife Apollonarian, following upon the registration at Alexandria (*δημοσίωσις*) of the contract for their remarriage; cf. 1472. int. The earlier part of the papyrus, which is lost, but must have corresponded in arrangement to e. g. 1474, contained

(*a*) the beginning of the application to the strategus, (*b*) the authorization of the archidicastes, and the beginnings of (*c*) Horion's application to the archidicastes and (*d*) the contract. Lines 1-36 give the rest of (*d*), including in ll. 19-33 (*e*) an application from Apollonarian to the deputy-strategus for the appointment of a guardian *ad hoc*, and his authorization. This is followed by the conclusion of (*c*) (ll. 37-42) with copies of the signatures of a scribe of the archidicastes (ll. 42-3 ὡς καθήκει . . . Ἀθὺρ γ), and the archidicastes himself (l. 43 ἐ[σ]ημιωσάμην), and the conclusion of (*a*) (ll. 43-5). The documents are arranged, as usual, in the reverse of their chronological order.

The contract for remarriage is of an uncommon type; cf. B. G. U. 1101 (13 B. C.). The date of the original marriage does not appear, but it must have taken place before 194, since the offspring of it was aged 5 in 198-9 (l. 10). Apollonarian, who owned property (l. 13) besides her dowry (l. 5), became indebted both to the State in connexion with some vine-land (l. 3, n.) and to other creditors (ll. 4, 7-8, 15), and these debts may well have been connected with the separation. In Thoth (Aug. 29-Sept. 27) 197 the claims of the original contract were disposed of by a document of the nature of a divorce, apparently drawn up by a bank (l. 6, n.). By this the wife's dowry was repaid by Horion to Apollonarian, who made it over to her creditors (l. 5), and the legitimacy of the offspring was recognized (l. 9). Horion did not, however, break off relations with his former wife, for in the course of the same year 197-8 he lent her money to pay her dues to the State (ll. 26-7), and before Pharmouthi 1 (March 27) had arranged to remarry her (l. 32). The actual contract, which was between the husband and wife like the Alexandrian συγχωρήσεις concerning marriage in B. G. U. iv, and not, as in most other marriage-contracts, between the husband and the parents of the wife, was drawn up on Pharmouthi 13 (April 8). There was probably no fresh dowry, such as is found in B. G. U. 1101, for there is no reference to a repayment of it in the provisions concerning divorce (ll. 11-16; cf. 1273. 25 sqq.); but Horion lent Apollonarian 2½ talents (ll. 34-5), and received security for the repayment of her debts both to himself and other creditors, being empowered to receive the revenues of her property until all claims had been satisfied (ll. 1-8, 12-16). The legitimacy of the offspring was the subject of a renewed declaration (ll. 8-10).

The application for a guardian and the response (ll. 19-33) are parallel to P. Tebt. 397, Brit. Mus. 1164. (*a*) (iii. 156; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv. 550), and 56 (application only). The concluding sections (ll. 37-45) follow the formula of 719, so far as that papyrus goes, and show the correct restoration of a rather important lacuna in it (ll. 37-8, n.). The brief request to the strategus for

μετάδοσις (ll. 43-4; cf. 1270. 57-8) does not indicate any breach of the contract, and seems to be merely a precautionary measure, the δημοσίωσις of contracts becoming frequent in the third century; cf. ll. 17-18, n. and 1472. int. The strategus himself is likely to have been Dioph(anes), who was in office at the end of the 8th year (199-200); cf. 899. int.

[ 73 letters ] . . . [ . . ] . . [ 18 l.

[ 53 l. ] . . [ . . ] . . ρ[ 12 l. ] γα ὑποστειλ[α 14 l.

[ . . . . . ] εισα[ 27 l. ] . . . . [ 13 l. ] ην ἀμπέλου πρόσοδ[ον? . . . . λ]όγου ὀκτα-  
δρ[άχμου 10 l. ]

[ . ] [ . ] . ]ων καὶ ἀλλ[ων . . . ] . . [ 17 l. δ]ραχμῶν [ . . . ] ακ[ισχ]ειλίω τ[όκ]κ[ο]ν  
δραχμ[ιαίου] ἐκάστης μνᾶς κατ[ὰ] μῆνα ἕκαστον]

5 χωρὶς ὧν διέγραψεν ἡ Ἀπολλωνάριον ἀργυρίου ταλάντων τριῶν καὶ πρὸς,  
ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ προσενεχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων [α]ὐτῆς

τῶ Ὠρειῶν[ι] προῖξ ἅμα τῇ τοῦ γάμ[ο]ν αὐτῶν προσελεύσει, ἥτις συγγραφὴ  
ἐλύθη τῶ διελθόντι 5 (ἔτει) μηνὶ Θῶθ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύγ-

χων πόλει Σα[ραπ(είου)] τραπέζης. εἰς δὲ τὰ ἀλλ[α] ὀφειλόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῆς  
ἐπεὶ τόκοις ἐπακολουθήσει ἡ Ἀπολλωνάριον [γ]ράμματα ἐκδιδομένη τῆς  
ἐπακολουθήσεως τῶ Ὠρειῶνι ἕ[ως] ἀ]ν τᾶλλα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὀφειλόμενα πληρο-  
φορηθῆ. ἀμφότεροι δὲ ἦ τε Ἀπολλωνάριον καὶ

ὁ Ὠρειῶν ἐξομολογοῦνται τὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς περιλύσεως ἐξομολογηθέντα γεγο-  
νότα αἰαυτοῖς ἐξ ἀλλήλων υἰδὸν Χαιρήμονα τὸν καὶ

10 Φαῦστον ὄντα πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) ἐτῶν ε. συμβιούτωσαν οὖν ἀλλήλοις  
οἱ γαμοῦντες ἀμέμπτως καθὰ καὶ πρότερον συνεβίου

φυλάσσοντες τὰ τοῦ γάμου δίκαια, ὁ δὲ [γ]αμῶν καὶ ἐπιχορηγείτω τῇ  
γυναικὶ τὰ δέοντα κατὰ δύναμιν. ἐὰν δέ, ὃ μὴ εἶη, ἐκ διαφορᾶς

ἀπαλλαγῶσι ἀλλήλων, ἐὰν μὲν πρὶν ἢ πληρωθῆναι τὸν Ὠρειῶνα τοῖς προ-  
κειμένοις αὐτοῦ ταλάντοις δυσὶ καὶ δραχμαῖ[ς] τρις-

χειλίαις καὶ τοῖς συναχθησομέν[ο]ις τόκοις, ἀντιλήμψεται ὁ Ὠρειῶν τῶν  
προσόδων (τῶν) τῆς Ἀπολλωναρίου ὑπαρχόντων ἕως οὗ (ἄ)ν

πληρωθῆ, τελῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια καὶ χωρηγῶν τῇ Ἀπολλωναρίῳ εἰς  
διατροφὴν κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεντήκοντα μέτρῳ

15 τῶ προκειμένῳ καὶ οἴνου κεράμια πεντήκοντα πέντε, καὶ τοῖ[ς] ἀλλ[ο]ις εἴστοτε  
φανησομένοις αὐτῆς δανεισταῖς ἀποδώσει. ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἂν

ἡ πάντων ἀπόδοσις γένηται, ἔκτοτε ἡ Ἀπολλωνάριον ἀντιλήμψετα[ι] τῶν  
 ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων καθότι πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 συνεχώρησαν. κυρία ἡ συγγραφή ἦν περὶ ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρῶνται οἱ γαμοῦντες  
 ἢ καὶ τις αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ δημοσίου ἀνοίσουσιν, τῶν τε-  
 λῶν καὶ γραμματικῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους. (ἔτους) ζ Ἀυτοκρατόρων  
 Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος  
 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου [Ἀντ]ω-  
 νίνου Σεβαστῶν Φαρμοῦθι ιγ. ἔστι δὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ κυρίου  
 20 [ἀ]ντίγραφον Ἀμμωνια(νὸς) βασιλικὸς γραμματέως Ὁξ[υ]ρυχέιτος [δι]αδεχό-  
 μενος τὴν στρατηγίαν· εἰ μὴδὲν ἀντιπέπει, μηδενὸς δη-  
 μοσίου ἤτοι ἰδιωτικοῦ καταβλαπτομένου, δύνασαι ὡς ἀξιοῖς ἐπισταμένη  
 γράμματα κυρίῳ χρῆσασθαι τῷ Εὐδαίμονι  
 πρὸς μόνην [ταύτ]ην τὴν οἰκονομίαν. ἐσημιωσάμην. (ἔτους) ζ Λουκίου  
 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνίνου [Σεβαστῶν Φαρμοῦθι . . .] Ἀμμωνιανῶ βασιλικῶ γραμ[ματεῖ] δια-  
 δεχομένῳ{ν} καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν παρὰ Ἀπολλωναρίου  
 Χαιρήμ[ο]νος [. . . . .] . . . . ἀπ' Ὁξυρ[ύ]γχων πόλεως μητ(ρὸς) Καρπο-  
 κρ[α . . . . .]τιος. ἐπισταμένη γράμματα καὶ πρῶμῆν πρὸς τὸν  
 25 προσυ[ν]όντ[α μοι] ἀνδ[ρα] Ὁρειῶνα Ἰέρακος ἐξηγητεύσαντος τῆ[ς] Ὁξυρυ-  
 χειτῶν πόλ[ε]ως [[κατὰ συν]γαμικῆ(ν) συγγραφῆν  
 δι' ἧς ἀ[σ]φάλ[ι]α [δίδοται τῷ Ὁρειῶν]ι ὧν η{ο} ὑχρήστησέν μοι καὶ διέ-  
 γραψε τῷ διελθόντι ς (ἔτει) ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν εἰς λόγον  
 ἧς ἀπητήθην [. . . ἀμπέλου πρ]οσόδου, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐξομολογουμένη σὺν αὐτῷ  
 τὸν γεγονότα ἡμεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων υἶδν Χαιρήμονα  
 τὸν καὶ Φαῦστον, ἅμα καὶ ταῖς] διὰ τῆς συγγ[ρ]αφῆς ἐνγραφησομέν[αι]ς ἐξ  
 συμφώνου περὶ τῆς συμβιώσεως ἡμῶν διαστολαῖς,  
 αἰτοῦμ[αι] διὰ [σοῦ πρὸς μόνην] ταύτην τὴν οἰ[κ]ονομίαν ἐπιγραφῆναί μου  
 κύριον Εὐδαίμονα Ἀγήνορος τοῦ καὶ Θεοξένου Ἀπολλωνί(ου)  
 30 μητρὸς Τεῖ[σ]το[ς] τ[ῆ]ς καὶ [Δη]μ[ητρ]οῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως παρόντα  
 καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα. διέγραφα δὲ τὸ ὄρισμένον τῆς αἰτήσεως  
 τέλος. (ἔτους) ζ Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισ[άρ]ων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρ[ο]ν  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστ[ο]ν  
 καὶ Μάρκ[ο]ν Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σ[ε]βαστῶν Φαρμοῦθι α. Ἀπο[λλων]ῶν[α]ριον  
 Χαιρήμονος ἐπιδέδωκα. Εὐδαίμων Ἀγήνορος εὐ-

- δοκῶ. Ἀπολλώναριον Χαι[ρ]ήμου[ος] συνήλθ[ο]ν τῷ πρῶν[τ]ι ἀνδ[ρ]ι Ὀρείωνι  
 πρὸς γάμου κοινωνία(ν), καὶ ἔσχον τὰ τοῦ ἀργυρίου  
 τάλαντ[α β] ἢ[μ]ισυ, γείνου[τ]αι δ[ρ]αχ[μ]αὶ μύρ[ι]ται ἑπτακισχίλια, κα[ι] εὐ-  
 δ[ο]κῶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμένοις. Εὐδαίμων Ἀγήνορος αἰτηθεὶς  
 35 ἐπιγέγ[ρα]μμαι τῆς Ἀπολλωναρίου [κ]ύριος. Ὀρείων Ἰέρακος σ[υν]ῆ[λ]θ[ο]ν  
 τῇ Ἀπολλωναρίῳ πρὸς γάμου [κ]οινωνία(ν) ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμέ-  
 νοις, καὶ συνεθέμην τῇ Ἀπολλωναρίῳ ἐπ[ά]ν, δὲ μὴ εἶη, ἀπαλλ[α]γῶμεν δοῦνα[ι]  
 ἐνοίκησιν τὴν πατρῶαν [ο]ικίαν ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Δεκάτης.  
 τοῦτο δὲ βουλόμενος ἐν δημοσίῳ [γ]ενέσ[θ]αι δίδωμι τῇ πόλι διὰ τὸ μοναχὸν  
 αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ μὴ περιέχειν τὰς [π]ερὶ τῆς διαθέσεως  
 διαστολὰς [τ]ὰς ὀρισθείσας (δραχμὰς) ἰβ, ἀξιῶ [ἀ]ναλ[αβό]ντα[ς] αὐτὸ παρ'  
 ἐμ[ο]ῦ [ὑ]πογεχειρογραφημένον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τοῦ εἶναι τὰς ὑπὸ αὐτὸ  
 [ὑ]πογραφ[ά]ς ἰδιογ[ρά]φους, τὴν πρ[ώ]την τῆς Ἀπολλ[λ]ωναρίου καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς  
 τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῆς συγγραψαμένου καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν  
 40 [ἐ]μοῦ τοῦ Ὀρ[εί]ωνος, σ[υ]νκαταχωρίσαι αὐτ[ὸ] τῷδε τῷ ὑπομνήματι τὸ μὲν  
 αὐθεντικὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀδριανὴν βιβλιοθήκην, τούτου  
 [δὲ] τ[ὸ] ἴσον εἰς τὴν τ[ο]ῦ Ν[α]ναίου, καὶ συντάξαι γραφήναι τῷ τοῦ [Ὀ]ξυ-  
 ρυγχ[εῖ]του νομοῦ στρατηγῶ μεταδοῦναι τῇ Ἀπολλωναρίῳ τούτου ἀν-  
 [τίγρ]α(φον), ἵνα [εἰδῆ] αὐτ[ὴ] ἀπὸ [τοῦ νῦν μέν]οιτά μοι [τὰ] ἀπὸ αὐτῆς δι[ί]καιο  
 ὄ[ς] ἀπὸ δημοσίου χρηματί[σ]μ[ο]υ. ὡς καθήκει. (ἔτους) θ Λουκίου  
 Σεπτιμί-  
 [ου Σεου]ήρου Εὐσεβοῦ[ς] Περτί[νακος καὶ Μάρκου] Ἀύρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐ-  
 σεβοῦ[ς] Σεβαστῶν Ἀθῦρ γ. ἐ[σ]ημιωσάμην. τούτου ὄντος ἀξιῶ τὴν μετ[ά]-  
 [δοσιν] γενέσθαι [τῇ] Ἀπολλων[α]ρίῳ [ὡς καθ]ήκει. (ἔτους) θ Ἀυτοκρ[α]τό[ρ]ων  
 Κα[ισά]ρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σ[ε]ουήρου Εὐσεβοῦ[ς] Περτίνακος Ἀρα-  
 βικοῦ  
 45 Ἀδια[βη]ν[ι]κοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου [καὶ Μάρκου] Ἀύρηλί[ου Ἀν]τωνίνου  
 Εὐ[σ]εβοῦ[ς] Σεβαστ[ῶ]ν [[καὶ Πουπλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]] Καίσαρος  
 Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι ι.

Fr. 1.

]αυνι . [

Fr. 2.

]κα[

2. ὑποστειλ[ Π. 5. ὑπο Π; so in ll. 7, 38 (twice). 7. σα[ραπ(είου)] inserted above the line. τὸκ of τοκοῖς corr. ἢ ἀπολλ. Π. 8. ὑπερ Π; so in l. 14. 9. l. εἰστοῖς. ὑἱον Π;

so in l. 27. 10. *συνεβιοῦ Π.* 11. *ς* of *διαφορας* corr. from *ι*. 12. *α* of *πληρωθηραι* corr. from *ε*. 13. *ὑπαρχοντων Π*; so in l. 16. 14. l. *χορηγῶν*. 20. l. *γραμματεῦς*. 24. l. *ποιουμένη*. 25. *ἱερακος Π*; so in l. 35. Dots are placed over *κατα συνν*. 29. *μ* of *εὐδαμονα* rewritten. 30. l. *διέγραψα*. 33. l. *πράσι[τ]ι*. 34. l. *πεντακισχίλια*. 37. Third *ο* of *βουλομενος* corr. from *η*. 40. *ὑπομ[νηματι] Π*. First *β* of *βιβλειωθηκην* corr. 41. *ἴσον Π*. Second *ο* of *νομου* corr. from *φ*. 42. *ἴνα Π*. 45. *νν* of *παννι* corr. from *χφ*.

‘. . . drachmae at the interest of 1 drachma per mina each month, apart from the three talents and more paid by Apollonariou, including the dowry provided by her parents to Horion at the time of their marriage, which contract was discharged in the past 6th year in the month of Thoth through the bank of the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus. With regard to her other debts at interest Apollonariou shall be responsible for them, delivering to Horion the documents of settlement until the rest of her debts are paid off. Both Apollonariou and Horion acknowledge the son born to them, who was also acknowledged in the deed of divorce, Chaeremon also called Faustus, aged 5 in the present 7th year. Let the parties to the marriage therefore live together blamelessly, as they did formerly, observing the marriage-rights, and let the husband provide the wife with necessaries according to his means; but if, which heaven forbid, they part from each other owing to a dispute, if this takes place before Horion recovers the aforesaid 2 talents 3,000 drachmae and the accrued interest, Horion shall take the revenues of Apollonariou’s property until he recovers the debt, paying the taxes upon them, and for subsistence providing Apollonariou annually with 50 artabae of wheat by the aforesaid measure and 55 jars of wine, and shall repay the other creditors who may appear up to that time. But from the date on which all the debts are paid off, thenceforth Apollonariou shall take her own property, all the provisions of the contract being observed. This contract is valid, and whenever the parties to the marriage or one of them choose they shall effect the publication of it, both parties being responsible for the taxes and scribes’ charges. The 7th year of the Emperors Caesars L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and M. Aurelius Antoninus Augusti, Pharmouthi 13. The copy of the request for a guardian is as follows: Ammonianus basilicogrammateus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, deputy-strategus. If there is no objection, no public or private interests being injured, you are at liberty, as you request, since you know how to write, to employ Eudaemon as your guardian for this transaction only. Signed. The 7th year of L. Septimius, &c., Pharmouthi . . . To Ammonianus, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, from Apollonariou daughter of Chaeremon . . ., of Oxyrhynchus, her mother being Carpocra . . . As I know how to write, and am making a marriage-contract with my former husband Horion son of Hierax, ex-exegetes of Oxyrhynchus, by the terms of which Horion obtains security for the sums which he lent me and paid in the past 6th year into the public bank on account of the revenue of vine-land . . . demanded from me, and further am acknowledging with him the son born to us jointly, Chaeremon also called Faustus, together with the other provisions concerning our cohabitation to be inserted in the contract by joint agreement, I request that you may appoint as my guardian for this transaction only Eudaemon son of Agenor also called Theoxenus, son of Apollonius, his mother being Taurus also called Demetrous, of the said city, who is present and gives his consent. I have paid the prescribed tax for my request. The 7th year &c., Pharmouthi 1. I, Apollonariou daughter of Chaeremon, have presented the application. I, Eudaemon son of Agenor, consent to it. I, Apollonariou daughter of Chaeremon, have been united to my former husband Horion in marriage, and have received the 2½ talents, total 15,000 drachmae, of silver, and consent to all the aforesaid terms. I, Eudaemon son of Agenor, at her request have been appointed guardian of Apollonariou. I, Horion son of Hierax, have been united to Apollonariou in marriage upon all the aforesaid terms, and have agreed, whenever, which

heaven forbid, we are divorced, to give Apollonariion the right of inhabiting her paternal house in the quarter of the Tenth.

And whereas I desire this contract to be publicly registered, I give to the city, because it is single and does not contain the provisions concerning the disposition (?), the prescribed 12 drachmae, and request you on receiving it from me with my attestation that the signatures appended to it are autographs, the first of Apollonariion, the second of her guardian and co-signatory, the last of myself, Horion, to register it together with this application, the original at the Library of Hadrian and a copy of it at the Library of the Nanaeum, and to give instructions for a letter to be written to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, stating that he is to serve a copy of this application upon Apollonariion, in order that she may herself know that henceforth the rights in virtue of it are assured to me, as by a public deed.

Let the proper steps be taken. The 9th year &c., Hathur 3. Signed.

This being so, I request that it be served upon Apollonariion in the proper way. The 9th year &c., Pauni 10.'

3. ἀμπέλου πρόσδο[ον : cf. l. 27, which shows that it was a tax, not one of Apollonariion's own πρόσδοι (l. 13), and int. The impost προσόδ(ων) or -δ(ου) ἀμπελ(ώνων) or -λ(ου) occurs in the nearly contemporary 1046. 3, and is parallel to the impost προσόδων φοινίκ(ων) or -κ(ώνων) in Wilcken, *Ost.* no. 276; but the relation of it to the other known taxes upon vine-land is uncertain. 1436. 13, where οὐσιακοῦ φόρου παραδείσων occurs in a list of taxes, suggests that ἀμπέλου πρόσδοδος might be equivalent to ἀμπ. φόρος, i.e. rent of vine-land belonging to the State; but πρόσδοδος might refer to προσόδου γῆ (cf. 1446. 4, &c.). The present passage, especially if ὑπέρ is restored before λόγου, seems to connect the πρόσδοδος with the 8-drachmae tax, which is known to have been levied upon vine-land, and was generally called σπονδή in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. 1436. 11, and P. Ryl. 216. 128, nn. For λόγου ὀκταδρ[άχμου cf. P. Ryl. 186. 3 λόγου (ὀκταδρ.) νομ(οῦ) [, the preceding entry recording a payment for ἀμπέλ(ου).

4. [χ][λί]ων is unsatisfactory, for that word is spelled χελίων later in the line, and if the letter before ων was ι, the tail of it should have been visible. After δ[ραχμῶν either [τετρ]ακι[σχ]ελίων or [πεντ]ακι[σχ.] can be read.

6. ἐλύθη: for λύειν in reference to payment of debts cf. P. Hamb. 1. 14, n., P. Ryl. 176. 3. The mention of the bank (cf. P. Ryl. 176) also indicates that the repayment of Apollonariion's dowry by Horion is meant; cf. int. and l. 9, n.

9. περιλύσεις: cf. 129. 12 περιλύσεις ρεπούδιον, and P. Giessen 30. 15 τὰ τῆς περιλ. γράμματα, both referring to divorce. Probably this document was identical with that concerning λύσις implied in l. 6; cf. int.

10-12. συμβιούτωσαν . . . ἀλλήλων: the usual formula; cf. e.g. 1273. 22-5.

17-18. ἥπερ ὀπηρῖκα κτλ.: this is the earliest example of the stipulation at the end of contracts concerning marriage, sale, &c., which became stereotyped during the next thirty years in a slightly different form (e.g. 1273. 37-40, 1475. 33-4), omitting the references to taxes. The τέλη consisted of (1) the usual 12 drachmae for Alexandria (l. 38; cf. 1475. 41), (2) the obscure τοῦ τιμήματος τέλη (1200. 45, P. Leipzig 10. ii. 21), which correspond to τὸ ὑπέρ τῆς δημοσιώσεως ὀρισμένον in 1475. 42 (cf. n.), and to which the payment for δημοσιώ(σις) in P. S. I. 109. 2 and the sums sometimes acknowledged by the first signatory to the authorization of the archidicastes (cf. 1474. 6, n.) apparently refer. The γραμματικά, i.e. payments to the scribe of the καταλογεῖον who drew up the οἰκονομία (1474. 7, n.), are not mentioned elsewhere, but probably correspond to the σποδαί in P. S. I. 109. 7. The sharing of the expenses is not in accordance with the evidence (e.g. in ll. 37-8) that the person who made the application for δημοσιώσις was actually responsible for the charges.



20. Ἀμωνια(νά)ς: cf. 899. 34, where he was deputy-strategus on Pachon 27 (May 22) of the 7th year, the reading of the figure there being confirmed by the dates in ll. 22-3 and 31 here. On the competence of the exegetes, as well as the strategus, to appoint guardians see P. Tebt. 397. 4, n. ὑπομηματογράφοι (cf. 1412. 1-3, n.) were also competent, as is shown by 1645; but sometimes the praefect was petitioned on the subject (1466).

20-1. εἰ μηδὲν ἀντιπέπτει: so in an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus cited by Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv. 550-1, which proceeds μητὲ (l. μηδὲ) δημόσιον ἢ ἰδιωτικὸν καταβλάπτεται, and omits πισταμένη γράμματα, for which cf. 56. 12 and 1467. int. In P. Ryl. 120. 25 εἰ μηδέ]ν is more probable than εἰ δέ τ]ι before ἀντιπέπτει.

22. πρὸς μόνην [ταύτ]ην τὴν οἰκονομίαν: cf. l. 29, 56. 17, P. Tebt. 397. 4, n., Brit. Mus. 1164. (f) 6-7, Ryl. 120. 26.

23. It is improbable that Fr. 1, which might be Π]αῦνι .[, is to be placed after [Σε]βαστῶν, for Pauni is not a suitable month for the response, the application having been made on Pharmouthi 1 (l. 32), and the contract dated on Pharmouthi 13 (l. 19). In P. Tebt. 397 the response is dated, but not the application; in P. Ryl. 120 the date of the application corresponds to that of the response, but is a later insertion.

27. ἀπέλουν προσόδου: cf. l. 3, n., and int.

30-1. διέγρα(ψ)α . . . τέλος: cf. 56. 22. P. Ryl. 120. 17-18 alone indicates the amount, having τοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτήσεως κελουθέντας δίδοσθαι εἰς το . . . [24 letters] πάλεως [δ]βολοὺς ἐνέα ἡμί[σ]υ διέγραψα ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Ἐρμοῦ πόλει δημοσίαν τράπεζαν.

33. πρῶν[τ]ι: προσυ[δ]ι[τ]ι (cf. l. 25) cannot be read, but may have been meant, if the scribe wrote πρῶν[α]υ[τ]ι, as is possible. For πρ(ό)ντι cf. e.g. P. Ryl. 154. 4, referring to a previous period of ἀγραφος γάμος.

34. τάλαντ[α β] ἡμί[σ]ον: cf. l. 12.

37-8. δίδωμι . . . ιβ: cf. 719. 30-1, where l. διδοῦ[ς τὰς] ὀρισθείσας (δρ.) ιβ ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ περιέχειν με (?) τὰς περὶ [τῆς διαθέ]σεως διαστολὰς καὶ μοναχὸν δημοσιοῦσθαι. With the wrong restoration [δημοσιώ]σεως that passage was very obscure, and the technical meaning of διάθεσις here is far from clear; but 1473 shows that the subject of περιέχειν is the contract and in 719 με is probably to be corrected to μου, if μου cannot be read. In both papyri the contract in question was single, whereas where the clause ἕνεκα τοῦ (or διὰ τὰ) κτλ. is omitted it was τρισσὴ (1561. 11, P. Leipzig 10. ii. 19) or δισσή (1200. 44, 1475. 41, B. G. U. 578. 14, 717. 23); and διάθεσις perhaps refers to the division of the copies of a contract among the parties, e.g. in 1273. 37. διὰ, though uncertain, suits the traces better than πρὸς, and ἕνεκα is more likely to have a causal than a final sense.

38. [ὑ]ποκεχειρογραφημένον: cf. *Griech. Texte*, 6. 25.

40. On the two Alexandrian libraries see 34.

42. ἵνα [εἰδῆ αὐτ]ῆ ἀπὸ [τοῦ νῦν μέν]οντα: 1200. 50, 1475. 45, and P. Leipzig 10. ii. 26 have πρὸς τὸ μένειν, 485. 32 ἵν' εἰδῶσι καὶ ποιήσωνται . . . ἢ εἰδῶσι χρῆσόμενον (ὅπως ποιήσωνται . . . ἢ εἰδῶσι is more usual; cf. e.g. B. G. U. 578. 20), 1270. 52 has ἵνα [αὐτῆ εἰδ]ῆ is less likely.

ὡς καθήκει: cf. 1270. 54, 1475. 50, nn. In the corresponding passage *Griech. Texte*, 6. 35 P. M. Meyer reads γ(ιένθω) ὡς καθ. ; but the γ is not certain and in any case is omitted in the Oxyrhynchite examples. This endorsement was written for the archidicastes by a γραμματεὺς, the signature of the archidicastes himself being ε[σ]ημιωσάμην in l. 43; cf. *Griech. Texte*, 6. 38.

45. Geta occurs in the date-formulae in Egypt in the 9th year of Severus on Tubi 13 (P. Brit. Mus. 347. 4 = ii. 71); cf. l. 43 where he is not mentioned on Hathur 3. B. G. U. 156. 11-12 (=W. *Chrest.* 175) of the 9th year is said to have Ἐπ(ε)φ after Εὐσεβοῦς, omitting Σεβαστῶν and Geta; but we suspect a misreading of Σεβα(στῶν) Φα(ῶφι).

Fr. 1. Cf. l. 23, n.

## 1474. APPLICATION CONCERNING A LOAN.

13.6 x 18.3 cm.

A. D. 216.

An application, similar to 1473, to a strategus from a woman with reference to the return of a loan, enclosing copies of (1) an authorization from the archidicastes for μετάδοσις (ll. 3-8), (2) her application to him for δημοσίωσις and μετάδοσις of the contract (ll. 8-11, 23), and (3) the contract itself (ll. 11-22); cf. 1472. int. The conclusion, corresponding to 1473. 37-45, is missing. The reference to a payment of 14 drachmae by the applicant at the office of the archidicastes (l. 6, n.) explains the corresponding passage in B. G. U. 578, which has hitherto been misunderstood. The terms of the loan, which was without interest, but subject to an increase of one-half if not repaid at the proper time, are somewhat unusual; cf. l. 18, n. A few corrections have been made in a different hand.

Ἀϋρηλίῳ Ἀνουβίῳ στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
 παρὰ Ἀϋρηλίας Διδύμης τῆς καὶ Διονυσίας καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει διὰ Ἀϋρηλίου  
 Νείλου γραμμα-  
 τέως. οὐ ἐπόρ[ισα ἀ]πὸ διαλογῆς χρηματισμοῦ ἐστὶν ἀντίγραφον. Ἀϋρήλιος  
 Κάσιος ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρ-  
 χιδικαστῆ[ς] στ[ρα]τηγῶ Ὁξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν. τῆς τετηλιομένης δημο-  
 σιώσεως ἀντίγρα-  
 5 φον μεταδοθ[ήτω] ὡς ὑπόκειται. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κδ Ἀϋρηλίου Σεουήρου  
 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου Με[χεῖ]ρ ε. Μάρκος Ἀϋρήλιος Ἀρπογρατίων σεσημίωμαι (δραχμάς)  
 ἰδ. Μάρκος Ἀϋρήλιος Νε-  
 μεσιανὸς ὁ καὶ Εἰρηναῖος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω γραμματέως καταλογίου τὴν  
 οἰκονομίαν ἔγρα-  
 ψα. Λουκίῳ Σεπτιμίῳ Ἀϋρηλίῳ Κασίῳ ἱερῷ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπι-  
 μελείᾳ τῶν χρημα-  
 τιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων παρὰ Ἀϋρηλίας Διδύμης τῆς καὶ Διονυσίας  
 καὶ ὡς χρημα-  
 10 τίζει. τῆς προιμένης μοι δισσῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ αὐτὴν ὑπογραφῆς  
 ἀντίγραφον ὑπό-  
 [κι]ται. Πεκῦσις Πανσιρίωνος μητρὸς Τεθεύτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως  
 Ἀϋρηλία Διδύμη τῇ καὶ

Διονυσία καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει διὰ Σουχάμμωνος ἀπελευθέρου τοῦ πάππου σου  
 Αὐρηλίου Δι-

ογένους χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ὀφίλειν σοι ἄς ἐσχέκειν παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσι πυροῦ  
 ἀρτάβας τεσσαερά-

κοντα πέντε, καὶ ταύτας ἀποδώσιν σοι χωρὶς διαφόρου τῷ Ἐπειφ μηνὶ τοῦ  
 ἐνεστῶτος κγ (ἔτους)

15 πυροῦ ναίου καθαροῦ ἀδῶλου ἀβῶλου ἀκρίθου καικοσκινευμένου καὶ εἰς δη-  
 μόσιον με-

τρουμένου ἐνθάδε ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ μέτρῳ παραλλημπτικῷ σου κώμης Σύρων  
 τῶν σῶν

μετρούντων, πάντα δὲ χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτείσω σοι τοῦ ὑπερ-  
 πεσόντος χρόνου

διάφορον ἐξ ἡμισείας, τῆς πράξεώς σου οὔσης ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 χόντων μοι παντοί-

ων πάντων. κυρία (ἡ) χεὶρ τισσῆ γραφείσα πανταχῆ ἐπιφερομένη καὶ παντὶ  
 τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπι-

20 φέροντι. (ἔτους) κγ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου  
 Ἀντωνίου Παρθικοῦ

[Με]γ[ί]στ[ο]ν Βρε[ταν]ικ[ο]ν [Μεγίστου] Γερ[μα]νικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Σεβαστοῦ Χοιάκ κ. Πεκῦ-

[σις Παισιρίωνος ἔσχον τὰς προκιμένας ἀ]ρτάβας τεσσα{ε}ράκοντα πέντε καὶ  
 ἀποδώσω ὡς πρόκειται).

[ῶν χρόνων καὶ διελθόντων καὶ τῆς ἀ]ποδώσεως μὴ γεγонуίας [βο]ύλομαι ἀπὸ  
 τῆς τισσῆ[ς]

. . . . .

3. ἱερευς Π; so in l. 8 ἱερι. 4. l. τετελειωμένης. 5. αυ of αυρηλιου corr. from μα.  
 6. l. Ἀρποκρατίων: αρπ corr. from σαρα. 7. l. γραμματεῦς. 9. ι of κριτηριων corr. from τ.  
 10. προίμενης Π, ι of μοι corr. by a second hand from υ, and δ of δισσης from τ. 11. θ  
 of τεθεντος corr. from τ. 12. First π of παππου corr. from το. 13. ε of οφίλειν inserted  
 above the line by a second hand. 15. l. νέου . . . ἀδῶλου . . . καικοσκινευμένου. 16. τη,  
 of οξυρυγχειτη corr. σῶ Π. 18. l. σοι. 19. l. δισσή. 20. os of καισαρος corr. from  
 ων (?). 23. l. ἀ]ποδώσεως . . . δισση[ς].

‘To Aurelius Anubion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Didyme also called Dionysia, and however she is styled, through Aurelius Nilus, scribe. A copy of the communication which I have received from the bureau is as follows.

Aurelius Casius, priest and archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Let a copy of the publication which has been effected be served, as follows.

Good-bye. The 24th year of Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mecheir 5. I, Marcus Aurelius Harpocraton, have signed for 14 drachmae. I, Marcus Aurelius Nemesianus also called Irenaeus, and however I am styled, scribe of the bureau, wrote the document.

To Lucius Septimius Aurelius Casius, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and other courts, from Aurelia Didyme also called Dionysia, and however she is styled. Appended is a copy of the bond issued to me in duplicate and of the signature beneath it. "Pekusis son of Peusirion and Tetheus, of Oxyrhynchus, to Aur. Didyme also called Dionysia, and however she is styled, through Suchammon, freedman of your grandfather Aurelius Diogenes, greeting. I acknowledge that I owe you the 45 artabae of wheat which I received from you on loan, and will repay these to you without interest in the month of Epeiph of the present 23rd year in wheat that is new, pure, unadulterated, unmixed with earth or barley, sifted, and measured into the public granary here in the Oxyrhynchite nome by your receiving-measure of the village of Syron, the measurement being performed by your agents, all without any delay, or, if I fail, I will forfeit to you interest for the overtime at the rate of half the capital, you having the right of execution upon both my person and all my property of every kind. This bond, written in duplicate, is valid wheresoever it is produced and whosoever produces it on your behalf. The 23rd year &c., Choiak 20. I, Pekusis son of Pausirion, have received the aforesaid 45 artabae, and will repay them as aforesaid." The period of the loan having expired and no repayment having been made, I desire that of this duplicate bond [a single copy should be sent to the Library of Hadrian &c.]

1. *Αὐρηλίω Ἀνουβίων*: cf. 1432. 1, n.

4. *τετ(ε)λι(ω)μένης δημοσιώσεως*: so 1200. 7, 1475. 5 in the secondary application to the archidicastes, to which there is nothing corresponding in the earlier examples such as 1474. The archidicastes himself in the letter corresponding to 1474. 3-6 there uses *τετελ(ειωμένης) προσφω(νήσεως)* (1200. 2, 1475. 1). The usual phrase at this point is *δεδομένον ὑπομνήματος*, e. g. 485. 5; but B. G. U. 578. 4 has *δημοσιώσεως χρ[η]μα[τισμοῦ]* where 1474. 3 has *χρηματισμοῦ*.

6. *σεσημίωμαι (δραχμὰς) ἰδ*: cf. B. G. U. 578. 8, where the words after *σεση(μείωμαι)*, which Mitteis (*Chrest.* 227. 8, n.) did not understand, are *(δραχμὰς) ε*. This entry apparently corresponds to that in P. Leipzig 10. ii. 32-3, to which 1200. 4 and 1475. 3 (cf. n.) are parallel, and the first of the two signatories usually found at this point (e. g. 485. 7-8) was probably *ὁ πρὸς τῇ διαλογῇ τῆς πόλεως*, the second being regularly, as here, a scribe of the *καταλογεῖον* (in B. G. U. 888. 4 called *νομογράφος ἀγορᾶς*), who wrote the document (*οἰκονομία*: cf. l. 7, n.). The 14 drachmae here may include the 12 drachmae regularly paid to Alexandria (e. g. 1473. 38), but part of the sum presumably belongs to the *τοῦ τιμήματος τέλη* (1473. 17-18, 1475. 42, nn.), like the 5 drachmae in B. G. U. 578, and the whole 14 drachmae may well be exclusive of the 12 drachmae for Alexandria. Perhaps they include *γραμματικά* (cf. 1473. 17-18, n.). The payments of 16 drachmae  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obols and 12 dr. [...] ob. in P. S. I. 109. 9, 23 seem to be for the *δημοσίω(σις)* of contracts, including *σπονδαί*, and to be of the same nature as the payment of 14 drachmae here.

7. *οἰκονομίαν*: Mitteis (*Chrest.* 239. int.) refers this only to the *ὑπογραφή* of the archidicastes, but the whole document is probably meant, especially if *οἰκονομίαν [π]ᾶσαν* is right in B. G. U. 578. 9.

8. This archidicastes was previously unknown.

14. *διαφόρου* practically = *τόκον*: cf. l. 18, n., and 1040. int.

16. *μέτρῳ παραλημπτικῷ*: cf. 101. 41, where it is *τετραχοῖνικον χαλκόστομον*. This measure was formerly explained by Wilcken (*Ost.* i. 772) as that used by officials called *παραλήμπται*,

but he abandoned that explanation (*Archiv*, i. 131<sup>1</sup>) in favour of the view that it was equivalent to  $\phi$  καὶ παρείληφε. This is, we think, unlikely, for in 1040. 17-19 μέ(τροφ) παραλ. σοῦ  $\phi$  καὶ παρο[με]μετρήμεθα occurs. In favour of Wilcken's earlier explanation can be urged the parallelism of μέτρον σιτολογικόν (740. 17); but a 'receiving-measure' may be a technical expression like the δοχικόν or παραδοχικόν measure, which was contrasted with the ἀνηλωτικόν measure (P. Hibeh 87).

Σύρων : a village in the western toparchy (1285. 75).

18. διάφορον ἐξ ἡμισείας : i. e. if the debtor failed to repay the 45 artabae in Epeiph, he had to pay  $67\frac{1}{2}$ , i. e. the ἡμιολία. It is more usual for a διάφορον of  $\frac{1}{2}$  to be charged in place of interest, apart from penalties for delay; cf. 1040 and the ἡμιόλιοι τόκοι in P. Reinach 15, &c. In 1640. 7 διάφορον ἐκ τρίτου occurs in a similar context, and in P. Strassb. 71. 8-9 l. ἐκ | τρίτου for the unsatisfactory μο[υ] | τρίτου. That passage means that the borrower had to repay 4 artabae in place of the 3 which he received, not, as Preisigke supposes, that he actually received only 2 out of 3 artabae nominally lent to him.

23. Twenty-seven letters are expected in the first lacuna, and the first καί may be omitted; cf. 1472. 25-7, n. τῆς δὲ προθεσμίας διελεύσεως (485. 27) is rather too long.

## 1475. APPLICATION CONCERNING A SALE OF LAND.

35 × 19.6 cm.

A. D. 267.

This long and well-preserved papyrus is closely parallel to 1200, and is mentioned in 1200. int. It was written a year later than that series of documents, and, like it, contains (a) an application to an archidicastes (l. 1, n.) concerning the δημοσίωσις of a sale (ll. 6-9, 41-7), (b) a copy of the sale (ll. 10-40), (c) a further application to the archidicastes for the communication of the δημοσίωσις to the βιβλιοφύλακες τῶν ἐγκτήσεων (ll. 4-5, 48-9), with (d) an endorsement on his behalf (l. 50), and (e) the required letter to the βιβλιοφύλακες inserted in the upper margin (ll. 1-3). (d) and (e) are in the same hand as 1200. 1-4 (and 56?) and 1561. 20-1 (A. D. 269), where the line corresponding to 1200. 4 and 1475. 3 occurs at the end of the document, as in P. Leipzig 10. The body of the document was written in the three cases by different scribes, that of 1475 employing a more cursive hand than the other two, and in his ligatures sometimes approximating to the style of the letter of the archidicastes (cf. Part ix, Plate vi). The decipherment of the difficult line 1200. 4 in the Alexandrian chancery script can now be carried a stage further, though one word is still uncertain; cf. l. 3, n. The maker of the application, Aurelia Thaisous also called Lolliane (l. 5, n.), is known from 1467, where she claimed the right to act without a guardian. 1475 does not contain at the end a subsequent endorsement by her corresponding to that in 1200. 57-61, where in l. 58 the date is to be read (ἔτους) α καὶ (ἔτους) δ, i. e. the ordinary reckoning of Aurelian and Vaballathus, not (ἔτ.) γ καὶ (ἔτ.) α. As in 1200, there are a few marginal notes in a third hand (different in the two papyri), these having been made in the βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων (l. 1, n.).

παρετ(έθη). *Αὐρή(λιος) Γάιος ὁ καὶ Ἀρπ[οκ]ρατίων ἱερ(εὺς) καὶ ἀρχιδικ(αστῆς) βιβλιο-  
(φύλαξιν) Ὁξύρυ(γχιτου) χαί(ρειν). τῆς τετελ(ειωμένης)  
προσφω(νήσεως) ἀντίγρα(φον) ὑπόκ(είται). ἔρρω(σθε). (ἔτους) ἰδ Γαλλιη-  
νοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαρμουῦθι ιη.*

ὁ πρὸς τῇ δια(λογῇ) τῆ(ς) πόλ(εως)· διέγγρα(ψεν?) *Αὐρ(ηλίου)  
Ἀλεξάνδρου χρηματίζοντος.*

2nd hand *Αὐρηλίω Γαίω τῷ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνι ἱε[ρεῖ] ἀρχιδικαστῇ [κ]αὶ π[ρὸς] τῇ ἐπι-  
μελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων*

5 *παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Θαῖσοῦτος τῆς κα[ὶ] Δολλιανῆς. τῆς τε[τ]ελιωμένης  
δημοσιώσεως ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται.*

*Αὐρηλίω Γαίω τῷ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνι ἱε[ρεῖ] ἀρχιδικαστῇ καὶ π[ρὸς] τῇ ἐπι-  
μελίᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Θαῖσοῦτος τῆς καὶ Δολλιανῆς θυγατρὸς Σαραπίωνος τοῦ  
καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος ἀγορανομή-  
σαντος τῆς Ὁξύρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. τῆς προειμέν[η]ς μοι δισσης ἀσφαλίας  
σὺν τῇ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπογραφῇ ἀν(τί)-  
γραφον ὑπόκειται.*

10 *Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθ[εῖ]νος ὁ καὶ Ὀριγένης Οὐαριανοῦ τοῦ [κ]αὶ Κλάρου μητρὸς  
Ὀριγενίης τῆς καὶ Ταύριος ἀπὸ Ὁξύρυγ-  
χων πόλε[ως] Αὐρηλία Θαῖσοῦτι τῇ καὶ Δολλιανῇ θυγατρὶ Σαραπίωνος  
τοῦ καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος ἀγορανομήσαν-  
τος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως μητρὸς Διονυσίας τῆς καὶ Διαίνης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζούσης  
τέκνων δικαίω χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι σοι  
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον  
τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα ὑπάρχοντά μοι ἀγοραστι[κ]ῶ δικαίω πρότερον σοῦ τῆς  
ὠνουμένης περὶ κώμην*

15 *Παεῖμιν [τ]ῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὁξύρυγχιτου νομοῦ ἐκ  
τοῦ Νείκωνος ἀνθ' οὗ Νεικομήδους  
κλήρου σιτικὰς κ[αὶ] ἐτέρας ἀρούρας ἔνδεκα, ἐν αἷς λάκκος συνερευκῶς καὶ  
ὁ τροχὸς ὁμοίως συν-  
ερευκῶς ἐκ μέρου[ς] σὺν τῇ ἐπικειμένη μηχανῇ, ὧν ὄλων γ[ε]ί[τ]ο[υ]ες]  
νότου καὶ λιβὸς διῶρυξ καὶ ἄλλα, βορρᾶ πρό-  
τερον Ἰουλίου Θεώνος, ἀπηλιώτ[ο]υ τὰ ἐξῆς οἰκόπεδα καὶ ψιλοὶ τόποι καὶ  
τὸ δν πωμάριον, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώ-*

- μη ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς μέρεσι τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης οἰκίας δύο καὶ  
 τὰ τούτων χρηστήρια καὶ ἀνήκοντα  
 20 πάντα κα[ῖ] τοὺς ἐκ βορρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς τούτων ψειλο[ὺ]ς τόπου[ς] καὶ τὸ  
 μετοξὺ πωμάριον νυνὶ ἐν χέρσῳ ἀρούρης  
 ἡμίους [τετάρ]του ἐ[κκ]αιδεκάτου ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν [ῆ] ἔλαττον καὶ τὸ ὄν ἐν  
 αὐτῷ φρέαρ, ὧν οἰκοπέδων καὶ ψιλῶν  
 τόπων [καὶ π]ωμαρίου ὄντων ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν [γ]είτονες νότου παρόρια τῆς  
 πόλεως, βορρᾶ περίμετρα τῆς  
 κώμη[ς], ἀπηλιώτου ἱεράκιον, λιβὸς τὰ προκείμενα σιτικὰ ἐδάφη, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 πάντων ἀκολουθῶς  
 τῇ δικαίᾳ πράσι καὶ παραχωρήσι. τὰς δὲ συμ[πε]φωνημένας πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους ὑ[πὲρ] τ[ε]ιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ  
 25 τῶν προκ[ε]ιμένων πάντων ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ [νομ]ίσματος δραχμὰς  
 ἐν(ε)ακ[ισχιλί]ας ἑπτακοσίας, αἶ εἰσι  
 ἀργυρίου τάλα[ν]τ[ο]ρ[ο]ν ἐν καὶ δρ[αχμ]αὶ τρισχί[λ]ιαι ἑπ[τα]κόσαιοι, αὐτόθι  
 ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλή-  
 [ρο]υς. δι[ὸ] κρα[τε]ῖν σε καὶ κυριεύειν σὺν ἐγγόν[οι]ς καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ  
 μεταληψομένοις τῶν παραχωρου-  
 μένων [ὑπ' ἐ]μοῦ ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐξουσίαν [ἔχει]ν καὶ χρᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκο-  
 νομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐὰν αἰρήῃ,  
 ἄπερ καὶ ἐ[πάν]αγκον παρέξο[μ]αί [σοι] βέβαια [κ]αὶ καθαρὰ ἀπὸ μόνου  
 τοῦ ἡμετέρου ὀνόματος καὶ παν-  
 30 τὸς τοῦ ἐξ ὀνόματός μου ἐπελευσομένου σοι, ἀρκουμένης σου τῇ ἴσ με  
 ἀπὸ σοῦ βεβαιώσει τῶν ἕως τοῦ  
 διελθόν[το]ς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διελθόντος ιγ (ἔτους) διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἐνεστῶτος ιδ (ἔτους) τούτων πρόσφορα εἶναι  
 σοῦ τῆς ὠ[ν]ουμένης, πρὸς ἣν καὶ εἶναι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ιδ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ  
 καλανδῶν τελέσματα. κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις  
 καὶ παραχώρησις δισση γραφέισα, ἥνπερ ὀπηνίκα ἂν αἰρήῃ δημοσιώσεις  
 διὰ τοῦ καταλογίου οὐ προσδεό-  
 μένος ἐτέ[ρα]ς μου εὐδοκήσεως διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εὐδοκῖν με τῇ ἐσομένῃ  
 ὑπὸ σοῦ δημοσιώσει. περὶ  
 35 δὲ τοῦ ταῦ[τ]α ὀρθῶς καλῶς γενέσθαι ἐπερωτηθε[ῖ]ς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὠμολόγησα.  
 (ἔτους) ιδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος

- Πουπλίου Δι[κιν]υί[ο]υ Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγί[στ]ου Παρθικοῦ Με-  
γίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
Ἄθῦρ κγ. Α[ὐρ]ήλιος Ἀγαθείνος ὁ καὶ Ὀριγέ[νης] πέπρακα καὶ παρε-  
χώρησα τῇ Δολλιανῇ τῇ καὶ Θαϊ-  
σοῦτι τὰ πρ[ο]κίμενα ὑπάρ[χ]οντα καὶ τὰ συνη[σκευ]ασμ[έν]α αὐτοῖς πάντα  
κ[αὶ] ἀπέσχον τὰς [τῆ]ς τιμῆς  
ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐν [κα]ὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλ[ίας] ἐπτακο[σί]ας κ[αὶ] βε-  
βαιώσω ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ ἡμετέρου  
40 ὀνόματος καὶ εὐ[δοκῶ] τ[ῆ] ἐσο[μένῃ] δημοσιώσ[ι] καὶ ἐπερωτηθ[ε]ί[ς] ὡμο-  
λόγησα.  
Βουλόμενος δὲ [ἀπὸ] τῆς δισσής ἀ[σ]φ[α]λίας μοναχὴν [ἐν] δῆμοσίῳ γενέσθαι  
δίδωμι τῇ πόλι τὰς ὀρισθείσας (δραχμὰς) ἰβ καὶ  
τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς δη[μο]σιώσεως ὀρισμένο[ν,] ἀξίῳ [ἀναλα]βόντας αὐτὴν παρὰ  
τοῦ διαπεσταλμένου ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Νείλου  
ὑπογεγραμμένην ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἵναι τὴν μετὰ τὸν χρό[ο]νον ὑπο-  
γραφὴν ιδίῳγραφον τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀγαθίνου  
τοῦ καὶ Ὀριγέν[ου]ς συνκαταχωρίσαι σὺν τῷδε [τῷ] ὑπομνή[ματι] τὴν  
αὐθεντικὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀδριανὴν βιβλιοθή-  
45 κην ταύτης δὲ τῷ [ἴσ]ο[ν] σὺν ὑπομνή[ματι] ἰς τὴν τοῦ Ναναίου, πρ[ὸ]ς  
τ[ὸ] μένιν μοι τὰ ἀπὸ αὐτῆς δίκαια ὡς ἀπὸ δημοσίου χρηματισμοῦ  
ἔνεκα τοῦ εὐ[δο]κῆκεναι τὸν Αὐρήλιον [Ἀγα]θείνον τὸν καὶ Ὀριγένην τῇ  
τῆς ἀσφαλίου δημοσιώσι. (ἔτους) ἰδ  
Γαλλιηνοῦ Σε[βα]στοῦ Φαμενώθ κδ.  
ταύτην δὲ β[ου]λόμενος προσφω[ν]ηθῆναι τ[οῖ]ς [τῶν] ἐνκτῆσεων τοῦ Ὀξυρυγ-  
χίτου νομοῦ βιβλιοφύλαξι ἀξίῳ  
ἐπιλαβοῦσι τὴν δηλουμένην δημοσιώσιν ὑπ[ο]γεγραμμένην ὡς καθήκει  
συντάξει γράψαι αὐτοῖς ἵν' ἰδῶσι.  
50 Ist hand ὡς καθ[ῆ]κ(ει). (ἔτους) ἰδ Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαμ(ενῶθ) κζ.

1. γαῖος Π. 16. ο COG. from του and s of τροχος from υ. 21. ελατ'τον Π.  
23. ι of ιερακιον COG. from τ. 32. π of first απο COG. 41. 1. βουλομ[έν]η: so in l. 48.  
44. ην of την COG. 46. 1. ἀσφαλείας. 49. 1. ἐπιλαβόντας.

‘Aurelius Gaius also called Harpocraton, priest and archidicastes, to the keepers of the property-registers of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. A copy of the communication which has been executed follows. Good-bye. The 14th year of Gallienus Augustus, Pharmouthi 18. The examiner-in-chief of the city: she has paid (?), Aurelius Alexander acting.

To Aurelius Gaius also called Harpocraton, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of



the chrematistae and other courts, from Aurelia Thaisous also called Lolliane. A copy of the publication which has been executed follows.

To Aurelius Gaius, &c., from Aurelia Thaisous also called Lolliane, daughter of Sarapion also called Agathodaemon, ex-agoranomus of the said city, and of Dionysia also called Diaena, of the said city, acting without a guardian by the *ius liberorum*, greeting. I acknowledge that I have sold and ceded to you from the present time for ever the property below written, which is mine by right of purchase and formerly belonged to you the buyer, in the area of the village of Païmis in the western toparchy of the said Oxyrhynchite nome in the holding of Nicon also called Nicomedes, consisting of 11 arurae of corn-bearing and other land, in which is a tank in disrepair and the water-wheel likewise partly in disrepair with the apparatus belonging to it, the adjacent areas of the whole being on the south and west a canal, &c., on the north land formerly belonging to Julius Theon, on the east the buildings, open spaces, and existing orchard mentioned below, and in the said village in the northern and western parts of it two houses with all their fittings and appurtenances and the open spaces to the north and west of these with the intervening orchard which is now dry, of the extent of  $1\frac{3}{8}$  arura more or less, and the existing well, the adjacent areas of these buildings, open spaces, and orchard, when they are surveyed in one piece, being on the south the parts of the metropolis along the desert, on the north the circumference of the village, on the east a hawk-shrine, on the west the aforesaid corn-land, in all respects according to just sale and cession. And I have herewith received from you from hand to hand in full the sum jointly agreed upon for the price and cession-money of all the aforesaid property, 9,700 drachmae of Imperial silver coin, making 1 talent 3,700 drachmae of silver. Wherefore you and your descendants and heirs are masters and owners of the property ceded by me as aforesaid, and have power to use and administer it as you choose, and I am bound to deliver it to you guaranteed and free from claims in my name only or by any one else in my name, you being satisfied with the guarantee from yourself to me concerning all charges up to and including the past 13th year, because the products of the property from the present 14th year henceforth belong to you the buyer, who are also responsible for the taxes beginning with the calends of the said 14th year. This sale and cession, written in duplicate, is valid, and whenever you choose you may publish it through the record-office without requiring further concurrence on my part, because I hereby concur in the publication to be made by you; and having been asked by you the formal question whether this is done rightly and fairly I have given my consent. The 14th year of P. Licinius Gallienus, &c., Hathur 23. I, Aurelius Agathinus also called Origenes, have sold and ceded to Lolliane also called Thaisous the aforesaid property and all the constructions appertaining to it, and have received the 1 talent 3,700 drachmae of silver for the price, and will guarantee the property from claims in my name only, and I consent to the publication to be made by you, and in answer to the formal question have given my consent."

Wishing that one copy of this duplicate bond should be made public, I pay to the city the prescribed 12 drachmae and the sum prescribed for the publication, and request that, on receipt of the bond from the person whom I have dispatched, Aurelius Nilus, with his attestation that the signature after the date is the autograph of Aurelius Agathinus also called Origenes, you will register the original with this application in the Library of Hadrian, and a copy of it with the application in the Library of the Nanaeum, in order that the rights derived from it may be assured to me, as from a public deed, because Aurelius Agathinus

also called Origenes has consented to the publication of the bond. The 14th year of Gallienus Augustus, Phamenoth 24.

And whereas I desire that this should be communicated to the keepers of the property-registers of the Oxyrhynchite nome, I request that, on receipt of the aforesaid publication duly signed, you will give instructions for a letter to be written to them for their information.

Let due steps be taken. The 14th year of Gallienus Augustus, Phamenoth 27.'

1. The marginal note *παρετ(έθη)* is absent in 1200. It means that the document was entered in the *διαστρώματα* of the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*: cf. 1547. 1, 1552. 1, Mitteis, *Grundz.* 103 sqq., Lewald, *Römisch-Aegypt. Grundbuchrecht*, 38 sqq. The marginal note in the same hand against l. 17 corresponds to that against 1200. 18 (in a different hand), showing that the annotations in 1200 were also made at the *βιβλιοθήκη*.

*Γάιος ὁ καὶ Ἀρη[οκ]ρατίων*: this archidicastes was previously unknown. In Pauni of the 13th year (1200. 3, 56) Didymus also called Sarapion was in office, as in P. Giessen 34, where in ll. 4-5 there is some mistake in the dates. The number of the year is read doubtfully as *ιγ* in ll. 4 and 9, the day being in the latter case Pachon 28, which is in accordance with 1200. In l. 5 *Φαῶ]φι ιδ* is restored, but this date must be later than Pachon 28 since ll. 5-9 are an enclosure in ll. 1-5, and either *Ἐπει]φι* or (more probably) *Μεσο]ρή* must be read in l. 5, unless (*ἔτους*) *ιδ* can be read in l. 4.

*τετελ(ειωμένης)*: so in 1200. 2, where Wilcken (*Archiv*, vi. 291) wished to read *γεγε(νημένης)*; but here *τετελ* is quite clear.

3. Cf. P. Leipzig 10. ii. 32-3 (=M. *Chrest.* 189) *οἱ πρὸς τῇ διαλογῇ τῆς πόλεως διέγρα(ψεν) Ἀρηλ(ίου) Σαραπάμωνος χρηματίζοντος*. Concerning the name *Ἀρη(λίου) Ἀλεξάνδρου* here, as in 1200. 4, 1561. 20 (cf. int.), there is little doubt, and if *διέγρα(ψεν)* is certain in the Leipzig papyrus that is probably the preceding word in the Oxyrhynchus examples also. The abbreviation is more like *διέγρα(ψεν)* in 1475 than in 1200 and 1561, and *ἀπέχει Ἀλεξ.* or *ἀπέ(χει) Ἀρη(ηλ.) Ἀλεξ.* (cf. 1200. 1-4, n., Wilcken, *l. c.*) is most improbable. *διέγρα(ψεν)* refers to the payment of the *τέλη*; cf. 1474. 6, n. *χρη(ματίζοντος)* was supposed by Mitteis and Wilcken to mean 'performing his office' in connexion with the payment, but it might refer to the scribe who wrote the *οἰκονομία*; cf. 1474. 7, n. In P. Leipzig 10. ii. 32 there is stated to be no change of hand corresponding to that in 1561. 20.

5. *Θαῖσουτος τῆς κα[ὶ] Δολλιανῆς*: the order of the names is the reverse in l. 37, as in 1467.

10. Aurelius Agathinus also called Origenes is probably identical with the agoranomus of that name in 1208. 16 (A. D. 291). 1642 is concerned with his appointment to that office.

15. *ἀνθ' οὗ*: cf. 1438. 11, n.

17. For the marginal note cf. l. 1 and 1200. 18, nn.

22. *νότου παρόρια τῆς πόλεως*: from this it appears that Païmis (l. 23) was on the edge of the desert near Oxyrhynchus on the north, so that the western toparchy (l. 15) was in that region; cf. 1421. 3, n. For *παρόρια* cf. 1113. 17 and P. Flor. 50. 9, 86 (*ἡ παρόριος*). A village called *Μέγα Παρόρ(ιον)* is known from 154. 12 and P. Iand. 51. 8, and *Παρόριον* is coupled with *Senokomis* (cf. 1506. 2) in 1545. 5.

24. *δικαία: δι' ἐμοῦ* might be read, but is less likely.

30. *ἀπὸ σοῦ βεβαιώσει*: the present buyer had owned the property previously, and sold it to the present seller; cf. l. 14 and 1635. 23 (A. D. 249) *ἀρκομένου σο(υ) τῇ εἰς με ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] προτεταγμένου μου προκτήτορος . . . βεβαιώσει*.

33-4. Cf. 1478. 17-18, n.

41. *βουλόμενος* for *βουλομένη*, as here and in l. 48, occurs in the corresponding passages of 1200.

42. τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς δη[μο]σιώσεως ὀρισμένον corresponds to τὸ τοῦ τιμήματος τέλος in 1200. 45; cf. τὰ τοῦ τιμ. τέλη in P. Leipzig 10. ii. 21. In the latter instance *τίμημα* has been explained as a penalty for delay (Gradenwitz, Koschaker) or as an *ad valorem* tax (Mitteis). 1200, where there is no question of delay, does not at all favour Gradenwitz's view, but neither the new evidence concerning the amounts apparently paid for the *τίμημα*, 14 drachmae in the case of a deposit of 45 artabae of wheat (worth about 500 drachmae), 5 dr. in the case of a loan of 1,200 dr. (cf. 1474. 6, n.), nor the present passage provides any definite support for Mitteis's view, though not incompatible with it, if the 14 drachmae in 1474 include the usual 12 dr. for Alexandria. The technical sense of *τίμημα* in the phrase ἰδίῳ τιμήματι (85. 7), and ἐαυτοῦ τιμήματι (1208. 4; cf. 1562. 3), is also obscure, and whether the meaning 'valuation' is implied in *τιμήματος τέλη* is very doubtful.

48. προσφω[ν]ηθῆναι: so in 1200. 53 and probably in B. G. U. 825. 13, where in a similar context Schubart (*ap. Preisigke, Berichtigungen, 70*) reads προ[.]. . . . θῆναι.

50. ὡς κ[α]θ[η]κ(ει): cf. 1473. 42, n. In 1200. 56 (which was perhaps written in the same hand as 1200. 1-4) there is an interval of only two days between the dates in ll. 3 and 56, whereas here the corresponding interval is twenty-one days; cf. l. 2. In *Griech. Texte* 6 the day is the same in ll. 6 and 37.

## VIII. HOROSCOPES AND CHARMS

### 1476. HOROSCOPE OF SARAPAMMON.

9.8 × 7.7 cm.

A. D. 260.

This horoscope of a person born on Phaophi 2 of the 1st year of Macrianus and Quietus (the earliest certain date by those Emperors), which year corresponded to the 8th of Gallienus (cf. P. Strassb. 6. int.), was found with 1563, another, but less well preserved, horoscope of a person born two years earlier, in the 6th year of Valerian and Gallienus, Thoth 27. In both papyri the positions in the signs of the zodiac occupied by the sun, moon, five chief planets, and ὠροσκόπος (point on the horizon which was rising; in 1564-5 called ὦρα) were indicated by degrees and minutes, as in P. S. I. 23 and the much more elaborate horoscopes P. Brit. Mus. 98, 110, 130 (i. 126-39); the other horoscopes of the first four centuries (235, 307, 585, 596, 804, 1564-5, *Class. Rev.* viii. 70, P. S. I. 22, 24-5) give the signs only, with occasional descriptions (e. g. in 1565) of the relation of the body in question to the sign, such as are also found in 1476.

1476 and 1563-4 are the only horoscopes which belong to the period of uncertainty concerning the chronology of the Roman Emperors in Egypt from Decius to Diocletian (A. D. 250-284; 1565 belongs to 293). Decius died in the spring or summer

of 251; his 2nd year in Egypt, which began Aug. 29, 250, is not attested later than March 4, 251 (C. P. R. 37), and there are no Alexandrian coins of a 3rd year. The argument from the silence of coins is by no means conclusive, for there are no Alexandrian coins of the 1st year of Decius' successors, Gallus and Volusianus, and only one—and that not absolutely certain—of their 2nd year, though papyri of their 2nd year are numerous (e. g. 1442); but there is no reason to suppose that Decius' reign extended into the year beginning Aug. 30, 251, which was the 2nd of Gallus and Volusianus. Their 3rd year, as appears from 1119. 5, 14, 40, was reckoned at Oxyrhynchus as still current on Aug. 16 and 22, 253. This circumstance is less surprising than is implied in 1119. 5, n. (where 1119 is wrongly referred to the year 254); for coins of their 3rd year are very common, while those of Aemilianus, their successor, all belong to his 2nd year, and it is probable that Aemilianus' 1st year consisted of only a few days. The only extant dating by that emperor is 1286. 10 (2nd year Ph[aophi], i. e. Sept. 28–Oct. 27, 253). Valerian and Gallienus are known from C. I. L. viii. 2482 to have been recognized in Numidia before Oct. 22, 253, but apart from coins 1187. 21 (June 20) is the only record of their 1st year in Egypt, which is generally supposed to have been 253–4, not 252–3. A census-return for the 5th year of an unnamed third-century reign (P. Stud. Pal. ii. 32), which is apparently that of Valerian and Gallienus, strongly supports the usual view, since these returns were made at intervals of 14 years and 257–8 is the right year for a census. After the revolt of Macrianus and Quietus (about Sept. 260–Nov. 261) and the restoration of Gallienus the chronological difficulties increase. The accession of Claudius was in 1906 placed by Preisigke (P. Strassb. 6. int.; cf. Hohmann, *Chronol. d. Papyrusurk.* 54–7) in the autumn of 268 (between Aug. 29 and Oct. 16, so far as Egypt was concerned) on the apparently conclusive evidence of P. Strassb. 7 and 10–11 (subsequently confirmed by P. Tebt. 581) that the 15th year of Gallienus was followed by the 1st of Claudius. Earlier writers had usually accepted the statement of the *Vita Claud.* iv. 2 that his accession took place in March (268), or, like the editors of the *Prosopogr. Imp. Rom.*, placed that event between Jan. 1 and July 1, 268, in order to make the 15th year of Gallienus coincide with the 1st of Claudius. Claudius is generally thought to have died in his 3rd year (270–1 according to Preisigke, 269–70 according to most earlier writers). The few weeks' reign of Quintillus is attested in Egypt by coins only, and the accession of Aurelian (who in Egypt at first had to admit the association of Vaballathus) was placed by Preisigke between Aug. 29 and Dec. 31, 270 (he was consul in 271), while most other writers, including Homo, *Essai sur l'empereur Aurélien*, 340, assigned it to the spring of 270. The accession of Tacitus, which was preceded by an interregnum of uncertain length, is universally assigned to Sept. 275, so that it occurred in the 6th year of Aurelian according to Preisigke, who ignored the Alexandrian coins of the 7th year, in the 7th year according to others. Tacitus, who was consul in 276, did not live until Aug. 29 of that year, the latest date by his reign being on June 8 (P. Strassb. 8. 17), and the accession of Probus is assigned to the spring or summer of 276. The coins credit him with 8 years (Homo, *op. cit.* 337–8 by misstating the figure as 7 vitiates his chronology of Probus and Carinus), and, though papyri do not reach later than Sept. 29 of his 7th year (P. Brit. Mus. 1243; cf. *Archiv*, iv. 553), the accession of Carus with Carinus and Numerianus is generally assigned to the autumn (Oct.?) of the year beginning Aug. 29, 282. 55, dated April 7 of their 1st year, is the only Egyptian record of their reign apart from coins of the 1st and 2nd years of Carus and 1st–3rd years of Carinus and Numerianus, and 1564 (March 23 of the 1st year of Carinus alone, the papyrus having probably been written soon after the death of Carus). With the accession of Diocletian firmer ground is reached, especially as datings by consuls began to supplement, before they supplanted, those by regnal years, and there is no reason to doubt that his 1st year in Egypt began soon after Aug. 29, 284, from which the era of Diocletian dated.

The new evidence already adduced in the present volume, besides suggesting doubts as to the correctness of the received chronology of Valerian and Gallienus (1407. int.), has confirmed the evidence of Alexandrian coins with regard to the existence of a 7th year of Aurelian (1455. 20), and a reconsideration of the chronology of the whole period from 250-284 is necessary. Under these circumstances the opportunity afforded by the horoscopes of verifying on astronomical grounds dates by the regnal years of Valerian and Gallienus, Macrianus and Quietus, and Carinus is particularly welcome, since it enables us to decide whether the evidence of 1455 can be reconciled with that of the Strassburg papyri and P. Tebt. 581 either by pushing back the accession of Valerian and Gallienus from Sept.-Oct. 253 to a month before Aug. 29 and not later than June of that year (on account of 1187, which would have to belong to June 20, 253, instead of June 20, 254), or by making the accessions of Tacitus, Probus, and Carus with his sons take place a year later than on the received chronology. One of those two alternatives seems at first sight to be the only method of accounting for a 16th year of Gallienus as well as a 3rd of Claudius and 7th of Aurelian; but either of them would lead to difficulties, the second by upsetting the received dates of the consuls in 276-284, the first by necessitating the elimination of Aemilianus (on the hypothesis that Valerian ignored him and dated from the death of Gallus), or the deduction of a year from the reign of Gallus and Volusianus, and in either case making 1187 earlier than 1119 (cf. p. 230).

Dr. J. K. Fotheringham, whose authority on matters relating to Graeco-Roman chronology is well known, has kindly computed from Neugebauer's *Tafeln zur astronomischen Chronologie*, ii (1914), the correct position of the heavenly bodies indicated in the four horoscopes of this volume, and we present his results in tabular form. In the case of 1563, where the figure of the hour is obliterated, it is assumed that the middle of the sign Capricorn (in which was the ὄροσκόπος) was on the horizon, i. e. 1.45 p.m. Egyptian time (which = 11.45 a.m. Greenwich time). In 1476 the '10th hour completed, 2 minutes' is regarded as 3.48 p.m., and the '1st hour' in 1564 as 6.59 a.m., but in 1565 as 6.35 a.m., the hour in all three cases being reckoned as  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the interval between sunrise and sunset at Oxyrhynchus. In the case of 1563 and 1476 computations have been made both for the years according to the generally received chronology of Gallienus (A. D. 258 and 260 respectively) and for the years preceding (which in 1476 involves a difference of 1 in the Julian equivalents of the days owing to intercalation). A. D. 257 and 259 would of course only be applicable if the accession of Valerian and Gallienus took place before instead of after Aug. 29, 253. In the case of 1564-5, where details of the astronomical positions were not given, the computations for the generally received dates are sufficient; for in any two consecutive years the signs occupied by at any rate Mars and the moon would inevitably be quite different, so that the agreement between the statements of the horoscopes and the facts with regard to those bodies in the years 283 and 293 is adequate proof of their disagreement in the years 284 and 294.

	1563	Sept. 24, 258	Sept. 24, 257
Saturn	Pisces 2°	Pisces 7° 21'	Aquarius 23° 41'
Mars	Cancer [. °]	Cancer 21° 20'	Libra 19° 42'
Jupiter	Cancer [. °]	Cancer 10° 52'	Gemini 10° 4'
Venus	Leo 19°?	Leo 19° 44'	Virgo 22° 38'
Sun	Libra 3°	Libra 0° 43'	Libra 0° 58'
Mercury	Libra 3°	Libra 12° 45'	Libra 25° 22'
Moon	Capric. 2[.]° 43'	Capric. 29° 26'	Virgo 19° 46'
Horoscopus	Capric. [. °]	Capric. 15°	Capric. 15°

## THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

	1476	Sept. 29, 260	Sept. 30, 259
Horoscopus	Aquarius 28°	Aquarius 26° 32'	Aquarius 26° 50'
Saturn	Aries 11° 32'	Aries 5° 46'	Pisces 21° 6'
	in opposition	(0° 33' from opp.)	(15° 26' from opp.)
Mars	Beginning of Leo	Leo 0° 8'	Scorpio 7° 59'
Jupiter	Virgo 3° < ' >	Virgo 3° 35'	Leo 8° 46'
Venus	Virgo 8° 16'	Virgo 11° 1'	Scorpio 6° 45'
Mercury	Virgo 23° 44'	Virgo 27° 23'	Virgo 18° 14'
Sun	Libra 8°	Libra 6° 19'	Libra 6° 32'
Moon	(Capric.) 8° 32'	Capric. 9° 58'	Leo 18° 40'

	1564	March 23, 283	1565	Aug. 28, 293
Horosc.	Aries	Aries 21° 53'	Virgo	Virgo 17° 20'
Sun	Aries	Aries 1° 51'	Virgo	Virgo 4° 16'
Mars	Taurus	Taurus 15° 6'	Scorpio	Scorpio 3° 49'
Moon	Cancer	Cancer 0° 25'	Far in Sagitt.	Sagitt. 27° 53'
Jupiter	Cancer	Cancer 12° 7'	Gemini	Gemini 21° 13'
Saturn	Capric.	Capric. 17° 3'	Beginning of Gem.	Gemini 0° 3'
Mercury	Pisces	Pisces 4° 26'	End? of Leo	Leo 29° 57'
Venus	Pisces	Pisces 13° 19'	Libra	Libra 18° 56'

Dr. Fotheringham writes 'It is clear that the data given on the horoscopes are obtained by computation, not by observation; for all the horoscopes are cast for some time during the day, when the stars were invisible, and even the moon was above the horizon on only one of the four occasions (1476). The agreements for the years 258, 260, 283, 293 are so close as to remove all possible doubt of the dates for which the horoscopes were cast. In comparing the signs given on the horoscopes with those found by computation, it should be observed that the horoscopes always name them in order, either beginning or ending with the Horoscopus. The bodies falling within six signs after the Horoscopus would normally be below the horizon, and those within six signs before the Horoscopus would normally be above the horizon.' The order of the signs to which he alludes is also observed in most other horoscopes, but not in 585, P. S. I. 22. 29-38, 23. 1-12, 24. 11-19, and 25: it is sometimes a useful help in supplying gaps; cf. 1476. 12, n., 1563. 8.

The valuable results of the astronomical evidence are thus to confirm the generally accepted dates of the accessions of Valerian and Gallienus (between Aug. 29 and Oct. 22, 253) and Carinus (about Oct. 282), and there is no longer any doubt about the Julian years corresponding to their regnal years, or any reason to question the accuracy of the consul-lists between 251 and 284. The period of uncertainty in the datings by regnal years is now limited to 268-75. Here there must be some errors in the evidence concerning the duration of reigns, and if the limits securely fixed by the horoscopes are observed, either the last year of Gallienus was really his 15th, not 16th, or that of Claudius his 2nd, not 3rd, or that of Aurelian his 6th, not 7th. The papyri which give the fullest information on this period are P. Strassb. 6-8, a series of receipts for payments of 2,000 drachmae a year, generally in two instalments, by the same persons on account of sheep-tax; these begin in the 2nd year of Valerian and Gallienus, and proceed regularly through the reign of Macrianus and Quietus up to the 15th year of Gallienus, when 1,000 dr. were paid on Sept. 14, 267, and March 20, 268. The next entries are 1,000 dr. on Nov. 5 and March 26 of the 1st year of Claudius, on Sept. 21 and July 17 of his 2nd, and Sept. 20 of his 3rd, [καὶ γ (ἔρουσ)] being a certain

restoration in the last line of P. Strassb. 7. P. Strassb. 8 records the usual payments on March 31st of Aurelian's 1st year (the earliest extant reference to him) and on Nov. 17 and April 13 of his 2nd year, after which there was no further payment until Nov. 5 of the 5th year (the reading of the month and the figure of the year is somewhat doubtful), when 4,000 dr. were paid on account, followed by a payment of 3,000 dr. on account on June 8 of the 1st year of Tacitus (i. e. 276). P. Strassb. 10. 25 has the earliest reference to Claudius (Oct. 16 of his 1st year), and P. Strassb. 11. 9-15, written on March 10 of his 1st year, mentions the 'past 15th year', sc. of Gallienus. This evidence in favour of Claudius' accession between Aug. 29 and Oct. 16, 268, fits in very well with P. Tebt. 581. 1-3 ἔτους ις' τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαλλιηροῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι α' (there is no real doubt about any of the readings, ις' being much less suitable than ις'), which is the only direct reference to the 16th year indirectly implied by the Strassburg texts. The 3rd year of Claudius is also mentioned in 1646 αἴτους (l. ἔτ.) τρίτου Κλαυδίου Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι [καὶ εἰ]κάς, i. e. Oct. 20, by which date (the latest extant reference to him) he may have been dead. The brief reign of his brother Quintillus, lasting a few weeks probably, was recognized in Egypt by the issue of coins in his name, but is not attested by papyri. Since Aurelian became consul on Jan. 1, 271, the Strassburg papyri seemed to limit definitely the date of Aurelian's accession to the period between the end of Sept. and the end of Dec. 270; but against them must be set (1) the statement of 1208. 11 that the 2nd year of Claudius became the 1st of Aurelian, which has generally been regarded as a mere error ( $\beta$  for  $\gamma$ ), (2) the date in 1455. 20, Oct. 18 of Aurelian's 7th year, (3) a date in 1633. 38, Aug. 23 of his 6th year. All of these require the accession of Aurelian to have taken place before Aug. 29, 270, and, when taken in combination with the dates of Aurelian's 1st year (P. Strassb. 8. 1 March 31; 1200. 58 May 25; cf. 1475. int.), some time before the end of March 270.

From this impasse there seems to be only one method of escape, since the astronomical evidence bars the two simplest ways out of the difficulty. A year has to be eliminated, and the choice is in the last resort best left to the coins. These support the 3rd year of Claudius and 7th of Aurelian, but not the 16th of Gallienus. Sallet (*Die Daten der alex. Kaiser-münzen*, 73), after rejecting three supposed examples of that year, was disposed to accept the statement of Cohen that he had seen one, but neither the British Museum nor the Dattari collection contains any coins of the 16th year, and Mr. Milne has not met with one, although he has examined four large hoards covering this period, which contained altogether 889 coins of the 15th year of Gallienus and 864 of the 1st year of Claudius. There is thus a very high degree of probability that, if there had been any coins of the 16th year of Gallienus, they would have occurred in these hoards, and it is almost certain that Cohen was mistaken. The accession of Claudius must in any case have taken place near the beginning of the Egyptian year, since it was known at Hermopolis by Oct. 16 (P. Strassb. 10. 25). If he really came to the throne in July 268 shortly before the close of Gallienus' 15th year, it is quite possible that coins of the 1st year were minted at Alexandria, but that the news of his accession did not penetrate into the upper country until Sept.-Oct., thus giving rise to a second system of dating, according to which Gallienus entered upon his 16th year and Claudius' 1st and 2nd years corresponded to his 2nd and 3rd by the official reckoning. It is true that in the case of other emperors who came to the throne shortly before Aug. 29, e. g. Tiberius and Hadrian, no trace of a double system of reckoning their regnal years is found (cf. 1453. int.); but 1208. 11 is, so far as we are aware, the only example of a clear divergence from the official mode of reckoning an emperor's reign, and may well be more than a mere slip. P. Strassburg 10 and 11 can easily be explained as examples of the Upper Egyptian reckoning parallel to 1208, while P. Tebt. 581, dated by Gallienus probably two months or more after his death, is not more remarkable than e. g. 104, which is dated by Domitian more than two months after his death, or

B. G. U. 515, which is dated by Commodus five months after his death; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 802, Hohmann, *op. cit.* 51 sqq. The only really serious objection to the hypothesis that the dates in the early part of the 1st year of Claudius refer to a different system from that implied by the coins and papyri which extend to the 3rd year, is P. Strassb. 7, which has two entries in his 1st year, two in his 2nd, and one in his 3rd. In order to reconcile that papyrus with the chronology of Claudius which we prefer (July 268–Jan. 270), it is necessary to suppose that the scribe has confused the two systems, and has put down two entries too many. This is not very satisfactory, but is preferable to supposing that coinage was issued in Aurelian's name for a year which did not come into existence, and that 1455 was written a whole year after Aurelian's death, in the 2nd year of Probus.

- A (ἔτους) Μακρ{ιν}ιανοῦ καὶ Κυιήτου  
 Σεβαστῶν Φαῶφι β ἡμέρας  
 ὠρ(α) ι πεπληρωμένη μοι(ρῶν) β.  
 ὠροσκόπος Ὑδρηχῶφ μοι(ρῶν) κη,  
 5 Κρόνον Κρειῶ ια λεπ(τῶν) λβ ἀκρόνυ-  
 κτος ἀφαιρετι[κό]ς,  
 Ἄρης Λέοντι αὐ . [.]ἔρος,  
 Ζεὺς Παρθένω γ λεπ(τῶν) < >,  
 Ἄφροδείτη Παρθένω η ις,  
 10 Ἐρμῆς Παρθένω κγ μδ,  
 ἥλιος Ζυγῶ η,  
 σελή[νη] < Ἀιγόκερφ > μοι(ρῶν) η λεπ(τῶν) λβ.  
 Σαραπ[ά]μμωνος.

5. 1. Κρόνος.

5-6. ἀκρόνυκτος: with this spelling cf. ἀκρόνυχος for ἀκρόνυχος in P. Hibeh 27. ἀκρόνυκτος is the word used by Ptolemy for an opposition, as Dr. Fotheringham informs us. Cf. l. 11, where the position of the sun is nearly exactly six signs distant from that of Saturn, and int.

ἀφαιρετι[κό]ς: Dr. Fotheringham writes 'A planet is said to be ἀφαιρετικός when the inequality in its longitude resulting from its anomaly or epicyclic motion is, if positive, diminishing, or, if negative, increasing. Substituting the heliocentric for the epicyclic theory of the motion of the planets, this would in the case of one of the outer planets, such as Saturn, mean that the planet would be ἀφαιρετικός when the excess of its geocentric over its heliocentric longitude was diminishing, or the excess of its heliocentric over its geocentric longitude increasing. Putting  $l$  for heliocentric longitude,  $\lambda$  for geocentric longitude, and  $t$  for time, the condition is that  $\frac{d(l-\lambda)}{dt}$  is positive. This condition is fulfilled by Saturn at both the dates for which the computation has been made.'

7. αὐ . [.]ἔρος:  $\pi$  can be read in place of  $\tau$ , but  $\epsilon$  is almost certain. The actual position of Mars at the beginning of Leo (cf. p. 232) suggests that the adjective corresponds to ἀρχάς in 1565. 8, and in that case it would be expected to begin αὐτο- or αὐθ-. αὐθ[ή]μερος is unsatisfactory. Or it might begin with αὐξί- and be contrasted with ἀφαιρετικός in l. 6; but the



usual opposite of that term is *προσθετικός*. Dr. Fotheringham remarks 'Mars is *προσθετικός* at both dates. But in the absence of any numeral to express the position in Leo it is practically certain that the mutilated word means "at the very beginning", and has nothing to do with anomalistic motion.'

12. (*Διγόμερον*) was supplied by Dr. Fotheringham from the astronomical calculations, and is in accordance with the position of this entry at the end after that dealing with Libra (l. 11); for the starting-point of the entries was Aquarius (l. 4), and between Libra and Aquarius there are only Scorpio, Sagittarius, and Capricorn. A regular order was usually observed; cf. p. 232.

## 1477. QUESTIONS TO AN ORACLE.

15.2 × 8.9 cm. Late third or early fourth century.

The recto of this papyrus contains part of a list of payments by *γεωργοί* (1532), written late in the third century. On the verso, probably written in or shortly before the reign of Diocletian, is part of a curious list of questions to a deity, which are similar to those found in P. Fay. 137-8, B. G. U. 229-30, Wessely, *Script. Gr. Spec.* 26, P. Brit. Mus. 1267 d (*Archiv.* iv. 559), 923, 1148-9, and 1213. Each question was numbered consecutively: those preserved are nos. 72-92 with slight traces of a preceding column, and there is likely to have been at least one later column, unless the papyrus was much reduced in breadth before the verso was used. There seems to be no particular plan in the arrangement of the questions, which are of a general character, suitable for persons of various ranks, not one particular individual, and apparently intended to cover the principal subjects on which people were accustomed to appeal to the gods for information. The numbering suggests a possible reference to a spell of some kind as the mode to be employed in obtaining answers, but the purpose of the document as a whole is quite obscure. A high stop is employed after the figures.

- οβ, εἰ λήψομαι τὸ ὄψώνιον;  
 ογ, εἰ μενῶ ὅπου ὑπάγω;  
 οδ, εἰ πωλοῦμαι;  
 οε, εἰ ἔχω ὠφέλιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου;  
 5 ος, εἰ δέδοται μοι ἐτέρῳ συναλλάξαι;  
 οζ, εἰ καταλλάσσομαι εἰς τὸν γόνον; [  
 ση, εἰ λαμβάνω κομίατον;  
 οθ, εἰ λήψομαι τὸ ἀργύριον;  
 π, εἰ ζῆ ὁ ἀπόδημος;  
 10 πα, εἰ κερδαίνω ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματ[ος];  
 πβ, εἰ προγράφεται τὰ ἐμά;

- πγ, εἰ εὐρήσω πωλήσαι;  
 πδ, εἰ δύναμαι ὁ ἐνθυμοῦμαι ἀρα[ι];  
 πε, εἰ γίνομαι βιόπρωτος;  
 15 πς, εἰ φυγαδεύσομαι;  
 πζ, εἰ πρεσβεύσω;  
 πη, εἰ γίνομαι βουλευτής;  
 πθ, εἰ λύεται μου ὁ δρασμός;  
 ρ, εἰ ἀπαλλάσσομαι τῆς γυναικός[ς];  
 20 ρα, εἰ πεφαρμάκωμαι;  
 ρβ, εἰ λαμβάνω [τ]ὸ ἴδι[ο]ν;
- . . . . .

1 sqq. l. ἦ for εἰ. 7. First a of λαμβανω corr. from η. 21. ἴδι[ο]ν Π (?).

‘72, shall I receive the present? 73, shall I remain where I am going? 74, am I to be sold up? 75, am I to obtain benefit from my friend? 76, has it been granted to me to make a contract with another person? 77, am I to be reconciled (?) with my offspring (?)? 78, am I to get furlough (?)? 79, shall I get the money? 80, is the person abroad alive? 81, am I to profit by the transaction? 82, is my property to be sold by auction? 83, shall I find a means of selling? 84, am I able to carry off what I am thinking of? 85, am I to become a beggar (?)? 86, shall I take to flight? 87, shall I become an ambassador (?)? 88, am I to become a senator? 89, is my flight to be stopped? 90, am I to be divorced from my wife? 91, have I been poisoned? 92, am I to get my own? . . .’

1. εἰ is probably for ἦ rather than εἰ; cf. 1148. 2, n.

2. Cf. P. Fay. 137. 2 χρημάτων σὺν μοι ἢ μείνω ἐν Βακχιάδι; ἦ (οἱ ἦ) μελλ(λ)ω ἐντυγχάνω;

5. δέδοται: cf. 1213. 4 and n.

6. γόνον is not very satisfactory, especially as the first letter is more like σ than γ. But the third, if not ν, must be κ or μ, and there is no room for σὺν followed by a word beginning with ο, unless the latter was abbreviated.

7. κομίανον apparently = *commeatum*, and might mean ‘provisions’.

14. βιόπρωτος or βιόπρωτος can be read, but neither word is known. βρουτητός is inadmissible.

16. Whether πρεσβεύσω refers to rank or age or an embassy is not clear. A βουλευτής πρεσβύτατος occurs in P. Giessen 34. 2; cf. the next line here.

#### 1478. GNOSTIC CHARM FOR VICTORY.

5.4 × 11.9 cm. Late third or early fourth century.

A short Gnostic charm, containing a prayer for the success of a certain Sarapammon in a race. The efficacy of the amulet depended on ten or eleven magical symbols and the invocation of a mysterious deity, whose name is written in larger letters. P. Brit. Mus. 121. 390-3 (i. 97), entitled νικητικὸν δρομέως, is similar. The writing is across the fibres.

Νεικητικὸν Σαραπάμμωνι υἱῷ Ἀπολ-  
λωνείου. magical symbols.  
δὸς νείκην ὀλοκληρίαν σ(τ)αδίου καὶ  
ἄλλου τῷ προκειμένῳ Σαραπάμμωνι  
5 ἐξ ἀνόματος ΣΤΛΙΚΤΣΗΣΟΥΤ.

5. l. ἀνόματος. Cf. *ανομασία* in 1566. 10.

‘Charm for victory for Sarapammon son of Apollonius . . . Grant victory and safety in the race-course and the crowd to the aforesaid Sarapammon in the name of Sulicusesus.

3. σ(τ)αδίου: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 121. 392 δὸς μοι . . . χάριν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ.

5. The beginning of the name recalls that of Συλιήλ, an angel at the end of the list in P. Brit. Mus. 124. 36 sqq. (i. 123).

## IX. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

### 1479. LETTER TO THRACIDAS FROM ALEXANDRIA.

12.5 × 15.2 cm.

Late first century B. C.

The concluding part of a letter to Thracidas from a person who had apparently gone to Alexandria in connexion with a law-suit, Thracidas, who had been with the writer, having left him shortly before (cf. l. 7). It is joined on the right to another letter from a different person to the same Thracidas, of which the beginnings of eight lines survive. The handwriting in the two cases leaves no doubt that the reign mentioned in l. 14, where the number of the year is lost, was that of Augustus. The first letter is a palimpsest, but the earlier writing was completely obliterated.

. . . . .  
[. . . .]σ . [.] . [.] . . . ηε . ατ[.] . ] γνω[σ]τήρ.  
έκομισάτην τ(ὸ) ἐπιστόλ[ι]ον Θρασυβούλ(ου)  
έγ Κανώπωι διὸ τὰ βυβλία οὐπω εἴληφ(α),  
ἀλλὰ κείται ἀντιβεβλημένα. Ἄπισ  
5 δὲ ὁ συνήγορος οὐπω ἐπελήλυθεν  
τὰ βυβλία, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν διυπερ-  
τέθειται. ἀφ' οὗ κεχώρισαι τῇ ις  
[κ]εχρημάτικεν Σαβεῖνος. Φιλομούσω

[ε]ίρήκαμεν ἵνα ἐξέλθῃ πρὸς σέ.  
 10 [ἀπ]όστειλον ἐν τῷ γόμῳ κραμβεῖ(ο)ν  
 [Πτ]ολλᾶτι. ἀσπάξεταιί σε "Ομηρος καὶ  
 [Τα?]ερμᾶν καὶ Φιλέρωτα κα[ὶ] τὴν γυναι(κα).  
 [καὶ] σεατοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγιέ(ν)ης. ἔρρω(σο).  
 (ἔτους) [. . μ]η[ν]ὸς Τύ[βι] .].

On the verso

15 Θρακίδα.

3. γ of εγ inserted above the line (?). π of ουπω corr. from λ. 8. ω of φιλομουσω above the line. 13. 1. ὑγιάι(νης).

' . . . I received the letter of Thrasybulus at Canopus; accordingly I have not yet obtained the documents, but they are lying collated. Apis the advocate has not yet examined the documents, but has delayed from day to day. Since you went away on the 16th, Sabinus has been acting in the business. I told Philomusus to come to you. Send a decoction of cabbage for Ptollas in the load. Homerus salutes you and Tahermas and Phileros and his wife. Take care of yourself, so that you keep in good health. Good-bye.' Date. (Addressed) 'To Thracidas.'

1. γνω[σ]τήρ: cf. 1490. 2, n.

4. ἀντιβεβλημένα: cf. B. G. U. 970. 3-4 ἐμαρτυροποιήσατο ἐκγεγρα[φ]θαι καὶ προσαντιβεβλη-  
 κέναι ἐκ τεύχους βιβλιδίων . . : ἐπ[άρχου] Αἰγύπτου, and 35. 9-10 ἐκγεγραμμ[έ]νον καὶ προσαντιβε-  
 βλημένον ἐγένετο ἐκ συνκολλησίμων βιβλιδίων . . . ἐπ. Αἴγ.

7. There is a short space before ἀφ' οὔ.

8. Φιλομούσφ: the last letter might be ο, but the dative was clearly meant.

10. κραμβεῖν is more likely to be for κραμβεῖον, a word found in medical writers, than for κράμβην.

13. This, the usual late Ptolemaic formula, is still found in A. D. 57; cf. B. G. U. 1095. 22.

#### 1480. LETTER OF HERMOGENES TO A PROPHET:

30 x 5.8 cm.

A. D. 32.

An incorrectly spelled letter, written in the reign of Tiberius to a prophet by a friend, with reference to a delay (?) in making some payment, in which a comogrammateus and eclogistes (auditor of accounts of the nome; cf. 1436. 23, n.) were concerned.

Ἐρμογένης Ἀρωάτη  
 τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ φιλ-  
 τάτῳ πλῆστα χαί(ρειν)

15 τοῦ τοῦ ἐκλογισ[τοῦ]  
 ὡς Ἐρμογένει, ἵνα  
 μὴ σχῆ τ[. . .] . . . [ . . . ]

καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιέ(ναι).  
 5 οὐκ ἠμέλησα περὶ  
 οὗ μοι ἐπιτέταχας·  
 ἐπορεύθην πρὸς  
 Ἐρμογένην τὸν κω-  
 μογρ[α]μματέαν, καὶ  
 10 ὁμολόγησέ μοι ποῆσε  
 τὴν ἀναβολήν· πεπόη-  
 τε εἰς τὸν ἐκλογιστήν.  
 λυπὸν ἦν δύνῃ ἐ[π]ισ-  
 τολὴν λαβῆν παρ' αὐ-

παρακαλῶ [σε με-  
 γάλως π]έμψαι  
 20 τῷ νίῳ [μου φά-  
 σιν μοι λ[. . . . .  
 περὶ αὐ]τοῦ . . . ,  
 καὶ γράψ[ον μοι περὶ  
 ὧν ἠ[ὰ]ν δύν[ω-  
 25 με κα[ὶ] ἡδῆ]ως  
 ποῆσω. ἔρω[σο.  
 (ἔτους) ἡ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος  
 Σεβαστοῦ Μεχ(εῖρ) ιθ.

On the verso

[ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀ]ρνώτῃ προφήτῃ παρὰ Ἐρμογ(ένους) Ἡρακ(λ ) .

4. l. ὑγιαί(ναι). 10. l. ὁμολόγησε . . . ποῆσαι. 11. l. πεπόηται. 13. l. λοιπὸν ἐάν  
 13-14. τ of ἐ[π]ιστολῆν corr. from κ. 24-5. l. ἐ[ὰ]ν δύν[ω]μαι . . . ἡδέ[ως]. 27. Second ι of  
 τιβερίου corr. from ο. 29. Second α of παρα above the line.

‘Hermogenes to Haruotes the prophet, my dear friend, greeting and best wishes for your continual health. I did not neglect your instructions: I went to Hermogenes the comogrammateus, and he consented to make the delay. He has made it as far as the eclogistes is concerned (?). For the rest, if you can get a letter from the eclogistes himself for Hermogenes, in order that he may not keep the . . . , I urge you strongly to send my son a message for me . . . ; and write to me concerning what I can do, and I will gladly do it. Good-bye. The 18th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mecheir 19. (Addressed) Deliver to Haruotes the prophet from Hermogenes son of Heracl( ) .’

11. ἀναβολήν: this word is generally used in papyri in a literal sense (e. g. with ναυβίων in B. G. U. 593. 3), and the meaning here is uncertain.

18. παρακαλῶ, instead of being the apodosis of (ἐ)άν δύνῃ, may start a fresh sentence.

21-2. Possibly λ[έγουσαν | περὶ αὐ]τοῦ | or αὐ]τοῦ τούτ(ου).

23. γράψ[ον: or γράψ[αι or γράφ[ειν.

#### 1481. LETTER OF A SOLDIER TO HIS MOTHER.

9.3 × 12.5 cm.

Early second century.

The first part of an early second-century letter of more than usual interest, written by a soldier in camp to his mother, reassuring her about his health, acknowledging the receipt of various presents (ll. 7-9 θαλλία and θαλλός), and expressing his general satisfaction. B. G. U. 423 (= W. *Chrest.* 480), the well-known letter from Italy of a soldier serving in the fleet to his father, which is

a little later in date, was written in a still more cheerful tone; cf. also *Griech. Texte* 20. The writing is across the fibres.

Θεωνᾶς Τεθεῦτι τῇ μητρὶ καὶ κυρίᾳ πλείστα χαί(ρ)ειν).  
 γεινώσκειν σ[ε] θέλω ὅτι διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου οὐκ ἀ-  
 πέσταλκά σοι ἐπιστόλιον διότι ἐν παρεμβολῇ ἡμὶ καὶ  
 οὐ δι' ἀσθένει[ε]αν, ὥστε μὴ λοιποῦ. λείαν δ' ἐλοιπήθην  
 5 ἀκούσας ὅτι ἤκουσας· οὐ γὰρ δεινῶς ἡσθένησα. μέμ-  
 φομαι δὲ τὸν εἶπαντα σοι. μὴ ὄχλοῦ δὲ πέμπειν τι ἡ-  
 μῖν. ἐκομισάμεθα δὲ τὰ θαλλία παρὰ τοῦ {τοῦ} Ἡρακλεί-  
 δου. Διονυτᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφός μου ἤνεγκέ μοι τὸν θαλ-  
 λὸν κα[ὶ τὴν] ἐπιστολήν [σου] ἐ[κ]ομισά[μ]ην. εὐχαριστῶ  
 10 [τοῖς θεοῖς 13 letters ] πάντοτε, ἐπικ . ε . . τα  
 [ 22 letters ] νται δηλῶ οὐπ . . . αυ-

In the left-hand margin at right angles

μὴ ἐπιβαροῦ πέμπειν τι ἡμῖν τω[

On the verso

ἀπὸ Θεωνᾶτος [Τεθεῦτι . . .

3. l. εἰμι. 4. l. λυποῦ . . . ἐλυπήθην.

'Theonas to Tetheus his lady mother, many greetings; I would have you know that the reason why I have been such a long time without sending you a letter is that I am in camp, and not that I am ill; so do not grieve about me. I was much grieved to hear that you had heard about me, for I was not seriously ill; and I blame the person who told you. Do not trouble to send me anything. I received the presents from Heraclides. Dionytas my brother brought me the present, and I received your letter. I give thanks to (the gods) . . . continually, . . . (Postscript) Do not burden yourself to send me anything. . . . (Addressed) From Theonas to Tetheus . . .'

7. θαλλία: in P. Brit. Mus. 335. 20 (ii. 192) θαλλ(λ)εία corresponds to θαλλοῦ in l. 17; cf. θαλλόν in l. 8 here and Wilcken, *Archiv*, ii. 131. The instances of θαλλός are collected in P. Ryl. 166. 18, n.

10. [τοῖς θεοῖς: or [τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι: cf. B. G. U. 423. 6.

#### 1482. LETTER OF MORUS TO A FRIEND.

21.4 × 12.2 cm.

Second century.

On the recto of this papyrus are the beginnings of the first seventeen lines of a letter from Epimachus to Panares written about A. D. 120-60. The only passage that is intelligible is ll. 4-5 πέμπειν οὖν μοι ὀφ[είλεις τὰς ? πρὸς τὸν | ἀρχιδικαστὴν ἐπι-

στολός. On the verso is a letter to the same Epimachus from a friend called Morus, who together with Panares had been winnowing some barley under difficulties caused by the weather. Storms such as that described in ll. 6-9 are not uncommon in January at Oxyrhynchus. The script is the rude uncial of an illiterate writer, who makes numerous mistakes of spelling in spite of several corrections.

Μῶρος Ἐπιμάχῳ τῶι κυρίῳ μου  
χαίρειν.

- γράφω σοι ἴν' ἰδῆς ὅτι λελικμήκαμεν  
τὴν κριθὴν τοῦ Ἀνασίτου τῆ ἠ, καὶ οὐ  
5 οὕτως αὐτὴν λελικμήκαμεν μετὰ  
κόπου. ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔβρεχε καὶ ἀμάχητος  
ἦν ὁ ἄνεμος, καὶ Πα(νά)ρες οἶδε ὅσα πεπο(ή)κα-  
μεν ἵνα εἰσχύσωμεν ὄλως μετενέγκαι τὰ ἄλλα  
σὺν θεοῖς. ἐξέβησαν δὲ τοῦ ὄλου ἀρτάβαι λη χύνικε(ς) δ·  
10 τ(ο)ύτων κατέφθακα ἀρτάβας ιβL χύνικα(ς) η.  
ἐξήτασα δὲ περὶ τῆς θειμῆς τοῦ χόρτου  
τοῦ ἐφετινοῦ, ἐπράθη δὲ ἐν τῆ κώμῃ ἐξ  
ἐπτὰ δραχμῶν τὸ ἀγώγιν· καὶ Πα(νά)ρες δὲ  
οἶδε. πολλὰ δὲ ἐ{κ}ξετάσας εὔρον ξη[ρά  
15 καὶ οὐκ εὐθύχαλκα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τετρά-  
μηνον. δοκιμάσις δὲ [[σὺ]] πῶς σὲ βαστά-  
ξι καὶ ἂν σὺ δοκῆ γράψις μοι περὶ τούτων,  
καὶ πόστον μέρος καταφθάνω τοῦ μεγάλου  
κλήρου{s}, καὶ ἡ θέλις μεῖξαι [[αυ]]τὰ τοῦ Ἀνασί-  
20 του μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τῷ δὲ τόπῳ τοῦ πα-  
τρός σου ἀποτέθεικα τὴν μερίδαν μου.  
τὸ προσκοίνημά σ(ο)υ ποιῶ καὶ τῶν τέκνων  
σου π[ἀ]ντων [καὶ] τῶν ἀδελφῶ[ν] σου [πάντων  
κ[αὶ] . . . . . ]  
25 [ ἔρρω]στῆ σ' εὐ[χομαι,  
[ ] κύριέ μου.

3. ἴν Π. 7. l. Πα(νά)ρης (cf. the recto); so in l. 13. 8. ἰ of ἵνα above ε, and ω of εἰσχύσωμεν above ο. ὄλως above the line. 9. του ολου above the line. l. χύνικε(ς). 10. l. χύνικα(ς). 11. l. τιμῆς. 12. ε of δε above the line. 13. ε of παρες corr. from α. 14. α of πολλα rewritten. εκξετασας corr. from εκζητησας. 16. l. σὺ βαστάξ(ε)ι(ς)? 17. l. σοί. 18. s of μερος above ν, which is crossed through. 19. s of κληρους above the line. l. εἰ

for η. ε of *μειξαι* corr. 21. ν of *την* above the line. 22. 1. *προσκύνημα*. κ of *και* corr. 25. 1. *ἐρρῶ]σθαι*.

‘Morus to my lord Epimachus, greeting. I write to inform you that we have winnowed the barley of the man from the Oasis on the 8th, and we never had so much trouble in winnowing it; for it rained and the wind was irresistible, and Panares knows how we worked to succeed in transferring all the rest with the help of the gods. The total result was 38 artabae 4 choenices; of these I have disposed beforehand of 12½ art. 8 choen. I made inquiries about the price of annual grass: it was sold in the village at 7 drachmae the load, as Panares too knows. After many inquiries I found some that was dry, and not to be paid for in ready money, but after four months. You will examine the question how you are to transport it, and, if you please, write to me about this, and say what proportion I am to dispose of beforehand from the large holding, and whether you want me to mix what belongs to the man from the Oasis with the rest. I have stored my share in the room belonging to your father. I supplicate on behalf of you and all your children and all your brothers and . . . I pray for your health, my lord.’

7. *πεπο(ή)καμεν*: *οἱ πεπο(νή)καμεν*, *πεπ(ώ)καμεν* is less likely.

12. *ἐφετινοῦ*: *ἐφέτειος* occurs in MSS. as a variant of *ἐπέτειος* and aspiration before *ἔτος* is common in papyri, but *ἐφετινός* is apparently a new form.

15. *εὐθύχαλκα*: a rare adjective, for which Ducange cites Basilic. 9. 3.

16. The object of *βαστάζει(ς)* (cf. crit. n.) is probably the barley (cf. l. 19), not the grass.

24. *κ[αί]* was followed by a name, or *κ[ατ’ ὄνομα]* can be read.

25. *ἐρρῶ]στέ σ’*: the last two letters could be *σε*, but the first two cannot be read as *ἐρρῶσθ]αι οἱ ἐρρῶσ]τε*.

#### 1483. LETTER OF REPRIMAND TO A SUBORDINATE.

15.8 × 8 cm. Late second or early third century.

A sharply worded letter from Dius to Zoilus, who, though called the writer’s friend in one of the two addresses on the verso, is blamed for his absence and for having presented an unsatisfactory account of payments in connexion with a vineyard or garden-land. At the end Dius threatens to take measures against Zoilus’ surety, and throughout writes in the tone of an official superior. Not improbably he was an *ἐπιτηρητής* and Zoilus a *χειριστής*, the land belonging to an *οὐσία*, or being at any rate administered by the government. The date of the letter is probably the period from Commodus to Caracalla.

Δίος Ζωΐλῳ χαίρειν.  
 ἐτάξω μοι ἐλθεῖν ἐντὸς κε  
 τοῦ Τῦβι μηνὸς καὶ οὐκ ἦλθας.  
 ἐξερχόμενος δὲ λόγον μοι δέ-  
 5 δωκας ἀναγραφῆς ὧν διὰ σε-  
 αὐτοῦ ἐξῳδίασας. γράφεις δὲ

τος. ἕτερα δὲ εἶδη ἐν τῷ  
 κτήματ[ι] ζητεῖται, ὧν τὸν  
 λόγον δώσ[ει]ς ἐν τῷ [λ]ογιστηρίῳ.  
 15 ἴσθαι δὲ ὧς, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ τά-  
 χους πᾶν τελεῖς καὶ ἐγβιβά-  
 σης τὰ [πρ]ὸς σὲ ζητούμενα,



ἔξωδιακέναι κεράμια λγ κη-  
 πουροῖς καὶ μόσχους δύο οὓς  
 τέθυκα[s,] καὶ ἔξωδίασας τοῖς  
 10 αὐτοῖς ὧν οὐδὲ ἰς μὴ παρε-  
 δέξατο τιμὴν ὡς σοῦ λαβόν-  
 τὸν ἐγγυητὴν σου κατέχω  
 ἕως ἂν τ[ε]λῆς μοι τὴν τιμὴν  
 20 τῶν ζητουμένων.  
 ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι).

On the verso

Ζωῖλωι π(αρά) Δίου φί[λ(ου)].

(In the reverse direction) ἀπόδ(ος) Ζωῖλ(φ)[[λ.ου]] π(αρά) Δείου.

1. ζωῖλωι Π; so in ll. 22-3. 8. νο of δυο corr. 10. ἰς Π. 15. ἰσθει Π.  
 23. λ of ζωῖλ(φ) corr. from σ.

‘Dius to Zoilus, greeting. You arranged with me to come before the 25th of the month of Tubi, and you have not come. When you went away, you rendered to me an account consisting of a list of what you had spent yourself. You write that you spent 33 jars upon the gardeners and two calves which you sacrificed, and you have spent upon them things of which absolutely no one has received the value, since you had it. Other claims are being made against you in the vineyard, of which you will have to render an account at the reckoning-office. Know that, unless you pay all quickly and discharge the claims made against you, I shall seize your surety, until you pay me the value of the claims. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Zoilus from his friend Dius. Deliver to Zoilus from Dius.’

2. μοι: μὴ can equally well be read, but does not suit the context.

5. ἀναγραφῆς: for the use of this term in connexion with taxation-lists cf. P. Aml. 77.

13 ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰσαχθέντων. διὰ γραφῆς is inadmissible.

23. The second address is possibly in a different hand.

#### 1484-1487. INVITATIONS TO FEASTS.

Second-fourth century. Plate I (1487).

These four invitations with 1579-80 are of the type which has been made familiar by Oxyrhynchus papyri (110-11, 523-4, 747, 926-7, 1214; cf. P. Fay. 132), but present some new details of interest. 1484 (second or early third century) is another invitation to dine ‘at the table of the lord Sarapis’ (l. 3, n.), a meal which was here held in the temple of Thoëris (cf. 1453) not, as in 110, at the Serapeum, nor, as in 523, at a private house, and was apparently connected with a festival in honour of ephebi. In 1485 (second or early third century) and 1486 (third or early fourth century) the invitation was for the same day, not, as usually, for the day following. In 1485 the entertainer was an exegetes, and the meeting-place the temple of Demeter (cf. 1449. 5). 1486 and 1487 (fourth century) fix the 8th hour for the feast, like 747 and 1580, while 1485 fixes the 7th, like 1214: the 9th hour

(generally about 3 p.m.) was more usual, but whether the difference was real or due to the change of the time of sunrise (which varies about two hours in Egypt) is uncertain. The new words *μελλοκούρια* (1484. 4, n.) and *λύκανον* (1486. 2; meaning obscure) occur. The writing is across the fibres except in 1485. It is noticeable that in the course of the third century *καλεῖ* takes the place of the earlier *ἐρωτᾷ*.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1484. 3.1 × 4.9 cm.<br/>         Ἐρωτᾷ σε Ἀπολλώνι-<br/>         ος δειπνήσαι εἰς<br/>         [κ]λείνην τοῦ κυρίου<br/>         Σαράπιδος ὑπὲρ μελ-<br/>         5 λοκουρίων τῶν<br/>         [ἀδελφῶν ?] ἐν τῷ Θ[ο- ηρίῳ<br/>         . . . . .</p> | <p>1485. 4 × 5.3 cm.<br/>         Ἐρωτᾷ σοι διπν[ῆ-<br/>         σαι ὁ ἐξηγητῆ]ς<br/>         ἐν τῷ Δημητρίῳ<br/>         σήμερον ἥτις ἐσ-<br/>         5 τὴν θ ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) ζ.</p>  |
| <p>1486. 5.7 × 12 cm.<br/>         1 Καλὶ σοι Ξενικὸς [ὁ] καὶ<br/>         Πέλιος εἰς τοὺς γά-<br/>         2 μους αὐτοῦ λύκανον σή-<br/>         μερον Φαρ-<br/>         3 μῶθι κβ ἀπὸ ὥρας η.</p>  | <p>1487. 8.3 × 7 cm. Plate I.<br/>         Καλὶ σε Θέων<br/>         υἱὸς Ὀριγένους<br/>         εἰς τοὺς γάμους τῆς<br/>         ἀδελφῆς ἐαυτοῦ<br/>         5 ἐν τῇ αὔριον ἥτις<br/>         ἐστὲν Τῦβι θ<br/>         ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) η.</p> |

1485. 1, 1486. 1. l. σε. 1487. 6. θ corr. from η by a second hand.

1484. 'Apollonius requests you to dine at the table of the lord Sarapis on the occasion of the approaching coming of age of his brothers at the temple of Thoëris . . .'

1485. 'The exegetes requests you to dine at the temple of Demeter to-day, which is the 9th, at the 7th hour.'

1486. 'Xenicus also called Pelius invites you to his wedding . . . to-day, Pharmouthi 22, at the 8th hour.'

1487. 'Theon son of Origenes invites you to the wedding of his sister to-morrow, which is Tubi 9, at the 8th hour.'

1484. 3. [κ]λείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος: Wilcken (*Chrest.* 99. int.) regards this as a cult meal, to which view Mr. Milne objects, comparing Aristides *εἰς Σάραπιν* 27, where it is said that people make S. their companion at feasts, *προϊστάμενοι δαιτυμόνα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐστιάτορα*.

4. *μελλοκουρίων*: probably a festival in honour either of *μελλοέφηβοι* (cf. 1202. 17), or of persons ceasing to be *ἀφήλικες* (at the age of 25; cf. 491. 16), or possibly in honour of an approaching marriage, if [ἀδελφῶν] refers to a brother and sister.

## 1488. LETTER OF SARAPAMMON TO HIS SISTER.

20.3 x 5.5 cm.

Second century.

A letter from a man to his 'sister' (the expression may be conventional; cf. 1296. 15, n.), giving various directions about some wine (ll. 3-13) and a mortar (ll. 13-19; cf. l. 14, n.). A curious reason for the writer's postponement of his return is assigned in ll. 22-5.

<p>Σαραπάμμων Θα- ήσει τῇ ἀδελ(φῆ) χαίρειν. διεπεμψάμην σοι οἴνου κεράμιον διὰ 5 Πατᾶ τινος ναυτι- κοῦ, ὅπερ εἰ ἔκομί- σω δῆλωσόν μοι. εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἠνέχθη σοι, γενοῦ εἰς τὸ γνα- 10 φεῖον Ἑρακλείου καὶ μάθε εἰ παρετέ- θη αὐτοῖς καὶ δέξαι αὐτό. γευ[οῦ] δὲ καὶ εἰ[s] τ[ὸ] ἔργαστ[ήριον]</p>	<p>15 καὶ μάθε [εἰ ἐν ἀσφα- λεῖ ἐστι κα[ὶ] εἰ] ἔρρω- ται ἢ ἐν τῷ αἰθρίῳ κειμένη μεγάλη θυῖα, καὶ πῶς ἔχεις 20 γράψον μοι. ἔμελλ- λον γὰρ ἀνελεῖν, καὶ ὑπερεθέμην ἔστ' ἂν μάθω πότερον ἔρᾳ 'Ισᾶς ἢ οὐ, καὶ εἰ χρεῖα 25 ἐστὶ τοῦ με ἀνελεῖν. ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι). Χοί(ακ) κδ.</p>
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On the verso

εἰς τὸ Ἴσειον ὥστε Θαήσει π(αρὰ) Σαραπάμμω(ος).

19. θυῖα Π. 22. ὑπερεθεμην Π. 24. ἴσους Π.

'Sarapammon to his sister Thaësis, greeting. I sent you a jar of wine by one Patas, a sailor. Let me know whether you received it; for if it was not brought to you, go to the fuller's shop at Heracleum (?) and find out whether it was delivered to them and get it. Go also to the workshop and find out whether the large mortar placed in the portico is safe and sound, and write to me how you are; for I intended to come back, but put it off until I learn whether Isas is in love or not, and whether there is need for me to come back. I pray for your health. Choiak 24. (Addressed) To Iseum for Thaësis from Sarapammon.'

9-10. γραφεῖον Ἑρακλείου: γραφική was one of the monopolized trades (cf. P. Fay. 36. int., Wilcken, *Grundz.* 250), and Ἑρακλείου is therefore probably a village, not a person, in spite of the fact that (τὸ) Ἑρακλείον was in the middle toparchy (1285. 100); cf. l. 28, n. Cf. Brit. Mus. 286. 13 (ii. 184) γραφικὴν κω[μῶν Νεῖ]λον πόλεως καὶ Σοκροπαίου [Νήσ]ου.

14. ἐργαστήριον: this may well have been used for making oil, mortars being often mentioned in connexion with the oil-manufacture (cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i. 295). Mortars may have been used also in the γυαφική, as they were in the milling-industry (λίθος σιτοκοπικὸς σὺν θυείῃ occurs in an unpublished Byzantine contract from Oxyrhynchus), but the ἐργαστήριον here does not seem to be connected with the γυαφείον.

28. τὸ Ἰσείον: several Oxyrhynchite villages called after Isis-shrines are known, being usually distinguished from each other; (1) 1539. 11 Ἰ. Ἄνω: cf. 732. 2, where 1. Ἰσίου Ἄνω, (2) 897. 7 Ἰ. Ζαπίτου (?), (3) 1285. 32 Ἰ. Κάτω, (4) P. Giessen 115 Ἰ. Κερκί, (5) 1285. 56 Ἰ. Παγγᾶ, (6) 1465. 2 Ἰ. Πεκύσιος, (7) 1285. 138 Ἰ. Τρύφωνος. (1), (3), (7), and probably (4) were in the κάτω, (5) in the ἄνω toparchy; of (2) and (6) the toparchy is unknown. Which village is meant here is uncertain; cf. ll. 9-10, n.

## 1489. LETTER OF SATTOS TO HIS SISTER.

9·4 × 13·1 cm.

Late third century.

A letter in vulgar Greek from a man to his 'sister' (cf. 1488. int.), giving various directions about a cloak which he had left behind, &c., and referring to his debts. The writing is across the fibres in a small cursive hand of the period from Gallienus to Diocletian.

Σάττος Εὐφροσύνη{ς}. ἄσπα[[ξ]]σον Φίρμον καὶ Τεκοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς ἡ-  
μῶν πάντας παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀντινοαίων. τὸ κι-  
θώνιν ἐπιτέλιε παρὰ Τεκοῦσαν εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα· πέμψον μοι  
ὡς ἔπεμψές μοι. καὶ ἐνοχλεῖς μοι ὅτι ὀφείλεις Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμωνι χαλ-  
5 κόν· πεπλήρωσα αὐτόν. ἡ πεποι(ῆ)κατε ψωμία, πέμψον μοι,  
ὡς τοῦ ἄλλο(υ) μηνὸς ἐλεύσομε. εἴθε πάντας πεπλήρωκα ὡς Ἀγαθὸς  
Δαίμων. οὐκ ἦς αἰμὸς ἀνάδοχος· οὐκ ἔχεις πρᾶγμα· μὴ ἐνόχλει{ς}.  
εἰ δὲ, ἔρχομε τῷ ἄλλο μηνί. παράδος τὸ κιθώνιν μου Κεραρέα  
τῇ κουρίδι. ἀσπάξου Στράτ[ο]ν καὶ Στρατονεῖνκη καὶ τὰ πεδ[ί]α  
10 αὐτῶν. ἐρρῶστέ σε εὐχομαι.

On the verso

[τῆ] ἀδελφῆ Εὐφ[ροσύ]νη Σ ἄττος Ἀρποκράτου.

2. 1. Ἀντινοίων. 3. 1. ἐπιτέλιεσμαι. 4. 1. Ἀγαθῷ Δ. 5. 1. πεπλήρωκα . . . εἰ.  
6. 1. ἐλεύσομαι . . . Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα. 7. 1. ἐμός. 8. 1. ἔρχομαι . . . ἄλλω. 9. 1. Στρατο-  
νεῖνκη . . . παιδία. 10. 1. ἐρρῶσθαι.

'Sattos to Euphrosyne. Salute Firmus and Tecusa and all our friends before the gods of Antinoöpolis. I have left my cloak behind with Tecusa at the gateway; send it me as you sent it me before. You worry me about the money which you owe to Agathodaemon: I have paid him in full. If you have made any cakes, send them to me, as I shall return in another month. I wish that I had paid every one like Agathodaemon. You were not my security; it is not your affair; do not worry. If necessary, I shall return in another month.

Deliver my cloak to Kerarea, the hairdresser. Salute Stratus and Stratonice and their children. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To my sister Euphrosyne from Sattos son of Harpocrates.'

1. Σάττος: or Σάττυς, with π(αρά) [Σ]άττ(υ)ος for Σ άττος in l. 11.  
 8. Κεραρέα: or Κεραρέυ: cf. Καρούρις in P. Leipzig 97, vii. 20.  
 11. Cf. l. 1, n.

## 1490. LETTER OF HERACLIDES TO AN OFFICIAL.

9.7 × 14.9 cm.

Late third century.

On the recto of this papyrus are the ends of thirteen lines, and beginnings of fourteen more in a second column, of an account of various payments in drachmae (αίρεσι τ[ ], φολέτρο(υ) [ ], διαρο(μῆς) (ἀρουρῶν) [ ], &c.), written in the latter part of the third century. On the verso is a letter written nearer the end of the century to Sarapion, probably an official of some kind (cf. l. 1, n.), by Heraclides, asking him to help a γνωστήρ (l. 2, n.) who was in difficulties. The ink is much obliterated in places.

Ἡρακλε[ίδης Σαρ]απίωνι τῶι ἀξιολογωτάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 Δημήτριος ὁ γνωστήρ ἠξιώσέν με λέγειν σοι  
 ὥστε αὐτὸν ἄλυπον γενέσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν προτέρων  
 ἐτῶν. λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ὠφέλησα αὐτὸν μεγάλως καὶ  
 5 ἐν τῇ ἀννώνῃ. λέγει δὲ ὅτι ἀννώνα νῦν ζητεῖται.  
 εἰ οὖν πάλιν δύνη ἐκπλέξαι παρὰ σεαυτῶ, τύχη  
 τῇ ἀγαθῇ· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἐπίστελλον τί θέλεις ἐτοι-  
 μασθῆναι. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσης, οὕπω γὰρ ἐξηλθαν.  
 ἐὰν ἰσχύσης [[ἀλλῶ]] ἐκπλέξαι, μέγα ἔργον ποιεῖς,  
 10 διότι κτήνη οὐκ ἔχομεν οὐδὲ χοίρους.  
 ἐρρῶσθαί σε ὀλοκλη[ρ]οῦντα  
 [ε]ῦχομαι.

3. ὑπὲρ Π. 9. ἰσχύσης Π.

'Heraclides to the most notable Sarapion, greeting. Demetrius, the certifier, asked me to speak to you, so that he may be freed from anxiety about the previous years. He says "I helped him greatly in the matter of the annona." He says that the annona is now being claimed. If then you can again get him off by yourself (?), good luck to you; but if not, give instructions as to what preparations you wish to be made. Do not neglect this, for they have not yet gone away. If you are strong enough to get him off, it will be a great achievement, since I have no cattle or pigs. I pray for your complete health.'

1. ἀξιολογώτατο: this term is used of strategi, logistae, and senators; cf. Zehetmair, *De appellationibus honorificis*, 44, and 1408. int.

2. γνωστήρ: in the third and fourth centuries γνωστήρες are generally found presenting persons for liturgies; cf. P. Hamb. 31. 20, 1451. 27-8, nn.

4. ὅτι ὠφέλησα αὐτόν: Demetrius' actual words are quotod, αὐτόν being Sarapion.

5. νῦν ζητεῖται was suggested by Mr. E. Lobel. . . ν δύναται is possible; but it is difficult to find any suitable infinitive, even if ἀν(ών)αν or ἀνών(αν) be read in place of ανων.

6. ἐκπλέξαι: cf. P. Tebt. 315. 21 κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκπλέξω, P. S. I. 93. 16 (from Oxyrhynchus) πέμ?]ψαι αὐτῷ ἐπιστολίδιον ὅτι ἐξεπλέκη. In P. Brit. Mus. 988. 9 sqq. (iii. 244; cf. *Archiv*, iv. 558) ἰ δ' οὐ (or ἰδοῦ) σὺ οὐκ ἠθέλησας αὐτὸ (sc. a διαστολικόν) ἐκπλέξαι, ἵς μεγάλα πράγματα ἀπήλθαμεν, the sense is different, and in P. Strassb. 73. 17-18 the context of ἐκπλέξας is unintelligible.

9. ἄλλω is unsatisfactory, and, as Lobel remarked, seems to have a line drawn through it. ἄλλον or ἄλλως cannot be read.

## 1491. LETTER OF ALYPIUS TO HIS BROTHER.

26.4 × 10.5 cm.

Early fourth century.

The recto of this papyrus contains part of a series of receipts for official payments written in A.D. 292-304, to be published in Part xiii. On the verso in a large cursive hand of the early part of the fourth century is a letter, with an autograph signature, from a man to his 'brother' (cf. 1488. int.), hoping for his support and asking for information concerning a purchase of barley. An earlier letter in the same hand, beginning Ἀλύπιος Θορταλίθι καὶ Σαρα[πάμμωνι] (cf. 1491. 1) χαίρειν, and ending ἐρρωῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, has been washed out.

Ἀλύπιος Σαραπάμμωνι		τοῦ Διονύσιος ὁ ἐπι-
ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.		σφραγιστῆς τῆς
θαρρῶ πρῶτον μὲν		Ταμπέμου, ἵνα
περὶ τῆς οἰκίας ὅτι		προνοήσωμαι ἀργυρί-
5 ὄχλησις ἐὰν ᾗ προ-	15	ου. ἐρρωῶσθαι
ίστασαι ἡμῶν, καὶ		σε εὐχομαι,
ἀξιῶ σε μαθεῖν		ἀδελφέ.
πόσου ἡμῖν συν-		2nd hand ἐρρωῶσθαι
αλλάσσει κριθῆν		σε εὐχομαι,
10 [[ἡμῖν]] ὁ τρόφιμος	20	ἀδελφέ.

5-6. προϊῶσθαι Π.

11-12. 1. Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπισφραγιστοῦ.

‘Alypius to his brother Sarapammon, greeting. I am confident in the first place about my household that if there is any trouble you are supporting me, and I beg you to find out at what price the foster-son of Dionysius, the sealer of Taampemou, is contracting to get

barley for me, in order that I may provide for the money. I pray for your health, brother. (Signed) I pray for your health, brother.'

11. ἐπισφραγιστῆς τῆς Ταμπέμου : the ἐπισφραγιστῆς was an official attached to the village granaries ; cf. P. Tebt. 340. 14 (Mendesian nome). Ταμπέμου is the more usual spelling ; cf. 1421. 3, n.

1492. CHRISTIAN LETTER.

22.6 x 10.3 cm. Late third or early fourth century.

This letter, 1493-4, and 1592 have a special interest as being among the earliest Christian documents from Egypt and approximately contemporary with the well-known letter of Psenosiris (P. Grenf. ii. 73) ; cf. also 1161-2 and 1495, which are somewhat later. 1492, from Sotas to his son, begins with a somewhat unusual formula (cf. l. 1, n.), and after pious reflections (ll. 4-8) proceeds to give directions about the 'separation' of some land which the son intended to present to a τόπος in accordance with ancient custom (ll. 8-15). Possibly this refers to a gift for religious purposes. The script is a good-sized cursive. P. S. I. 208, a fourth-century letter on vellum from Sot[as] to his 'brother' Peter, which recalls the phraseology of 1492 (cf. the nn.), was possibly written by the same person.

<p>Χα[ί]ρε, ἱερ[ε]ὺς υἱὲ          Δημητρι[ανέ]. Σώτας          σε προ[σαγορεύω].          τὸ κοινὸν . . . [ . . . . .          5 εὐδελον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν          σωτήριον ἡμῶν [ . . . ,          ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν τὰ ἐν τῇ          θεῖᾳ προνοίᾳ. εἰ οὖν ἔ-          κρεινας κατὰ τὸ παλ[αῖον]          10 ἔθος δοῦναι τὴν ἀρ[ο]ν-</p>	<p>ραν τῷ τόπῳ, ποιήσον          αὐτὴν ἀφορισθῆναι          ἵνα χρήσωνται, κ[α]ὶ ὡς          ἐὰν κρείνης περὶ τοῦ ἔ[ρ]ο[γ]ου          15 θάρρει. πάντας τ[ο]ῦ[τ]ο          ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου ἀπαγγ[ε]λ[ασ]          προσαγόρευε. ἐρρω-          σθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι          τῷ θεῷ διὰ παντὸς          20 καὶ ἐν παντί.</p>
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On the verso

τῷ ἱερῷ υἱῷ μ[ο]υ Δημητριανῷ π(αρά) Σώτου.

1. ἱερ[ε] II. 12. I. ἀφορισθῆναι. 13. ἵνα II. 14. του inserted above the line.  
 18. ὑμας II. 21. ἱερω II.

' Greeting, my holy son Demetrianus ! I, Sotas, salute you. Our common . . . is plain, and our common salvation (is secure ?) ; for these are the objects of Divine providence. If then you have decided in accordance with ancient custom to give the arura to the place, see that it is separated, so that they may use it ; and however you may decide about the work be

of good cheer. Salute all who are in your house. I pray to God for your continual good health in every respect. (Addressed) To my holy son Demetrianus from Sotas.'

1. Χα[τ̄]ρε: for this style of beginning a letter cf. P. S. I. 206, 208, and Ziemann, *De Epistularum Graec. formulis*, 295-7.

ἱερ[έ]: cf. l. 21 and 1592. 7.

3. πρ[οσαγορεύω]: this word (cf. l. 17), though rather long for the available space, is employed at this point in 526. 2, P. S. I. 206. 2, 208. 3, Flor. 140. 2.

6. The word lost is probably an adjective balancing εὐδηλον.

9-10. κατὰ τὸ παλ[αῖον] ἔθος: cf. P. S. I. 208. 6 κατὰ τὸ ἔθος.

12. ἀφ(ο)ρισθῆναι: cf. int. and B. G. U. 1060. 33 τὸν ἀφωρικῶτα τὸ ἔδαφος. Part of the Libyan nome was called ἡ ἀφωρισμένη in the third century B. C. (P. Rev. Laws lxi. 3).

17. προσαγόμε: cf. P. S. I. 208. 10 προσαγορεύομε(ν).

### 1493. CHRISTIAN LETTER.

10.9 x 9.6 cm. Late third or early fourth century.

The first part of another interesting early Christian letter (cf. 1492. int.), from a man to a friend or relative with reference to the addressee's son, who had been entrusted to the writer's charge. κύριος is contracted, but not θεός; cf. P. Grenf. ii. 73 and 1495, where both are contracted, and 1592, where κύριος and πατήρ are contracted.

Θῶνις Ἡρακλήφ τῷ φιλτάτῳ  
 πλείστα χαίρειν.  
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὀλο-  
 κληρεῖν καὶ υἱένειν παρὰ τῷ κ(υρί)φ  
 5 θεῷ. γινώσκειν σε θέλω, ἀδελφέ,  
 ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ι τοῦ ὄντος μη-  
 νὸς Θῶθ ἐκομισάμην σου τὸν  
 υἱὸν εὐρωστοῦντα καὶ ὀλοκλη-  
 ροῦντα διὰ παντός. τούτου οὖν  
 10 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσω ὡς  
 ἰδίου υἱοῦ. οὐκ ἀμελήσω δὲ  
 ἀναγκάζειν αὐτὸν παραπροσέ-  
 χειν τῷ ἕ[ρ]γῳ, ἐκ τούτου θεοῦ  
 [. . .]ρε. [ 13 letters ]ολφ[.]

On the verso vestiges of an address.

4. υἱένειν Π; 1. ἰγιαίνειν. π of παρα over κ . . (καί?), which has been expunged. κῶ Π.  
 7. τὸ Π. 8. υἱὸν Π.



'Thonis to his dearest Heracleüs, many greetings. First of all I pray for your prosperity and health before the Lord God. I would have you know, brother, that on the 10th of the present month of Thoth I received your son safe and sound in every respect. I shall take care of him as if he were my own son. I shall not neglect to make him attend to his work, . . .'

11-13. Cf. 1581. 5-7.

## 1494. CHRISTIAN LETTER.

14.4 × 9.7 cm.

Early fourth century.

Another early Christian family-letter, badly spelled, which has lost the beginning. The handwriting suggests a date not much later than A. D. 300, while the high price of olives (3 talents for a *κνίδιον* in l. 17) indicates a reign not earlier than Diocletian's. The verso contains, besides the address, two lines written at right angles to it in a different hand (<sup>1</sup> Ταυρία <sup>2</sup> (ἔτους) ε' Ἀθύρ.), which seem to have no connexion with the letter. This dating presents a difficulty; for the reign of Probus seems too early, and there is no suitable reign in the fourth century, during most of which datings by more than one regnal year were employed, where regnal years were used at all. Possibly one of the various Oxyrhynchite eras beginning in A. D. 307, 324, &c., was meant; cf. 1431. 5, n.

<p>. . . . .</p> <p>δ . . . [ 20 letters</p> <p>ἐδέησεν ἐμαὶ κατατεῖν εἰς</p> <p>Παγ[γ]ᾶ, εἰν' οὕτως θεοῦ θέλοντος</p> <p>τάχα τει πραταῖον γένηται. μά[[λ]]-</p> <p>5 λειστα μὲν δεήσει καὶ ὑμᾶς εὐ-</p> <p>χεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν, εἰν' οὕτως</p> <p>ἐπακούσῃ ὁ θαιὶς τῶν εὐχῶν</p> <p>ὑμῶν καὶ γένηται ἡμῖν ὁδὸς</p> <p>εὐθεία. ἀσπάσομ(αι) τοὺς γλυκυ-</p> <p>10 τάτους μου ἀδελφούς, Διονυσο-</p>	<p>δώραν καὶ τὴν δούλην αὐτῆς</p> <p>Ἀχειλλίδαν. ἀσπάζομαι τὴν</p> <p>ἀδελφὴν μου Μακαρείαν καὶ</p> <p>Ῥωμανὰν καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν</p> <p>15 πάντας κατ' ὄνομα· καί, ἂν θέ-</p> <p>λῃς, ἀγοράσω ἐλέας κνίδια</p> <p>παλεά, ὡς τοῦ κνιδίου (ταλάντων)</p> <p>γ. εἰ λήμ-</p> <p>[ψομαι? . .] μαιν γράψον μοι.</p> <p>ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς</p> <p>20 [εὔχομαι. ]</p>
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On the verso

] [π(αρά)] Βοήθου Ἀχειλλείωνος  
] Θῶθ κη.

2. l. ἐμέ κατατεῖν. 4. l. τι πρατέον. 5. ὑμᾶς II; so in l. 8 ὑμῶν. 7. l. θεός.  
9. s of τους inserted above the line. 12. ἰδα of ἀχειλλίδαν corr. 16. l. ἐλαίας.  
17. l. παλαιά. υ of του inserted above the line. 19. ὑμᾶς II.

‘ . . . I had to come down to Panga in order that, if God so wills, there may perhaps be something to sell. It will be most necessary for you too to pray on my behalf, in order that God may thus hear your prayers, and a straight way be made for us. I salute my sweetest brethren, Dionysodora and her slave Achillis. I salute my sister Macaria and Romana and all our friends by name, and, if you like, I will buy some old jars of olives at 3 talents the jar. If I am to receive . . ., write to me. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To . . . from Boëthus son of Achillion. Thoth 28.’

3. Παγ[γ]ᾶ: i. e. Ἰσείων Παγγᾶ; cf. 1488. 28, n. In 250. 5 l. Παγγᾶ Ἰσειείω[ι for Παιταισειείω[ι.

## 1495. CHRISTIAN LETTER.

26 × 11.5 cm.

Fourth century.

A letter from Nilus to his ‘brother’, asking him to pay a debt on his behalf. The biblical contractions of κύριος and θεός occur; cf. 1492. int. The handwriting suggests about the middle of the fourth century.

Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ	10 ἐνταῦθα καὶ γενέσθω σοι,
Νείλος χαίρειν.	ἐπὶ οἱ[.]νην[.]ο . . . . . ἀξ ὀδοῦ,
πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σοι	ἐπιδὴ οὐκ ἐδυνήθη μετ’ αὐ-
τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν παρὰ τῷ κ(υρι)ῶ	τοῦ ἄξειν. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελή-
5 θ(ε)ῶ. πᾶν ποίησον, ἀδελφέ,	σης, ἀδελφέ, ὡς εἰδὼς
δὸς τῷ ἀδελφῶ μου Ζακάωνι	15 τὴν ὀφίλειάν μου ἐνταῦθα.
πλακουντᾶ εἰς λόγον μου	ἐρρωσθαί σε
ὡς τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα,	εὐχομαι πολλοῖς
καὶ δήλωσόν μοι δῶ τὰς ἴσας	χρόνοις, κύριέ μου.

On the verso

Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Νείλος.

4-5. κ̄ω θ̄ω Π.

‘To my lord brother Apollonius Nilus, greeting. First of all I pray for your prosperity before the Lord God. By every means, brother, give my brother Zakaon the confectioner about forty talents on my account, and let me know if I am to pay the equivalent amount where you are, and you shall have it, since . . ., as he could not bring it with him. Pray do not neglect this, brother, for you know my debt (?) in that quarter. I pray for your continued health, my lord. (Addressed) To my lord brother Apollonius from Nilus.’

7. πλακουντᾶ: πλακουντᾶς (cf. e. g. ἀρτυματᾶς in 1517. 14) is an apparently new variant of πλακουνητίριος (πλακουν[τα]ρ[ί]ω) in P. Klein. Form. 1053) or πλακουνητοποιός (Preisigke, *S. B.* 984. 5). In P. Klein. Form. 694 and 967 the form is uncertain owing to abbreviation. With the reading πλακοῦντα there is no construction for ὡς τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα.

11. Another person, to whom *αὐτοῦ* and *ἐδυνήθη* in l. 12 would refer, was perhaps mentioned in this line; but l. 12 may refer to Zakaon. *ἐπί* presumably = *ἐπεί*, in spite of *ἐπιδή* in l. 12, and *αὐτοῦ* = *αὐτοῦ*.

15. *ὀφίλειαν*: this form seems to be new, and perhaps [·] *φιλ{ε}ίαν* should be read.

## X. MINOR DOCUMENTS.

### (1) *The Senate of Oxyrhynchus.*

**1496.** 22·3 × 18 cm. On the verso of 1414. Parts of two columns of a list of money payments made in several months of the 5th year (of either Aurelian or Probus; i. e. A. D. 273-4 or 279-80; cf. 1413. int.) by various persons, including a prytanis and probably two individuals (Xenicus and Eurporus also called Agathodaemon) who are known from 1413. 22 and 29 (cf. the nn.), so that all the payments are likely to have been by municipal officials or senators, for e. g. oil; cf. 1413. 19-24. Of Col. i only the ends of 19 lines survive, the payments being uniformly 1 talent, except for one instance of 2 tal. Col. ii <sup>20</sup> ιγ, Ξ[εν]ικὸς δι(ὰ) Τρωίλου (τρωίλ. Π, as in ll. 22, 34) πατρὸς (τάλ.) [, <sup>21</sup> ις, Κάλλ[ι]ππος δι(ὰ) Διογένους πατρὸς (τάλ.) α, <sup>22</sup> κς, κθ, Ξενικὸς δι(ὰ) Τρωίλου πατρὸς (τάλ.) α, <sup>23</sup> λ, Εὐδαίμων ὁ καὶ Θέων δι(ὰ) κλη(ροτόμων) Νείλου υἱοῦ Ἡριγένους <sup>24</sup> Ἀκου(σιλάου) ὑπομ[ν]η(ματογραφίσαιτος) Τῦβι ις (τάλ. ?) ., <sup>25</sup> (after a space) καὶ [· · ·] ἀπὸ 5 τ(οῦ) Τῦβι ε (ἔτους) ἕως [Φα]ρμούθι . [ <sup>26</sup> [Γαι?]αροῦ Πεσοῦρι(ος) (ουρι corr.) καὶ Εὐπόρου τοῦ [καὶ Ἀ]γαθοῦ Δαίμο[ρος] <sup>27</sup> ε (ἔτους) Τῦβι .] <sup>28</sup> [· · ·] ὁ πρύτανις δι(ὰ) τοῦ υἱοῦ [(τάλ.) ., <sup>29</sup> [· · · · ·] εἰρίος Ἰππόνεικος (ἱππ.) ὁ καὶ Λεωνίδης δι(ὰ) τοῦ π[ατρὸς (τάλ.) ., <sup>30</sup> [· · · τ]ίω[ν] [ὁ] καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος (cf. l. 32) δι(ὰ) τοῦ πατρ[ὸς] [(τάλ.) ., <sup>31</sup> Εὐδαίμων ὁ καὶ Θέων δι(ὰ) κληρο[νό]μων] Νείλου (cf. l. 23) [(τάλ.) ., <sup>32</sup> [· · · · ·] τίω[ν] ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος] δι(ὰ) [τοῦ] πατρὸς [(τάλ.) ., <sup>33</sup> [· · · · ·]-εἰρίος Ἰππόνεικος ὁ καὶ Λεωνίδης [(τάλ.) ., <sup>34</sup> [· · · · ·] Ξενικὸς δι(ὰ) Τρωίλου πατρὸς [(τάλ.) ., <sup>35</sup> [Ἡλιό?]δωρος ὁ καὶ Χαιρήμων [(τάλ.) ., <sup>36</sup> [· · · · ·]ων ὁ καὶ Ἀλεξ[ί]ων ὑπ(έρ) Μαξίμου υἱωνοῦ [(τάλ.) ., followed by traces of 3 lines. The entries in Col. ii have dots in the preceding margin, indicating a revision; cf. 1436. int.

**1497.** 11 × 12·7 cm. About A. D. 279. The upper portion of an official report of sums paid to Epimachus son of Philosophus, ex-gymnasiarch (cf. 1413. 20, n.), as the price of (1) 12 talents of pitch at 3,400 drachmae each, and (2) pottery jars, apparently purchased through him for the municipal Treasury, to which he was accountable. For official accounts mentioning pitch cf. 1286 and P. S. I. 83, which also belong to the second half of the third century. <sup>1</sup> [Ἀ]λόγος πρὸς Ἐπίμαχον γυμ(νασιαρχίσαιτα) υἱὸν Φιλοσόφου. <sup>2</sup> φαίνεται δεδόσθαι αὐτῷ τῷ δ (ἔτει) τοῦ κυρίου <sup>3</sup> ἡμῶν Πρύβου Σεβαστοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς

ἀγορασθείσης πρίσ-<sup>4</sup> σης ὑπὸ Διδύμου ἰδίου (ἰδ.) τοῦ γεούχου (cf. P. S. I. 83. 5 and Part x, p. 236<sup>1</sup>)<sup>5</sup> παραδοθ(είσης) αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ) Διδύμου ὀλκ(ῆς) (ταλάντων) ἡβ<sup>6</sup> τι(μὴν) τῶν προκ(ειμένων) ὡς τ(οῦ) (τάλ.) α, ὡς δι' ἐφημερ(ίδος) τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ)<sup>7</sup> δ (ἔτους) δηλοῦται, (δραχμῶν) Ἐν, / (τάλ.) 5 (δρ.) Ἐω.<sup>8</sup> καὶ ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) κούφ(ων) (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 766) παρασχεθέντ(ων) αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Θέωνος<sup>9</sup> κεραμέως Πέλα ἐξ ὑπαγορεύσ(εως) τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ) Θέωνος<sup>10</sup> [10 letters] αὐτοῦ τὸν . [ . . . ] ( ) [.]ω ἐνχώριον . . .

**1498.** 27.2 × 12.4 cm. Written on the recto of **1416** in a large cursive hand about the reign of Probus (276–82), in any case before 299; cf. **1416**. int. A list of persons of various official ranks, in some cases with a statement that they were under or over age. About 8–10 letters appear to be lost at the beginnings of lines. <sup>1</sup> ]ν Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ τιμ[ῶν] (cf. **1413**. 6) παρήλιξ, <sup>2</sup> ] Πατβῶτος (πατ'β.) ἀπὸ τιμῶν ἀφήλιξ, <sup>3</sup> ]ν, <sup>4</sup> ]μων, <sup>5</sup> ] . os Δωρίωνος κοσμη(τεύσας) ἐξηγη(τεύσας) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) ὑπομη(ηματογράφος or -γραφήσας), <sup>6</sup> Δι]σοκρόου νυνὶ διαδεχόμενος στρα(τηγίαν) Ὀάσεως (cf. **1439**. int.), <sup>7</sup> Διο]νυσίου τοῦ καὶ Πλουτάρχου, <sup>8</sup> ]τόκου ἀπὸ τιμῶν, <sup>9</sup> ]του Μαλίου (cf. **1036**. 1) Θέωνος, <sup>10</sup> ] . ης χρηματίζων, <sup>11</sup> ]ης Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκουρίδο[ν] . [ , <sup>12</sup> ] Πτολεμαίου, <sup>13</sup> ] . Πλουτάρχου, <sup>14</sup> γεο]νχῶν ἐν Τακόνα, <sup>15</sup> ] . Σαραπίων, <sup>16</sup> ]νος Κοπρέως. <sup>17</sup> (after a space) δ] καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος βουλ(εῦτης) Ἄλεξανδ(ρείας), <sup>18</sup> ]ρος Κλαύδιος Μουνατιαῖος ὑπ(ερ)ετής [ , <sup>19</sup> ]ώνιος Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Ν[ . . . . (end of the column).

**1499.** 8.2 × 13.5 cm. A. D. 309. Order, similar to **1500** (cf. also **1419**. int.), from a prytanis to a banker to pay three attendants of the public bath (cf. **1430**. 13) their monthly wage, amounting in all to 1 talent. <sup>1</sup> Π(αρά) τοῦ πρυτάνεως Ἀπολλωνίῳ τρα(πεζίτη) χα(ίρειν). <sup>2</sup> δὸς Ἐρπάλω καὶ Χωοῦτι καὶ Τελώνη παρα- <sup>3</sup> χύται δημ(οσίου) βαλανείου ὑπ(ερ)μισθ(ῶν) τῶν ἀπὸ α <sup>4</sup> ἕως λ Παχῶν ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἔν, / (τάλ.) α. <sup>5</sup> (2nd h.) σεσημ(είωμαι) τάλαντον ἔν, <sup>6</sup> (τάλ.) α. <sup>7</sup> (1st h.) ἰξ (ἔτους) (sc. of Galerius Augustus) καὶ ε (ἔτους) (sc. of Maximinus Augustus, the Caesars Constantine and Licinius being ignored; cf. **1542**. 12 and **1410**. int.) Πάννι ια.

**1500.** 8.2 × 8.3 cm. A. D. 229. Order to a banker, similar to **1499** and probably from a prytanis, to pay a bath-attendant a month's salary. The handwriting is third century, and the 9th year is probably that of Severus Alexander, Macrianus and Quietus being still in occupation of Egypt in Thoth of the 9th year of Gallienus; cf. P. Strassb. 6. 37–8 and **1476**. int. <sup>1</sup> Ἀχιλλῆ τραπ(εζίτη). <sup>2</sup> δὸς Ἐρμαῖσκιβ βαλ(αρευτῆ) <sup>3</sup> ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου Θῶθ <sup>4</sup> δραχμὰς ὀκτώ, / (δρ.) η. <sup>5</sup> (ἔτους) θ Θῶθ ἰδ.

**1501.** 9.5 × 11.1 cm. Late third century. Beginning of an acknowledgement by a treasurer of the senate (cf. P. Ryl. 86. 2, n.) for the return of a loan made by him to another senator, probably from the city-funds; cf. C. P. Herm. 23. i. 7 ἐδα[ν]ίστατο ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ χρήματος, and **1416**. 3, n. <sup>1</sup> Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος

ἐξ(ηγητεύσας) βουλευτῆς <sup>2</sup> ταμίης βουλ(ευτικῶν) χρη(μάτων) τῆς Ὁξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλ(εως) Τιβερίω <sup>3</sup> Κλαυδίω Διδύμω τῷ κ(αί) Ἡρακλείω πρό(ιτενομένω) <sup>4</sup> βουλ(ευτῆ) χαίρειν. διέγραψάς .μοι τῆ ἐ- <sup>5</sup> νεστῶση ἡμέρα ἕς . . .) ἐδά- <sup>6</sup> [νεί,σω βου- λε[υτ . . . . ὄραχ]μὰς . . .

(2) *Official Documents.*

**1502.** 8.2 × 11.8 cm. About A. D. 260-1. The upper parts of two columns, Col. i belonging to a report of a trial for assault, and mentioning a new deputy-epistrategus of the Heptanomia, Metrodorus (l. 4). A report of a public physician (l. 1; cf. e. g. 51-2) and a petition to the strategus Aurelius Ptolemaeus also called Nemesianus, who is known from 1411 and 1555 to have held office in 260, were tendered as evidence. Line 8, if correctly restored, indicates a loss of 38 letters at the beginnings of lines. <sup>1</sup>—]μορος δημόσιος ἰατρὸς προσεφώνησα. <sup>2</sup>— ὅτ?]ε διεῖπε τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν καὶ ἐκέλευ- <sup>3</sup>[σε —]ιος ῥ(ήτωρ?) (ρ/) εἴπ(ευ)· Θαῖς (θαῖς) Σερήνου ἐντυγχάνει (cf. P. Tebt. 335. 1-2) καὶ τὰ ἐξ(ῆς)?). <sup>4</sup>— Μη]τρόδωρος διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν αὐτῷ <sup>5</sup>[εἴπ(ευ)· — ἰα?]τρὸν προσφώνησις γεγένηται ἔνγραφος <sup>6</sup>— αἰ δεδομέ? ναι πληγαὶ οὕτω βίαιοι ὡς φῆς, πέμψον εἰς <sup>7</sup>— τὰ ὑπομνήματ? α ταῦτα· Ἀνρηλίω Πτολεμαίω τῷ καὶ Νεμε- <sup>8</sup>[σιανῷ στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρρυχίτου παρὰ Θαῖδος Σερή]νου ἀπ' Ὁξυρρυχίων πόλεως δι(ὰ) τοῦ πρεσβυ(τέρου) <sup>9</sup>—]τος παρὰ Ἡρακλιανῷ καταστάτες πρὸς <sup>10</sup>—]ν ἐν αἷς ἀπολέλοιπεν διαθήκαις καρπέων τῷ <sup>11</sup>—] . . . . ηγῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτῆν . . . Col. ii (2nd h.) has only the beginnings of 9 lines (<sup>12</sup> τοῦ Μέλα[ος?]), and may refer to something different. On the verso (3rd h.; after A. D. 260) is a complete extract from a lease of land at Iseum Panga (cf. 1488. 28, n.), which had been injured by floods and was to be cultivated with grass. This land belonged to a δεκαπρωτία, like that in P. S. I. 187, where too ὑποστελλόντων τῆ δεκαπρ. (cf. ll. 3-4) occurs in l. 7, the lessor being a δεκάπρωτος, as was no doubt the case here. τὰ ὑποστέλλοντα refers, we think, not to public land within the administrative competence of δεκάπρωτοι, but to land owned by them jointly in consideration of the arduous character of their duties (cf. 1410. int.). <sup>1</sup> Περὶ τὸ Ἴσιον Παγγᾶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοφί- <sup>2</sup> λου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου κλήρου <sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποστελλόντων τῆ δεκα- <sup>4</sup> πρωτία τὰς Θεογένους Διονυσίου <sup>5</sup> ἐν τ[ό]πῳ λεγομένῳ Πασόιτος (-σοίτος) <sup>6</sup> διασθ[εν]οῦσ[ας] καὶ νιλοβροχηθεί- <sup>7</sup> σας (ἀρούρας) δ, ὥστε ξυλαμῆσαι χόρτω.

**1503.** Height 26 cm. A. D. 288-9. Three fragments, the largest containing the beginnings of the lines, of a report of a trial before the praefect Valerius Pompeianus (cf. 1416. 29, n.) apparently concerning the status (ll. 4, 7 πολιτεία, 7-8 ἐπι[τιμ]ία or ἀ[τιμ]ία) of Demetrianus and Phileas, a prytanis and the

praefect being the chief speakers. The position of Fr. 2 (near the ends of ll. 9-20) is fixed by the suitable combinations in ll. 11-12, 13-14, and 16-17; but the position of the small Fr. 3, which is assigned to the middles of ll. 15-19, is uncertain. It may belong to ll. 9-13, but hardly to ll. 12-16. The lines were of great length. <sup>1</sup>Ἐτους [ε] καὶ ἔτους δ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν — <sup>2</sup>Σαραπίωνος) ἐξ ἐπιπέδου προσελθόντων [ — <sup>3</sup>Γυμνάσιος πρ(ύτανις) εἶπ(εν)· Δημητριανὸς καὶ Φιλίας [ — <sup>4</sup>ἡ δὲ πολιτεία πολλάκις καὶ μικρο . . . α ασε . [ — ἐμ- <sup>5</sup>φανῆς ἀμφισβήτημα γέγονεν ἐξ[ — <sup>6</sup>Φιλίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνος εἰς αὐτοὺς δ. [ — <sup>7</sup>τούτου σε προβαίνειν δεξί [τ]ῆς πολιτείας — ἐπι- <sup>8</sup>τιμία ἐμπεσοῦσα διέστησεν πολλ[ — <sup>9</sup>καὶ τύχη συνεπιέγοντας τὸ αὐτὸ [ — | ἀρχιδικαστῆς μὲν [ . . . . <sup>10</sup>της τῶν βιαίων Εἰρηναῖος δ[ — | ] καὶ ἐξ( ) λέγοντος γ[ . . . . . <sup>11</sup>ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐπενεχθὲν Φιλίας ἐκεῖ (εκ corr. from μ?) [ — | σα εἶναι μιμημονεύσαν- <sup>12</sup>τες τῶν Ζακαρίων τῶν ε. [ — | Λ]εοιτωνπολίτη [καί? Λεόν- <sup>13</sup>των πόλει κατὰ τὸ η (ἔτος?) καὶ ἐξ( ) λέγ[οιτος? — | [Οὐαλέριος Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ διασημότατος ἔπ]α[ρ]χ(ος) Αἰγ(ύπτου) εἶπ(εν)· ὅσα πρ[ὸς ἀλλή- <sup>14</sup>λους εἰρήκασι καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα γ. [ — | ]ντους καὶ [ . . . . <sup>15</sup>μιμημονεύσαντες ἂ (ἂ) οὐ δεῖ παρο[ — | καὶ | [30 letters κ]αὶ Δίδυμος. [Γ]υμνάσιος? <sup>16</sup>πρ(ύτανις) εἶπ(εν)· ἔτοιμος λογισμοὺς παρέχει[ν — | . εν . | [20 l. Οὐαλέριος Πομπηϊανὸς (π)ομπηϊαν.) [ὁ δια- <sup>17</sup>σημότατος ἔπαρχ(ος) Αἰγ(ύπτου) εἶπ(εν)· καὶ [ — | γρά]ψαντι | [19 letters Δημητριστὸς] καὶ Φιλίας τουτο[ . . . <sup>18</sup>τοίνυν τοῦ πράγματος ἀκολιτιο[ — | [Γυμνάσιος] πρ(ύτανις) εἶπ(εν)· . | [30 l. ]ιαν τινας εκα[ . . . <sup>19</sup>σαν ἀξιούμεν αὐτοὺς ἀφείσθαι λ[ειτουργίω]ν? — | Οὐαλέρι[ος Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ διασημότατος ἔπαρχ]ος Αἰγ(ύπτου) εἶπ(εν)· [τῶν? <sup>20</sup>ἐκκλημάτων ὧν ἐνεκεν δέσονται? — | ἀ]φείσθαι —

**1504.** 13·6 × 8·2 cm. Late third century. On the verso of 1515, in a large cursive hand. Beginnings of lines from the bottom of a column of a report of a trial before a praefect; cf. 1503. <sup>1</sup>[.]α[. . . ]τες[ — ὁ | <sup>2</sup>διασημ[ότατος (σημ[ότατος above a deletion) ἔ]παρχ[ος Αἰγύπτου εἶπ(εν)· — <sup>3</sup>ἐπὶ δεκ . . . ντες [ — <sup>4</sup>ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἡμῶν κύριος — <sup>5</sup>αἵπαρχος (l. ἔπαρ.) Αἰγύπτου εἶπ(εν)· — <sup>6</sup>οὕτως ἔχει[ — <sup>7</sup>καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. μετ' ἄλλα? — <sup>8</sup>ἐντολες (l. -λαῖς) ἂς ἐπ[ — <sup>9</sup>ὑπομνήματα [ — <sup>10</sup>τοιαύτην ἀπο[ — ὁ διασημότατος ἔπαρχος | <sup>11</sup>Αἰγύπτου αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· [ — <sup>12</sup>καὶ ἄμα ται (l. τε) εἶδο[τ — <sup>13</sup>γενομένων αὐ[ — <sup>14</sup>ὁ διασημότατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου εἶπ(εν)· — <sup>15</sup>τὴν θείαν δωρε[άν — <sup>16</sup>μετὰ ἀσφαλεῖ[α —

**1505.** 11·8 × 20·7 cm. Fourth century, written across the fibres. Order from Dioscorus, a strategus or praepositus or police-officer, to the irenarch of Taampemou (cf. 1421. 3, n.) to send three persons with money which they owed. Similar orders are 64-5, 1193, 1506-7, Preisigke, *S. B.* 4422, &c. On the various classes of police-officials in the third and fourth centuries see Jouguet, *P. Thead.* 17. 15, n. <sup>1</sup>Π(αρά) Διοσκόρου <sup>2</sup>εἰρηάρχῳ Τααμπέμου. <sup>3</sup>Ἀρουβῶν καὶ Διορύσιον <sup>3</sup>καὶ Ἀμμών[ιο]ν ἢ τούτων τὰ γένη [κ]αταγομέ- <sup>4</sup>[ρους]

τὰ ἀργ[ύρ]ια ἄπερ χρεωστοῦ[σ]ι . τ . . . α . . . τω <sup>5</sup> [ . . . . ] . [ . . . ] . καὶ π[.] . . ρ ἔν.  
(2nd h.) σεσ(ημελωμαι).

- 1506.** 6.1 × 18 cm. Early fourth century, written across the fibres. An order, similar to 1505 and 1507, from a praepositus to the irenarch (cf. 1505. 2) of Senokomis (in the western toparchy) to send a certain individual. <sup>1</sup> Π(αρά) τοῦ πραιποσίτου <sup>2</sup> [εἰρηνάρχω] κώμης Σενοκόμειως. αὐθωρόν (cf. 1193. 2, n., where 1506 is referred to) δεξάμενός μου <sup>3</sup> [τὰ γράμμ]ατα πέμψον ἅμα τῷ ἀποσταλέντι Παελένην <sup>4</sup> [ . . . . . ] α ἀναγκαίας (αναγκ.) χρείας ἔνεκεν. [[σεσημ(είωμαι)]] (2nd h.) σεσημ(είωμαι).
- 1507.** 7.9 × 9.8 cm. Third century, written across the fibres. An order, similar to 1505–6, from irenarchs (*sc.* of the whole nome; cf. 80. 7, 118. 14) to the comarchs and ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης (cf. 64. 2) of Teruthis (probably the Oxyrhynchite village in the eastern toparchy known from 1285. 87, not the Cynopolite village, for which cf. P. Hamb. 17. ii. 11 and 1254. 18, where l. Τερούθεις) to send certain ex-overseers and come themselves. <sup>1</sup> Π(αρά) τῶν εἰρηνάρχων <sup>2</sup> κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάτῃ <sup>3</sup> εἰρήνης Τερούθεις. ἐξαντῆς <sup>4</sup> ἀν[απ]έμψατε τοὺς γενομέ- <sup>5</sup> νο[υ]ς] τηρητὰς [το?] ἔ λ . [ . . . ] ου <sup>6</sup> [καὶ] αὐτοὶ ἀνέρχεσθε. (2nd h.) σεσημ(είωμαι). Below the last word are traces of ink, which seem to be due to the folding of the papyrus when wet.
- 1508.** 8.3 × 10.6 cm. Second century. The bottom of a column containing extracts from προσφωνήσεις concerning a veteran, M. Julius Valerianus. Lines 5–8 begin somewhat to the right of ll. 1–4, which have lost a few letters at the beginnings. Lines 2–4 are concerned with the veteran's dismissal from the fleet, which was effected by trierarchs (cf. p. 151); ll. 5–8 refer to his purchase from the State of unproductive land at Senepa (in the middle toparchy; cf. 1285. 120) as a *colonia*, on which see Wilcken, *Archiv*, v. 434, *Grundz.* 403, P. Giessen 60. int., p. 29. <sup>2</sup> [δηλῶ] εἶναι Μάρκον [Ἰούλιου] Οὐ[α]λερια- <sup>3</sup> [νὸν τῶ]ν ἀπ[ο]λελυμένων ἀπὸ στόλου διὰ τῶν προ- <sup>4</sup> [κειμέ?]νων τριηδάρχων (l. τριηραρ.; cf. 43. verso ii. 27 ἐν τῇ Λιβικῇ [πύλ]ῃ τριηδάρχου). <sup>5</sup> δηλῶ τὸν Μάρκον Ἰούλιον Οὐαλε[ριανὸν] ἐω- <sup>6</sup> νῆσθαι ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου εἰς κολωνείαν [πε- <sup>7</sup> ρ]ὶ κώμην Σεπέπτα ἐκ τοῦ Δ[ό]ρκω[ρ]ος (cf. 1533) σὺν <sup>8</sup> τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου πρότερον Μένωνος κλη[ή]ρου. The papyrus is valuable as throwing light on the method by which veterans in *coloniae* obtained their land; cf. P. Giessen 60. iii. 6, where κολωνίας as a heading follows ἐωνη(μῆνης) and is a subdivision of κληρουχικῆ γῆ. On the verso is 1536.
- 1509.** 7.6 × 9 cm. Early fourth century. A short letter from a σοστάτης (cf. 1116, 1551, P. S. I. 164, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 353), informing Aphunchius that by order of the catholicus (cf. 1410. 2–4, n.) he had been appointed ὑπηρέτης of Dioscurides, who is possibly identical with the logistes of

A. D. 322 (42. I, 900. 3). <sup>1</sup>Θέων συστάτης <sup>2</sup>Ἀφρυγίῳ Σαραπάμμωνος <sup>3</sup>χαίρειν. <sup>4</sup>ἀνεδόθης εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν <sup>5</sup>Διοσκουρίδου κατὰ κέλευσιν <sup>6</sup>τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ. <sup>7</sup>ὁ ἀ(ὑπὸς) σεση(μείωμαι). Cf. P. M. Meyer, *Griech. Texte*, 3.

**1510.** 8.2 × 7.2 cm. Second or early third century. An incomplete acknowledgement to the sitologus of an unknown village by his scribe (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 660) for the receipt of his salary and expenses for forwarding his books, probably to the ἐκλογιστῆς of the nome at Alexandria (cf. P. Amh. 69 = W. *Chrest.* 190). Cf. P. Grenf. ii. 63, an acknowledgement of the payment of an ὀψώνιον to a βοηθ(ὸς) σιτολόγων. <sup>1</sup>Διοσκουρίδης Ἀφύγγιος τοῦ <sup>2</sup>Σαραπάτος μητρὸς Ἀθηναίδος <sup>3</sup>ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως <sup>4</sup>Θέωνι σιτολόγῳ Ἐντελεῖν <sup>5</sup>τόπ(ων) χαίρειν. ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ <sup>6</sup>τὸ ὀψώνιον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην <sup>7</sup>δαπάνην τοῦ καταχωρισμοῦ <sup>8</sup>τῶν βιβλίων πᾶσαν ἧς <sup>9</sup>[γ]ραμματεῦν σου σιτ[ο- <sup>10</sup>[λ]ογίας τῆς αὐτῆς Ἐντ[ελεῖν <sup>11</sup>[ἀργυρίου] δ[ρ]αχ[μὰς] . . .

**1511.** Fr. I 30.6 × 13.3 cm. Before A. D. 247, 1418 being on the verso. Two fragments of a Latin military account, written in two large cursive hands with additions in a smaller 3rd hand (printed in thick type), mentioning praefects of the (1st?) Apamenian cohort (cf. e. g. B. G. U. 729. 7), a legion, and an *ala*, besides *tabularii*. The column is complete at the top and bottom, but both beginnings and ends of lines are lost. <sup>1</sup>— *pr*[aef(ecto) coh(ortis) Apame]norum <sup>2</sup>. [— <sup>3</sup>. [— <sup>4</sup>—]. *lano tabu*[lar]io <sup>5</sup>(2nd h.)—]. <sup>6</sup> (cf. for the accentuation P. Tebt. 686) *Marinó praef(ecto) legio*nis — <sup>6</sup> *data emeritō* *iiii e* . . . [— <sup>7</sup> *Ma*xim<sup>8</sup> *xvi* . . . [— <sup>9</sup> *ap*tus . . . . [— <sup>10</sup>—] *irri*o *Proximo tabular*[io— <sup>11</sup>—] *ferino p*[rae]f(ecto) *alae* [— <sup>12</sup>—] . . *hacus* [—]. Fr. 2 has traces of 2 lines in the 3rd hand.

**1512.** 15.1 × 10 cm. Fourth century; written on the verso, the recto being blank. A list of δεκανῖαι, which are numbered from 1 to 10, at Tholthis (three villages of this name are known; cf. 1285. int.), 1 being assigned to one individual, 4 to another, and 5 to a third. δεκανοί occur in various positions, generally in connexion with guards or boats; but a δεκανία πυροῦ is found in B. G. U. 894. 11, and the meaning of the numbered δεκανῖαι is obscure; cf. P. Ryl. 196. 6–9, n. Another example of them probably occurs in Milne, *Theban Ost.* 138. 1, where Δεκ(ανίας) λα ἕως λε may well be restored on the analogy of 1512. <sup>1</sup>Θώ[λ]θεως. <sup>2</sup>α' δεκανία Σαρμάτης, <sup>3</sup>β' καὶ γ' καὶ δ' καὶ ε' δεκαν(ῖαι) <sup>4</sup>Ἀχιλλέως (l. -λεύς), <sup>5</sup>ε' καὶ ζ' καὶ ζ' καὶ η' καὶ θ' δεκ(ανῖαι) <sup>6</sup>Ἀμμωνιανός.

**1513.** 25.6 × 5.8 cm. Fourth century. Account of beer supplied to Dalmatian soldiers (apparently not mentioned elsewhere in Egypt), and of meat (?) for their officers. The measuring of beer by λίτραι is remarkable; but cf. the λίτρα ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου καλουμένη described by Galen (Hultsch, *Metrologie*, 120), which was  $\frac{1}{2}$  a sextarius. ποδοκέφαλον (l. 13) is a new word, apparently



corresponding to ἄκρον in 108. i. 3; cf. ποδοκύλιον (= ποδοκούλιον) in Preisigke, *S. B.* 2253. 16. <sup>1</sup> Χοίακ λ. <sup>2</sup> Δαλμάταις τοῖς <sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ Λουπινανὸν (von corr. from α) <sup>4</sup> πραιπόσιτον <sup>5</sup> δι(ὰ) Διοσῶρᾶ ὀπί- <sup>6</sup> ωνος· <sup>7</sup> α', ζυτοῦ λί(τραί) νε, <sup>8</sup> β', ζυτ. λ. νε, <sup>9</sup> γ' ζυτ. λ. νγ, <sup>10</sup> δ, ζυτ. λ. ν, <sup>11</sup> ε ζυτ. λ. ν, <sup>12</sup> (added later) ζ', ζυτ. λ. μθ. <sup>13</sup> (after a space) ποδοκεφάλων <sup>14</sup> ὁμοί(ως)· <sup>15</sup> πραιποσίτω α, <sup>16</sup> πρίγκιπι α, <sup>17</sup> πριμικήρω α.

- 1514.** 7 × 11.3 cm. A.D. 274 or 280. Order to a *πραγμα(τευτής)* (cf. 1544. 1, 1569. 7) or *πραγμα(τικός)* (cf. 899. 17, n., P. S. I. 249. int.; either word would mean a subordinate official of some kind) to pay 2 artabae of barley to the driver of riding-asses (*βαδιστηλάτης*; cf. P. Tebt. 262, Ryl. 236. 8, n.) of the brother of the *οὔσιακός* (sc. *ἐπίτροπος*). The 5th year probably refers to Aurelian or Probus. <sup>1</sup> Π(αρά) Νεμεσᾶ Ἐρωμῶνος Μαξίμω *πραγ(ματευτῆ)* χα(ίρειν). <sup>2</sup> δὸς βαδιστηλάτῃ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κρα(τίστου) <sup>3</sup> οὔσιακοῦ κριθῆς ἀρτάβας δύο, <sup>4</sup> / κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) β. (2nd h.) κριθ(ῆς) ἀρτ(άβας) δύο ἐσ(ημειωσάμην). <sup>5</sup> (1st h.) (ἔτους) ε Παῦνι ιβ. On the verso <sup>6</sup> *πραγμα(τευτῆ)*.

### (3) Taxation.

- 1515.** 13.6 × 8.2 cm. Late third century. Parts of two columns of a list of payments for an unnamed tax by various persons of both sexes, the *prytanis* paying on behalf of Oxyrhynchus (cf. 1413. int. and 1414. 2, n.). Of Col. i only the ends of 23 lines survive, the amounts ranging from 8 to 70 drachmae, whereas in Col. ii they range from 10 dr. 2 obols to 23[.] dr. Col. ii: <sup>1</sup> ἡ Ὀξυρρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλ(ις) δι(ὰ) Θεωνείνου <sup>2</sup> τοῦ κ(αὶ) Σαραπίω(νος) ἐνάρχ(ου) πρυ- <sup>3</sup> τάνεως (δρ.) ι (δυοβολούς), <sup>4</sup> Τείρων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώ(νιος) (δρ.) ρ, <sup>5</sup> Καλιῶρις ὁ καὶ Ἀσχόης <sup>6</sup> Σαραπίωνος Ἡρανού(βίωνος) <sup>7</sup> καὶ ἄλ(λα) ὀνό(ματα) (δρ.) ., <sup>8</sup> Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Διαδῆς [.- <sup>9</sup> τριος καὶ Ἀπολλων(α)- <sup>10</sup> ριον (δρ.) μ[., <sup>11</sup> κλη(ρονόμοι) Μιᾶς τῆς Διογυ(σίου) δι(ὰ) Ἀπολλων(ίου) [(δρ.) ., <sup>12</sup> Κλαυδία Κλεοπάτ(ρα) ἡ καὶ <sup>13</sup> Ἡλιοδώρα (δρ.) μ, <sup>14</sup> Ἐρμίας ὁ καὶ Σχυβᾶτος (δρ.) ., <sup>15</sup> Δείος Ζωίλου καὶ τὰ τέκ(να) (δρ.) ., <sup>16</sup> Ἡρᾶς ὁ καὶ Μάξιμος (δρ.) ρ. [ <sup>17</sup> κλη(ρονόμοι) Π . [( )] Ἀπολλ(ωνίου) ἀδελ(φου) (δρ.) ις, <sup>18</sup> Πτολεμαῖς ἡ [καὶ] Διδύμη γυ(νή) (δρ.) ., <sup>19</sup> Ταυσεῖς Ἀλλ[. . .] ρ( ) (δρ.) σλ[., with traces of 3 more lines. For Τείρων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώ(νιος) (l. 4) cf. 1416. 1 (about 299). There are also traces of an earlier document, apparently an account. On the verso is 1504.

- 1516.** 7.1 × 7.3 cm. Late second or early third century. Fragment from the middle of a column of a taxing-list, recording payments by inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus, who are classified according to *μερισμοί* of their *ἄμφοδα*, for, probably, poll-tax (cf. 1436. 8, n., and 1520) and pig-tax (cf. 1436. 9, n.). The entries, besides being divided by paragraphi, have a marginal cross against them, indicating that payment had been made; cf. 1436. int. <sup>1</sup> μερ(ισμοῦ) Δρό(μου) Γυ(μνασίου) [— <sup>2</sup> ὑκ(ῆς) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) καὶ Ἐρμο[— <sup>3</sup> μερ(ισμοῦ) Ποιμε(νικῆς) Ἡρακλ[— <sup>4</sup> ὄ) α(ὐτὸς) καὶ Ἐρως ὑκ(ῆς) ? — <sup>5</sup> ὑκ(ῆς) [ὄ) α(ὐτὸς) [—

<sup>6</sup> μερ(ισμοῦ) Δρό(μου) Θοή(ριδος) Διογᾶς [—, with traces of another line. On the verso is a fragment of a comedy (1400).

**1517.** 13 × 11.8 cm. A. D. 272 or 278. On the verso of 1555, which was written in A. D. 260–1. A list of money-payments on Phamenoth 10 for Mecheir of the 3rd year of an Emperor, who being later than Gallienus (cf. the recto) must be Aurelian or Probus, since Claudius and Carinus are unsuitable (cf. 1476. int.). The trades of the payers are usually given, which suggests that the impost was the *χειρωνάξιον* (cf. 1518–19 and 1432. int.); but in l. 6 the payment seems to be for oil, and the charge may have been of the same nature throughout. If so, since the account is clearly official, the oil-monopoly must have continued to a later date than has generally been supposed. At the bottom, written in the opposite direction, is a note concerning arrears from two villages Θῦρις and Δάχμων (gen.), which are otherwise unknown and perhaps were not Oxyrhynchite. <sup>1</sup> Λόγος εἰσπράξεως μηνὸς <sup>2</sup> Μεχείρ (ἔτους) γ Φαμενώτ ι. <sup>3</sup> Διονύσιος ταπιτᾶς (cf. 1431. 2, n.) (δρ.) ρπδ, <sup>4</sup> Καλλίνος (δρ.) ρκ, <sup>5</sup> Εὐδέμων (l. Εὐδαίμων, as in l. 9) ἡπατιν (l. ἡπητήης?) (δρ.) ρκ, <sup>6</sup> Ἐέων ἐρμηνεὺς ἐλέου (l. ἐλαίου) (δρ.) ξ, <sup>7</sup> Ἀμμωνᾶς (δρ.) ξ, <sup>8</sup> Χωσίων δηηλάτης (δρ.) ξ, <sup>9</sup> Εὐδέμων Βίωνος (δρ.) ξ, <sup>10</sup> Θῶνις ἀλιεὺς (δρ.) νς, <sup>11</sup> Δίδυμος Κότος (l. Κότου?; cf. 1536. 2 Κόττου) (δρ.) νβ, <sup>12</sup> μολυβάτες (δρ.) μη, <sup>13</sup> Ἀπολλώνιος Κότ(ου?) (δρ.) μ, <sup>14</sup> Ζωρωρος (l. Ζώπυρος?) ἀρτυματᾶς (δρ.) μ (in B. G. U. 1087. ii. 9 the monthly *χειρωνάξιον* of ἀρτυματᾶτες is 36 dr.; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, v. 274). In the reverse direction <sup>15</sup> [Λ]όγος ἐκθέσεως γ τῶν ἀ- <sup>16</sup> πὸ Θύρειως Μεχείρ (δρ.) φκδ, <sup>17</sup> ὁμῶς (l. ὁμοίως) καὶ τοῦ Φαμενώτ <sup>18</sup> ἀπὸ Δάχμων (δρ.) Ἄχκ. The numbering of the ἐκθεσις in l. 15 is unusual; cf. 1448. 1 and 1519. 1.

**1518.** 22.3 × 6.2 cm. Second century, in the 16th year of an Emperor (Hadrian or Antoninus?). Fragment of a taxing-list of persons arranged according to their trades, barbers being taxed at the rate of 6 drachmae each (probably for a month; cf. *Archiv*, v. 274) and κλειδοποιοί at perhaps the same rate, with additions in a smaller hand (printed in thick type) sometimes concerning pig-tax (cf. 1436. 9, n.). <sup>1</sup> [Σ]τέφανος Κανβαροῦ[τος — <sup>2</sup> λε [ <sup>3</sup> / ιζ. [ <sup>4</sup> ις (ἔτους?) [— <sup>5</sup> [κο]υρέων ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ς, <sup>6</sup> Δωσίθης Στεφάνου [— <sup>7</sup> / μερι(σμοῦ) ὑικ(ῆς) ς [— <sup>8</sup> Πολυδεύκης Δεξι(θέου?) — <sup>9</sup> λξ <sup>10</sup> Ἀμόις Ἀμόιτος τ[οῦ — <sup>11</sup> ὁμ(οίως) [— <sup>12</sup> Λέων ἀδελ(φὸς) λου(π ) [— <sup>13</sup> ὁμ(οίως) [— <sup>14</sup> Λέων Δεξι(θέου) γενόμενος — <sup>15</sup> ὁμ(οίως) [— <sup>16</sup> / [— <sup>17</sup> διαπρὸ ἐγι( ) παρεγι( ) τ[— <sup>18</sup> [Ἀ]μόις Ὀννώφ(ριος) υ[— <sup>19</sup> ]επ( ) λξ <sup>20</sup> / α ις (ἔτους) (δρ.) λ [— <sup>21</sup> [κ]λειδοποιῶν ὁμ[οίως — <sup>22</sup> Πετεμοῦν[ις — <sup>23</sup> μερ(ισμοῦ) ὑικ(ῆς) ς <sup>24</sup> Πετεμο[ῦνις —. On the verso is an account of clothes, to be published in Part xiii.

**1519.** 10.5 × 8.5 cm. The upper part of a column containing (1) in ll. 1–9 a list of arrears of taxation, ranging from 4 to 32 drachmae, due from various

persons whose trades were generally stated, possibly because the tax was the *χειρωνάξιον* (cf. 1517-18); (2) in ll. 10-14 part of a similar list of arrears of rent for buildings owned by the State (cf. 1461), the figures being omitted. *κωδᾶς* (l. 4) and *πορτᾶς* (l. 7) seem from the context to be new titles for sellers of fleeces (for *κώδια* cf. e.g. P. Fay. 107. 4) and calves (?), and parallel to e.g. *ὀρνιθᾶς* in 1588. 1, not proper names. The title on the verso mentions the current 5th year of a joint reign, which was probably that of the Philippi (A. D. 247-8) or Valerian and Gallienus (257-8). <sup>1</sup> Λόγος ἐχθέσεως· <sup>2</sup> π(αρά) Μακρίνου γερδίου (δρ.) η (corr.), <sup>3</sup> π(αρά) Φανκειέμ (δρ.) η, <sup>4</sup> π(αρά) Ἀβιωῦν κωδᾶτ(ος?) (δρ.) κ, <sup>5</sup> π(αρά) Ἡρᾶτος νιού (ῥι.) Δημᾶ(τος) (δρ.) δ, <sup>6</sup> π(αρά) Βησάμμων(ος) βαφέως (δρ.) ε (πεντώβολον?), <sup>7</sup> π(αρά) Πτολεμαίου πορτᾶ(τος) (δρ.) κ, <sup>8</sup> π(αρά) Ἡρακλίου ἐνπόρω (l. ἐμπόρου) (δρ.) η, <sup>9</sup> π(αρά) Χαρμείου οἰνοπῶλ(ου) (δρ.) λβ. <sup>10</sup> ἐνοικίων οἰκοπέδων· <sup>11</sup> Μελετέρια (second ε corr.; -οῖα) (δρ.), <sup>12</sup> Κορνήλιω(ς) (δρ.), <sup>13</sup> Ἀντωνίου(ς) (δρ.), <sup>14</sup> Θῶνις πολκητῆς (l. ποικιλητῆς) (δρ.). On the verso <sup>15</sup> λόγος ἐχθέσεως τοῦ ἐνεσ- <sup>16</sup> τῶτος ε (ἐτους) τῶν κύριων.

**1520.** 6 × 7.4 cm. A. D. 102. A receipt for instalments of poll-tax and pig-tax (cf. 1436. 8-9, nn., 1516, 1521) paid to tax-collectors of Oxyrhynchus, similar to 733, &c. <sup>1</sup> Ἐτους πέμ[πτου Α]ὐτοκράτορος <sup>2</sup> Καίσαρος Νεροῦ[ῶ] Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ <sup>3</sup> Γερμανικοῦ [Π. .] Παχῶν κς. δι(ἐγραψε) Διογ(υσίω) <sup>4</sup> κα(ὶ) μετό(χοις) πρᾶ(κτορσι) λαο(γραφίας) ε (ἐτους) Δεκάτης (an ἄμφοδον) Ἀρενδῶτης Π[το]λ(εμαίου) <sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ λ(όγου) (δρ.) ὀκτώ, / η. (2nd h.) ε (ἐτους) Ἐπέιφ ε <sup>6</sup> ἕκ(ης) ε (ἐτους) Δεκά(της) Ἀρενδῶ(της) <sup>7</sup> ἐπὶ [λ(όγου) ὀ] α(ὐτὸς) (δρ.) μίαν (τετρώβολον?), / α (τετρώβ.). Written across the fibres. In 733 the beginning of l. 3 is probably to be restored μη[τροπ(ολιτικῶν)] Πλατείας (an ἄμφοδον known from 1440. 5, &c.); cf. 1520. 4, 1521. 3-4.

**1521.** 8.8 × 6.1 cm. A. D. 113. A receipt, similar to 1520, for an instalment of poll-tax (?), with an extra charge. <sup>1</sup> Ἰς (ἐτους) Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος <sup>2</sup> τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθῦρ ε. δι(ἐγραψε) <sup>3</sup> Δίφ πρᾶκ(τορι) ἀργ(υρικῶν) μητροπ(ολιτικῶν) λαο- <sup>4</sup> γρ(αφίας) το(ῦ) α(ὐτοῦ) [Ἰς] (ἐτους) Νό(του) Κρη(πίδος) Εὐδαίμ(ων) <sup>5</sup> Σαραπίωνο(ς) ἐπὶ (λόγου) δύο τριώ(βολον), / β (τριώβ.), προ(σ)δ(ιαγραφομένων) χ(αλκοῦς) β.

**1522.** 12.5 × 12.2 cm. A. D. 220-22. A series of receipts for payments of the *στέφανος* tax (cf. 1441. int.) by a senator and his grandson, in two columns. Of Col. i only the ends of lines are preserved, recording several payments of 40 drachmae on account in the 4th year of Elagabalus to Aurelius Arion. Col. ii deals with the next two years, 200 drachmae in all being paid in the 5th year. <sup>1</sup> ε (ἐτους) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου Εὐσεβοῦς <sup>2</sup> Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀ[λεξά]νδρου <sup>3</sup> Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν Χοιά[κ] γ. [δι(ἐγραψαν) π]ρᾶ(κτορσι) στεφα(νικῶν) <sup>4</sup> ὑπ(έρ) β ἐπ(ιμερισμοῦ) μέ(σης) τοπ(αρχίας) λη(μμάτων) ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας) Ἰσίου (ῥι.) [Π]αγγᾶ τόπ(ων) (cf. 1488. 28, n.) <sup>5</sup> Σεπτίμιος Ἀλέ-

ξανδρος βουλ(ευτής) και ὁ υἱὸνδς (κ. ὁ υ. above the line) στεφα(νικῶν) ἐπὶ λ(όγου)  
<sup>6</sup> Σεπτίμιος ἸΑλέξανδρος (σεπτ. αλ. above the line) δραχμ(ὰς) τεσσαράκοντα, / (δρ.)  
 μ. <sup>7</sup> Αὐρήλ(ιος) Βησάμ(μων) ὁ κ(αὶ) Σαρᾶς σεσημ(είωμαι). <sup>8</sup> και τῆ̄ ι τοῦ ἐξῆς μη(νὸς)  
 Τῦβι οἱ α(ὐτοὶ) ἄλ(λας) ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) <sup>9</sup> δραχμ(ὰς) τεσσαράκοντα, / (δρ.) μ. Αὐρήλ(ιος)  
 Βησάμ(μων) <sup>10</sup> ὁ και Σαρᾶς χ(ειριστῆς) σεσημ(είωμαι). Lines 11–21 record similar  
 acknowledgements by Besammon for payments of 40 dr. on account on  
 Mecheir 11, Phamenoth 11, and Pharmouthi 11 of the same year, and on  
 Hathur 10 of the 2nd year of M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord  
 and a later month (lost). On the verso is a short account of corn received  
 and expended, in a different hand, written after A. D. 222. <sup>1</sup> Ἀγρὸς (i. e. ‘the  
 land produced’) (ἀρτάβας) νδ’ χ(όινικας) ς. <sup>2</sup> ∟ (= ᾧν) εἰς τὸ μνλαῖ(ον) (ἀρτ.)  
 α∟, <sup>3</sup> Ταλθυβίφ (ἀρτ.) κη, <sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ μνλαῖ(ο)ν (ἀρτ.) ιβ∟, <sup>5</sup> Εὐκαιρᾶ (ἀρτ.) α.

**1523.** 15·2 × 8 cm. Third century. An interesting tax-receipt of a somewhat  
 novel character, but incomplete at the top, where several lines belonging to  
 the date formula are lost, and wanting about 5–7 letters at the beginnings of  
 lines (cf. ll. 4, 7), while large portions are hopelessly obliterated. The pay-  
 ment (164 drachmae?) was made to ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἐγκυκλίου και κομακτορίας (a new  
 word) τῶν ἐκ [. . . . .] κυρουμένων by the purchaser of two slaves; cf. P.  
 Strassb. 79, a contract for the purchase of slaves διὰ κομακτόρων (= *coactores*).  
 Preisigke, following Premerstein *ap.* Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* iv. 126,  
 regards κομάκτορες as a species of bankers; but it is clear from **1523** that  
 the conduct of a public auction (in P. Strassb. 79. 3 ἀπαρτ(ί)α corresponds  
 to the word lost after ἐκ here) was the essential part of their duties. The  
 ἐγκύκλιον was normally 10 per cent. in the Roman period, but a higher rate  
 (73 dr. 5½ ob. or 3[.]5 dr. 5½ ob.) is found in A. D. 250; cf. **1284.** int. For  
 ἐπιτηρηταὶ cf. **1413.** 10, n. After traces of 1 line <sup>2</sup> [Σεβαστ]ῶν Φαρμουθι ιε.  
 διέγρα(ψεν) <sup>3</sup> [. . . . .] Θ[έ]ωνος και τοῖς σὺν αὐτ(ῶ) ἐπιτηρητ(αῖς) <sup>4</sup> [ἐνκκ]λίου και  
 κομακτορίας τῶν ἐκ <sup>5</sup> [. . . . .] κυρουμένων Ἀρσινόη Δι- <sup>6</sup> [. . . . .] ἀπ’ Ὁξ(υρυχιτῶν)  
 λόγ(ου) Α(ὐρηλίου) Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ κ(αὶ) <sup>7</sup> [. . . . .] κατιανοῦ δουλικῶν σω- <sup>8</sup> [μάτῶ]ν  
 δύ[ο] Σαραπο . . ., the rest of this line and l. 9 being obliterated, <sup>10</sup> [. . . . .]. ν  
 ἀκτῶ τετρώβολον <sup>11</sup> [. . . . .] λόγγον δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν <sup>12</sup> [ἐξήκοντ]α τ[ε]σσα[ρ]α[ρ]α[ρ]α[ρ]α,  
 / δραχμαὶ ρξδ, . [. . . . .], followed by traces of 3 lines.

**1524.** 13 × 9·2 cm. Early fourth century. A receipt for payments in gold  
 and silver (cf. **1430.** int. and P. Thead. 33) for an unspecified tax. <sup>1</sup> Παῖνι  
 (ι corr.) λ, Α(ὐρήλιος) Ἀπάμμων χρυ(σοῦ) γρ(άμμα) α, <sup>2</sup> [γ(ί)νεται] χρ. γρ. α, ἀσή(μου)  
 γρ. ι μόναις. <sup>3</sup> [Α(ὐρήλιος)] Κοπρεὺς σεσημ(είωμαι). <sup>4</sup> Ἐπεῖφ κη ὁμοίως χρ. γρ. ἡμισυ  
<sup>5</sup> ἀσή(μου) γρ. πέντε, γ(ί)νεται χρ. γρ. ∟ ἀσή(μου) γρ. ε. <sup>6</sup> Α(ὐρήλιος) Κοπρεὺς σε-  
 σ(ημείωμαι). <sup>7</sup> (2nd h.) Μεσορή κδ ὁ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως <sup>8</sup> χρ. γρ. ἡ[μ]ισυ ἀσή(μου) γρ.  
 πέντε, <sup>9</sup> γ(ί)νεται χρ. γρ. ∟ ἀσή(μου) γρ. ε. <sup>10</sup> Εὐλόγιος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

- 1525.** 14 × 6.7 cm. A. D. 216. Beginning of a report concerning payments of corn in Mesore, similar to 1443-4 and 1526, sent to a strategus by the sitologi of Nemera, a village in the middle toparchy, probably in Thoth. About 9 letters are lost at the beginnings of lines. <sup>1</sup>[Αὐρηλίω Ἀ]νουβίωι (cf. 1432. 1, n.) στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξ(υρνηχίτου) <sup>2</sup>[παρὰ Αὐρηλίω]ν Πασίωνος καὶ Σαραπίω(νος) <sup>3</sup>[καὶ τῶν σὺ]ν α(ὐτοῖς) σιτολ(όγων) μέσης τοπ(αρχίας) Νεμέρω(ν) <sup>4</sup>[τόπ(ων). λόγ(ος) σίτ(ου)] τοῦ καὶ ἐκμεμετρη(μένου) καὶ <sup>5</sup>[διεσταλ(μένου) (cf. 1444. 4) ὑφ' ἡ]μῶν γενήμα(τος) τοῦ διελθ(ότος) κδ (ἔτους) <sup>6</sup>[Μάρκου Αὐρ]ηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου <sup>7</sup>[Καίσαρος τοῦ κ]υρίου. ἔστι δέ' <sup>8</sup> ]λη(μμάτων) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτάβαι) σογή' μ' ἡ'. <sup>9</sup>κατ' ἀνδ(ρα)?] τούτων .[. .]εταί, followed by ends of 6 lines recording individual payments for πολ(ιτικά) or κω(μητικά), as in 1444. On the verso is 1530.
- 1526.** 13.8 × 23 cm. A. D. 222-3. Part of a report, similar to 1525, sent by the sitologi of Psobthis in the middle toparchy, but unaddressed (cf. e. g. 1449). The payments were usually described as θέματα: cf. 1444. int. <sup>1</sup>σ . . [ (above a . . [ crossed through; perhaps a number) <sup>2</sup>Παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θέωνος καὶ [. . . ]ς τοῦ καὶ <sup>3</sup>Δημητρίου σιτολόγων μέ[σης το]π(αρχίας) Ψάβθ(εως) τόπ(ων). <sup>4</sup>κατ' ἀνδρα χειριστικοῦ (cf. 1444. 3-4, n.) πυρ[οῦ] γενήματος τοῦ <sup>5</sup>ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου <sup>6</sup>Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσα[ρος] τοῦ κυρίου. ἔστι δέ' <sup>7</sup>Μάρκου Αὐρηλίοι (cf. 1444. 8) <sup>8</sup>Ἡράκλιος Βαυθλάτος (second a corr.) θέμα (ἀρτάβας) νγ, <sup>9</sup>Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) δι(ὰ) Ἡρακλείδ(ου) γεω(ργοῦ) (ἀρτ.) μη, <sup>10</sup>Διογέν[ης ὁ] καὶ Ἐρμαγένης ἄρχ(ων) (cf. 1406. 11-12, n.) δι(ὰ) τ[οῦ] α(ὐτοῦ) θέμ(α) (ἀρτ.) ια, Σαραπ[ίω]ν Ἀλεξάνδρου βουλ(ευτής) δι(ὰ) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) θέμ(α) (ἀρτ.) ν, followed by parts of 5 more lines and beginnings of the first 11 lines of a second column, the names having opposite to them strokes in the margin (indicating revision), as in 1436.
- 1527.** 13.6 × 5.1 cm. A. D. 261-2. Joined to an obliterated document and another papyrus, 1573. 1-10 being on the verso of 1527 and the obliterated document. Beginning of an official account of produce in arrear from the 9th back to the 6th year of, probably, Gallienus, the reign of Macrianus and Quietus being ignored (cf. 1476. int.). In some cases the produce was destined for loans to γεωργοί, but had not yet been issued; references are made to a more detailed account arranged by δεκαπρωτίαι. <sup>1</sup>Γενήμα(τος) θ (ἔτους) ἐδηλ(ώθη) λοιπ(ογραφεῖσθαι) [(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) . . <sup>2</sup>κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ρα, φα[κοῦ] (ἀρτ.) . . , <sup>3</sup>ὦν τὸ κατὰ δ[εκαπρωτίαν] διεστάλ(η) (cf. 1444. 4). <sup>4</sup>[γεν]ήμα(τος) η (ἔτους) ἐδηλ(ώθη) [λοι(πογρ.) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) . . , <sup>5</sup>κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ρα, φακ[οῦ] (ἀρτ.) . . , <sup>6</sup>ὦν εἰσιν αἰ λοιπ(ογραφοῦμεναι) ἐπὶ [προχρείας <sup>7</sup>καὶ μηδέπ(ω) ἐν δανε(ίψ), [ <sup>8</sup>ὦν τὸ κατὰ δεκαπρωτίαν] δι[εστάλ(η). <sup>9</sup>γενήμα(τος) ζ (ἔτους) ἐδηλ(ώθη) λοιπ(ογρ.) [(πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) . . κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) . . <sup>10</sup>φακοῦ] (ἀρτ.) ιε. [ <sup>11</sup>γενήμα(τος) ς (ἔτους) ἐδηλ(ώθη) λοιπ(ογρ.)

(πυρ.) [(ἀρτ.) . . κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) . . <sup>12</sup> φακο(ῦ) (ἀρτ.) ιε, ὦ[ν εἰσιν αἱ λοιπο(γρ.) ἐπὶ  
<sup>13</sup> [προ]χρείας καὶ μηδέπω ἐν δ[ι]ανε(ίφ), <sup>14</sup> ὦν τὸ κατὰ δεκα[πρωτίαν] διεστάλ(η) . . .

**1528.** 17·7 × 7·1 cm. A. D. 266–7. An account, probably written by a sitologus or decaprotus, of payments in corn for the 13th and 14th year of a reign, which was more probably that of Gallienus than that of Septimius Severus with his sons, from four villages, which are all known to have been in the western toparchy (cf. **1285.** 70–83). <sup>1</sup> Ἰγ (ἔτους) Ἑρακλείδ(ου) ἐπ(οικίου) (ἀρτάβαι) ριζ, <sup>2</sup> Σερούφ(εως) (ἀρτ.) ρκε, ἄλ(λαι) ῥυ[π(αραί)] (ἀρτ.) κς, <sup>3</sup> Σύρων (ἀρτ.) κη, Σενοκώ(μεως) <sup>4</sup> (ἀρτ.) ιβλδ' χ(οίνικες) ς, <sup>5</sup> / (ἀρτ.) σσηλδ' χ(οίν.) ς, ἄλ(λαι) <sup>6</sup> ῥυπ(αραί) (ἀρτ.) κς. <sup>7</sup> ιδ (ἔτους) Ἑρακλείδου) ἐπ(οικίου) (ἀρτ.) ρλα (corr. from τ.), <sup>8</sup> Σερούφ(εως) (ἀρτ.) σθ, <sup>9</sup> Σύρων (ἀρτ.) κη, <sup>10</sup> / (ἀρτ.) τξη. <sup>11</sup> / λόγ(ων) β (ἀρτ.) χμς ῥυπ(αραί) (ἀρτ.) κς. <sup>12</sup> ὑποστ(έλλονται ?) (ἀρτ.) σκθ (θ corr. from η) προ(οσμετρομένων) (ἀρτ.) κζγ', <sup>13</sup> καὶ ὄνό(ματος) Διοσκ(όρου) ἀπὸ (απο above the line) (ἀρταβῶν) ρξςγ' <sup>14</sup> (ἀρτ.) ρια προ(οσμετρομένων) (ἀρτ.) ιγγ', <sup>15</sup> / (ἀρτ.) τμ, προ(οσμ.) (ἀρτ.) μβ'. In l. 5 278 should be 282, and in l. 11 646 should be 646 $\frac{3}{4}$  (or, allowing for the mistake in l. 5, 650 $\frac{3}{4}$ ). προ(οσμετρομένων) is written ρ' in ll. 12–15 (cf. **1443.** 11), but προ(οσμ.) cannot be read for ῥυπ(αραί) in ll. 2, 6, and 11. In l. 12 ὑποστ(άσεως) is possible; cf. P. Tebt. 336. 7.

**1529.** 17·3 × 12 cm. Third century. The lower portion of a list of payments of corn by different villages, all of which except Μουχιναγᾶλη and Ἀσσύα (Μουχιναγ. new, Ἀσσύα new as regards the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. **1416.** 13, n.), are known to have been in the lower toparchy (cf. **1285.** 129–41). Two columns of numbers are given, the second series, in which the figures are about 25 per cent. higher than in the first, probably including προσμετρούμενα (cf. **1445.** int.). <sup>1</sup> Σέσφθα [(ἀρτάβαι) —, <sup>2</sup> Θώλθεως [(ἀρτ.) —, <sup>3</sup> [Τυ]χιναγάων (cf. **1285.** 129, where Τυχιναγάων) is to be read) (ἀρτ.) [—, <sup>4</sup> Ταλαῶ (ἀρτ.) φ[—, <sup>5</sup> Ἰσίου Κάτω (ἀρτ.) χκβ (ἀρτ.) [—, <sup>6</sup> Ἰσίου Τρύφωνος (ἀρτ.) τξακ'δ' (ἀρτ.) υ[—, <sup>7</sup> Κόβα (cf. **1285.** 135, where Κόβα is probably meant) (ἀρτ.) φνςλ (ἀρτ.) χο . [, <sup>8</sup> Ψώβθεως (ἀρτ.) κε (ἀρτ.) λ[, <sup>9</sup> Τακόνα (ἀρτ.) σ (ἀρτ.) σρα[, <sup>10</sup> Μουχιναγᾶλη (ἀρτ.) Ἀσλ (ἀρτ.) Ἀπ[, <sup>11</sup> Ἀσσύας (ἀρτ.) υ (ἀρτ.) φια. <sup>12</sup> (2nd h. after a space) [. ?]δ[ις] Ἰσίου Τρύφωνος (ἀρτ.) τοεγ'η'μ'η', <sup>13</sup> πλείω (ἀρτ.) ιε (strictly 14 art. and fractions; cf. l. 6), <sup>14</sup> [14 letters] πλείω (ἀρτ.) ιδλ[. . (referring to the second total of Iseum Tryphonis or to another village).

**1530.** 14 × 6·7 cm. A. D. 215–6. On the verso of **1525.** An account of corn due to sitologi at Phthochis, a village of the eastern toparchy (cf. **246.** 8–9), in the 24th year (of Caracalla). <sup>1</sup> Σιτολογίας Φθώχ(εως) κδ (ἔτους) · <sup>2</sup> κληρονόμοι Ἰσιδώρα (ἰσιδ., as in l. 22) ἥ καὶ Ἀπία (l. Ἰσιδώρας τῆς κ. Ἀπίας, as in l. 22) <sup>3</sup> διὰ Πανστίριος καὶ Κοιλᾶτ(ος) (ἀρτ.) ξβδ' χ(οίν.) [β], <sup>4</sup> διὰ θέμ(ατος) (ἀρτ.) νθδ' χ(οίν.) β, <sup>5</sup> Ουνώφριος (ἀρτ.) ιγδ' χ(οίν.) β, <sup>6</sup> Διδύμου Νεχθ(ενίβιος ?) (ἀρτ.) ιγδ' χ(οίν.) β,

<sup>7</sup> / (ἀρτ.) πηλδ' χ(οίν.) ς. <sup>8</sup> Κορνηλίου (ἀρτ.) ις <sup>9</sup> δι(ὰ) θέμα(τος) (ἀρτ.) ι, <sup>10</sup> Ἀγάθωνος (ἀρτ.) γ χ(οίν.) ς, <sup>11</sup> διὰ θέμ(ατος) (ἀρτ.) γ, <sup>12</sup> Κορνηλ(ίου) Ὠρον καὶ Κορνηλ(ίου) <sup>13</sup> Πατᾶτος αἱ διὰ [Π]ανσί(ριος) <sup>14</sup> καὶ Σιλβανοῦ ὑποκ(είμεναι) (ἀρτ.) ιβ χ(οίν.) δ, <sup>15</sup> διὰ θέμ(ατος) (ἀρτ.) ιβ. <sup>16</sup> Ἡράτος φρουτ(ιστοῦ) [(ἀρτ.)] δη', <sup>17</sup> θέμ(ατος) (ἀρτ.) δ, <sup>18</sup> ἡ α(ὕτη) (ἀρτ.) κς χ(οίν.) ς, <sup>19</sup> ἡ α(ὕτη) δι(ὰ) Ἀκουσιλ(άου) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Διον(υσίου) καὶ τοῦ <sup>20</sup> σὺν α(ὕτῳ) σιτολ(όγου) κγ (ἔτους) ἐνοικ(ίω) κγ (ἔτους) (ἀρτ.) ιη, <sup>21</sup> / (ἀρτ.) ναδ' (l. παδ') χ(οίν.) δ. <sup>22</sup> κλ(ηρονόμοι) Ἰσιδώρα ἡ κ(αὶ) Ἀπία (ἀρτ.) ιθδ' χ(οίν.) θ. Lines 4, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17 were inserted later, recording actual payments, which were in all cases somewhat less than the amounts due.

- 1531.** 27.6 × 11.6 cm. Before A. D. 258, 1637, which is a contract on the verso, having been written during the praefecture of Mussius Aemilianus (cf. 1468. 1-2, n.). A list of payments in corn by γεοῦχοι and κωμηται at Kerkeura (cf. 1285. 116) and probably another village in the middle toparchy; cf. 1444, 1530. The amounts are lost in nearly all cases. <sup>1</sup> Γεούχ(ων) Διοσκουρί(δης) Ἀρπαήσεω[ς] (ἀρτ.) ., <sup>2</sup> Εὐδαιμονίς Ζωίλου [(ἀρτ.)] ., <sup>3</sup> Διοσκουρίδης Σαρμάτ[ου] (ἀρτ.) ., <sup>4</sup> / αἱ προκείμεναι. <sup>5</sup> κωμητῶν. Ψόις Πινούτιος [(ἀρτ.)] ., <sup>6</sup> Ὠρίων Σαραμούιτος (ἀρτ.) [, followed by 12 other names, <sup>19</sup> / αἱ προκείμεναι. <sup>20</sup> Κερκεύρων λο(ιπαὶ) κωμητῶν (ἀρτ.) ν[, <sup>21</sup> γεούχων (ἀρτ.) ψν[, with traces of 2 more lines.
- 1532.** 15.2 × 8.9 cm. Late third century. Ends of 13 lines from the top of a column of a list of payments in wheat and barley by (βασιλικοὶ) γεωργοί, some of whom have κοινωνοί. On the verso is 1477.
- 1533.** 11.9 × 9.2 cm. Late second or early third century. Parts of 18 lines of a list of land-holders with the amounts of their holdings. Some of the land is described as βασιλική, other entries probably refer to ιδιωτικῆ: cf. 1534. The personal name Πειω(ῦς?) and the Δορκάω[νος κλῆρος] (cf. 1508. 7 Δ[ό]ρκων[ος]) occur. On the verso is 1421.
- 1534.** 23.5 × 18.2 cm. Early third century. Part of a list of holders of catoecic, private, and (rarely) Crown land, arranged according to κλῆροι, probably at a village in the Thmoisepho toparchy (cf. the mention of Paomis, which was in that toparchy, in l. 12), and possibly at Νικοστράτου ἐποίκιον or Palosis, if the Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλίππου κλῆρος (l. 4) is identical with the Πτολ. καὶ Φιλ. κλ. in 1459. 32. The papyrus was probably drawn up by a comogrammateus; cf. 1445. int. Col. i contains the ends of 14 lines, mostly referring to ιδιω(τικῆ) ἐσπ(αρμένη), but with one reference to βασιλ(ικῆ) ἐσπ. Col. ii <sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῆς Τριακοντα[ρ]υρία[ς] κλῆρον ρπε κ(ατ)οικικῆς ἰδ[ιω]τικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρουραι) . . ., <sup>2</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Μηνοδώρου κλ(ήρου) [κ(ατ)οικ.] ρογ, ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἐσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) α[, <sup>3</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Τοκέως κλ(ήρου) [π]ρ[ο]σγ[ί]ν(ονται) ὀνόμ(ατι) Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ [. . ., <sup>4</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φ[ι]λίππου κλ(ήρου) σια κ(ατ)οικικ.) [. . ., <sup>5</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Νεικάνορος Θεσσαλοῦ κλ(ήρ.) σλε κ(ατ)οικ.) ἰδιω(τ.) [ἐσπ(αρ.)] (ἄρου.) . . ., <sup>6</sup> ἄλ(λη) ἰδιω(τ.) ἐσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) α,

ἄλ(λη) ἰδιω(τ.) ἔσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) αβ', ἄλ(λη?) ἰδιω(τ.) ἔσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) [α?, <sup>7</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Νεικίου κλ(ήρ.) σνε κ(ατ)οικ(κ.) ἰδιω(τ.) ἔσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) αλ ἰς' λ' β', <sup>8</sup> κατ' ἄγνοι(αν) παρεθ(εῖσαι) ἐπὶ κ(ατ)οικίαν) σλε, ἰδιω(τ.) ἔσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) ζ [. . . <sup>9</sup> τῶ καὶ Διονυσίῳ ἰδιω(τ.) ἐπ]π(αρ.) (ἄρου.) αγ', Ἀρσινόη τῆ [καὶ . . . <sup>10</sup> ἰδιω(τ.) ἔσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) ψλεδ' ἰς'. προσγι(νονται) ὄνό(ματι) Τα[. . . <sup>11</sup> τιανῶ ἰδιω(τ.) ἔσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) θη' ἰς', ἄλ(λαι) ὄνό(ματι) Ἐρμείου Λε[. . . <sup>12</sup> ἀπὸ Παώμεως (ἄρου.) β, ἄλ(λαι) ὄνό(ματι) Μαρκίωτος [. . ., ἄλ(λαι) ὄνό(ματι) . . . <sup>13</sup> Πάλλαντος (ἄρου.) [. . ., ἄλ(λαι) ὄνό(ματι) Ἀμυντιανού Διονυσίου (ἄρου.) . . ., ἄλ(λη) ὄνό(ματι) . . . <sup>14</sup> Νείλου (ἄρου.) α, [ἄλ(λαι) ὄνό(ματι)] Ἐλένης θυγα(τρὸς) Πανσειρίω(νος) [(ἄρου.) . . . <sup>15</sup> (ἄρου.) ρλς λδ' ἡ', γ(ίνονται) [ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ]πὸ ἰδ[ι]ω(τ.) ἔσπ(αρ.) (ἄρου.) ωβλ[ <sup>16</sup> . ηως ἔσπ(αρ.)] . . . <sup>17</sup> [α] καὶ αλ (ἀρτάβης) (cf. 1459. 24) καὶ χ[έρσου? . . . <sup>18</sup> [ἐκ] τ(οῦ) Σέννου (πρότερου) (or Α(ὐρηλίω)) Αλ . . . [. . . <sup>19</sup> γ(ίνεται) ὄνό(μα(τα)) . [. . ., <sup>20</sup> [Ι]σιδώραν (ἀρτάβ.) σ[. . . <sup>21</sup> [Αὐ]ρήλιος Ἀχιλλεύς <sup>22</sup> [ἐ]κ τοῦ Μηνωδάρου κλ(ήρ.) . . . A detached fragment contains a few letters from the beginnings of 13 lines of another column, mentioning ἐκ τ(οῦ) Κυ[. . . (sc. κλήρου).

**1535.** 22.5 × 6.3 cm. Third century. Parts of 24 lines of a list of land-holders with descriptions of their tenure; cf. 1534, 1537. The proper names Ἱεραπάρθενος (l. 4) and Ἀρπεβήκεις (l. 6) occur. <sup>8</sup>]. ( ) ἰσήχθη(σαν) ἐν ψιλ(ῆ) γῆ (cf. 1445. I, n.) (ἄρουραι) γδ' . [ <sup>9</sup> ]. τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Διου(υσίου) Διογ(ένους) ἀσπ[όρου? <sup>10</sup> τ]οῦ δ (ἔτους) Τῦβι πρὸς τὸ ἐπισταλ(έν) τοίς <sup>11</sup> (in red ink) Τῦβι <sup>12</sup> ]ος Νεικηφόρου α (ἀρτάβης) (cf. 1459. II, n.) (ἄρου.) δῆ [ <sup>13</sup> ] καὶ Σαραπίων α (ἀρτ.) [ <sup>14</sup> ] βασιλ(ικῆς) ἐν αἰς ἰδιω(τικῆς) (ἄρου.) [. On the verso is the conclusion of a receipt for 260 drachmae in all for the burial of the writer's father and of Isidora and for other expenses, written in the 6th year of an unnamed Emperor. <sup>1</sup> δια [ <sup>2</sup> δραχ[μὰς <sup>3</sup> καὶ ζεύγος [. . . . . - <sup>4</sup> ων παχῆων (l. παχέων) εἰς κη- <sup>5</sup> δίαν Ἰσιδώραν (l. -ρας) <sup>6</sup> καὶ εἰς κηδίαν τοῦ <sup>7</sup> πατρὸς ἡμῶν <sup>8</sup> ζεύγος ἀμικτω- <sup>9</sup> ρίου (an unknown word) εἰσχοῦ καὶ πα- <sup>10</sup> χήου (l. παχέος) ζεύγος, <sup>11</sup> Φυλάρχῆ[ ] ] δραχμὰς <sup>12</sup> ἑκατόν. <sup>13</sup> (after a long space) ἀργυρίου <sup>14</sup> (δραχμαὶ) σξ. <sup>15</sup> (ἔτους) ς Μεχείρ ις. <sup>16</sup> Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδώρος (ἰσιδ.) <sup>17</sup> σεσημίωμαι.

**1536.** 8.3 × 10.6 cm. Second century. On the verso of 1508. Beginning of a list of land-holders, apparently persons who had purchased land from the State (cf. κεκυρω(μένων) in l. 1 with e. g. 513. 4). The beginnings of the lines are lost, but only a few letters seem to be missing; cf. l. 3. <sup>1</sup> . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . φ κα (ἔτει) κεκυρω(μένων) <sup>2</sup> Ἰσ[?] Δ[ι]ογένους τοῦ κ(αὶ) Κόττου <sup>3</sup> τοῦ [?] Ἰσα(τος?) μητ(ρός) Σαραποῦτ(ος) ἀπ' Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως) <sup>4</sup> . . . . . νος τοῦ Θεαδήτου <sup>5</sup> . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] του β σφρα(γίδος) (ἄρουραι) ελῆ ἰς' ξ' δ' <sup>6</sup> . . . . . ὑπὸ Ἄλιτ(ος) Ἀπολλοφάνου <sup>7</sup> 12 letters] (ἄρου.) εἰς ἰς' ξ' δ', [ . . . ] σιτο(φόρου) (ἄρου.) αλῆ ἰς' ξ' δ', with traces of 3 more lines.

**1537.** 20.8 × 13.2 cm. Late second or early third century. Part of a list of



landowners at Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον (cf. 1528. 1), arranged according to σφραγίδες (cf. 918), followed by an unusually elaborate statement of the adjacent areas of the group of holdings described. <sup>1</sup> ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) αἱ προκειμένοι, <sup>2</sup> Δι[ο]νυσίας τῆς καὶ Σιωθεύτος (ἄρου.) κ. [, <sup>3</sup> Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Δι[ο]νυσίου κ[αὶ] <sup>4</sup> Ἀριστοκλείης τῆς καὶ Ἀρσινόης (ἄρου.) . . ., <sup>5</sup> Ἀρπαήσιος ὄρου ἀπὸ Ἡρακλ[είδου] <sup>6</sup> ἐποίκιον (ἄρου.) δὲ δ', <sup>7</sup> Οὐιβίου (οὐιβ.) Πουπλίου καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει (ἄρου.) Ζή', <sup>8</sup> Ἡρακλείας Διογένους δι(ὰ) Ἡρακλ[ε]ί[α]ς <sup>9</sup> τῆς καὶ Διονυσ[ί]α (ἄρου.) ἰδ', <sup>10</sup> Γαί[ο]ν (γαί[ο]ν) Διδύμ[ο]ν Τίρωνος (ἄρου.) Ζδ' λ' β'. <sup>11</sup> τὸ δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς διὰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων. <sup>12</sup> (after a space) πεδιασίμου (a rare form, not found elsewhere in papyri) <sup>13</sup> γίτονες τῶν προκειμένων <sup>14</sup> (ἄρουῶν) λη Ζή' ε' νότου ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ <sup>15</sup> ἀπηλιώ(του) γῆς, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ λιβὸς <sup>16</sup> Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Θέωνος ἰδιωτικῆ, <sup>17</sup> βορρᾶ ὑπόλογος, ἀπηλιώ(του) ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ <sup>18</sup> βορρᾶ μέρους ἰδιω(τικῆ) ὄδεομένη, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ <sup>19</sup> ἀπὸ νότου ἢ ἐπάνω σφρα[γί]ς, λιβὸς <sup>20</sup> ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρους περίμ[ε]τρα (cf. P. Tebt. 60. 38) <sup>21</sup> Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον, ἐκ δὲ τ[ο]ῦ ἀπὸ νότου ἰδιω(τικῆ) <sup>22</sup> ὄδεομένη. For Ἀριστόκλεια ἢ καὶ Ἀρσινόη (l. 4) cf. 1433. 59 (A. D. 238).

**1538.** 18.8 × 6.5 cm. Early third century. Fragment of a list of owners of house-property, from the bottom of a column. <sup>1</sup> —]ος Πεπεμνῶφριος Πεπε- <sup>2</sup> —]κι( ) ννὶ οἰκειδίου ννὶ τῶν <sup>3</sup> —] <sup>4</sup> —]( ) τόποι ννὶ οἰκ(ίδιον), <sup>5</sup> —]ιβικ(οῦ) μέρους Καλάθου καὶ <sup>6</sup> —] . . . καὶ τῶν ἀνεψιῶν Πεγω- <sup>7</sup> [οὔτος —]( ) Διονυσίου καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) . . . <sup>8</sup> —] ἀλλ(ῆ) ἐν ἧ οἰκειδίου . . . καὶ ὄμο- <sup>9</sup> —]( ) τοῦ ὑποχρέου(ν) Διονυσίου <sup>10</sup> —] ἐν ἧ . εἰθ( ) ἐν ἰδιω(τικῶ) (ἰδ.) εἶδ(ει), <sup>11</sup> —] Διονυσίου Πεγωῦτος θε( ) λε( ) <sup>12</sup> —] τὸ ἐπιβάλλον γ' μέρος, <sup>13</sup> —] Πετε[.]ιος τοῦ Λουκίου . . . <sup>14</sup> —] <sup>15</sup> —] Πενύριος (ἐτῶν) κ, <sup>16</sup> —] Ψόιτος κδ, <sup>17</sup> —] ιζ, <sup>18</sup> —] πρ(ακτορ) μητρο- π(ολιτικῶν) Αὐρηλίου Ἰούστου (ἰουστ.) τ[ο]ῦ. On the verso is a complete account of receipts and expenses, to be published in Part xiii.

**1539.** 13.7 × 7.4 cm. A. D. 179–80. Two certificates issued by an assistant of the sitologi, crediting payments of wheat from one private person's account to that of another; cf. 518, 613–14, Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 143–4. <sup>1</sup> Διεστά- λ(ησαν) (πυροῦ) [γ]ενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) <sup>2</sup> ἰθ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλιῶν Ἀντωνίου <sup>3</sup> καὶ Κομμόδου Καισάρων <sup>4</sup> τῶν κυρίων δι(ὰ) σι(τολόγων) μέσης <sup>5</sup> τοπ(αρχίας) Πέτνη τόπ(ων) ἀπὸ θέμα(τος) <sup>6</sup> Θέωνος Διδυμίωνος ἀγο(ραστικῶ) δικαίω (δικ. added below the line) <sup>7</sup> Πτολεμαίω τῶ καὶ Πτολ- <sup>8</sup> λίω(νι) θέμα(τος) ἀρτάβ(αι) πεν- <sup>9</sup> τήκοντα, / (ἀρτ.) ν. κόλ(λημα) λβ. <sup>10</sup> Θέων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἑρμίας βοη(θὸς) σεση(μείωμαι). <sup>11</sup> καὶ δι(ὰ) σι(τολόγων) κάτω τοπ(αρχίας) Ἰσίου (ἰσ.) Ἄνω <sup>12</sup> τόπ(ων) ἀπὸ θέμα(τος) Φερέμφιος <sup>13</sup> ἐπικαλ(ομένου) Ἰσχυρίωνος <sup>14</sup> Πτολεμαίω τῶ κ(αὶ) Λουκίω <sup>15</sup> Γερμανοῦ θέμα(τος) ἀρτάβ(αι) <sup>16</sup> τρεῖς τέταρτον ὄδοον, <sup>17</sup> / (ἀρτ.) γδ' ἡ. κόλ(λημα) θ. <sup>18</sup> Θέων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἑρμίας βοη(θὸς) σεση(μείωμαι).

**1540.** 18.8 × 7.9 cm. A. D. 187–8. Two similar certificates issued by a sito-

logus of Pakerke or his assistant, crediting payments of wheat, in the first case from the private account of a gymnasiarch or ex-gymnasiarch to the metropolis as represented by himself (cf. 88), in the second from an individual to the sitologi of Pakerke. <sup>1</sup> Διεστάλ(ησαν) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελθ(όντος) <sup>2</sup> κζ̄ (ἔτους) Μάρκον Αὐρηλίον Κομμόδου <sup>3</sup> Ἀυτωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου <sup>4</sup> δι(ὰ) σι(τολόγων) μέσης τοπ(αρχίας) Πακέρκη τόπ(ων) ἀπὸ θέμ(ατος) <sup>5</sup> Πασίωνος Ἀχιλλίωνος γυμ(νασιάρχου) <sup>6</sup> τῆ πόλει δι(ὰ) αὐτοῦ θέμα(τος) ἀρτ(άβαι) ἕκα- <sup>7</sup> τὸν δεκατρίς ἡμισυ, / (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ργζ. <sup>8</sup> Ἀμμώνι(ος) σεση(μείωμαι). Lines 9-11 = 1-3. <sup>12</sup> δι(ὰ) σι(τολόγων) μέσης τοπ(αρχίας) Πακέρκη τόπ(ων) ἀπὸ <sup>13</sup> θέμα(τος) ἰδίου Θεωών(ος) Πανάρου <sup>14</sup> σι(τολόγους) Πακέρκη μέσης ἀρτ(άβη) μία <sup>15</sup> χοί(υκιες) ὀκτώ, / (ἀρτ.) α χ(οίν.) η. Ἀμμώ(υιος) σεση(μείωμαι). The writing is across the fibres.

**1541.** 10 × 11.7 cm. A. D. 192. Receipt, similar to P. Tebt. 369, issued by a sitologus for payments by two persons, one a Roman citizen, amounting to 125 artabae of *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* (corn bought for military and perhaps other purposes; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 359). <sup>1</sup> Μεμέτ(ρηνται) εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) πυροῦ συναγο(ραστικοῦ) γενή(ματος) <sup>2</sup> τοῦ διελθ(όντος) λβ̄ (ἔτους) Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου <sup>3</sup> Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου διὰ σιτολ(όγων) Θμοι(σεφῶ) τοπ(αρχίας) Παῶ(μews) τόπ(ων) <sup>4</sup> Διονυσία ἢ καὶ Ἀσκατάριον θέμα(τος) ἀρτάβ(ας) <sup>5</sup> ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ Κύντος (κύν.) Μαρείνος <sup>6</sup> Κλαυ[δία]ρ[δ]ς θέμα(τος) [ἀρτάβ(ας)] πεντή[κο]ντα, <sup>7</sup> γίν(ονται) ἀρτάβ(αι) ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι πέντε. Λεωνίδ(ης) <sup>8</sup> ὁ κ(αὶ) Σερῆ(νος) σιτολ(όγος) σεση(μείωμαι) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ρκε. The writing is across the fibres.

**1542.** 14 × 13.7 cm. A. D. 307. A counter-receipt (made out by the payer in the first person; cf. P. Gen. 36, B. G. U. 927, 974, Wilcken, *Archiv.* ii. 386, iii. 395) for various payments of corn to sitologi of Seruphis (cf. 1421. 3, n.) from γεωργοί on behalf of, probably, owners of *ἰδιωτικὴ γῆ*. <sup>1</sup> Ἀ[ντ]άποχ(ον). <sup>2</sup> παρήνεγκον (-ηνεγ̄κ.) καὶ ἐμετρήθησαν εἰς τὰ παρα- <sup>3</sup> σταθέντα πλοῖα διὰ σιτολόγων κώμης <sup>4</sup> Σερύφews ὀνόματος Δημητριάου <sup>5</sup> Πλουτίωνος καὶ ἢ γυ[νῆ] Ταπόσιρις <sup>6</sup> ἢ καὶ Ἀμαζόνιον (first a of αμαζόνιον corr. and ι corr. from ο: l. τῆς γυναικὸς Ταποσίριος τῆς κ. Ἀμαζονίου) δι(ὰ) Π[ε]τοσίριος μη(τρὸς) <sup>7</sup> Ταύριος γεωργοῦ κριθῆς ῥυπαροῦ (l. -rās, as in l. 11) <sup>8</sup> δώδεκα ἡμισυ τέταρτον χύνικας (l. χοίν.) δύο, <sup>9</sup> γίν(ονται) (ἀρτ.) ιβ̄ζδ' χ(οίν.) β, καὶ διὰ ἑτέρου (first ε corr. from π) Πετοσίρι- <sup>10</sup> os (ξ̄)κ μητρὸς Θ[αῆ]σιος γεωργοῦ κριθῆς <sup>11</sup> ῥυπαροῦ ἀρτάβας δώδεκα τέταρτον <sup>12</sup> χ[ύ]νικας δύο, γίν(ονται) (ἀρτ.) ιβδ' χ(οίν.) β. (ἔτους) ιε (ἔτ.) (sc. of Galerius Augustus) γ (ἔτ.) (of Severus Aug. and Maximinus Caesar) α (ἔτ.) (of Constantine Caesar) <sup>13</sup> Παῦνι (παῦνι) β. Πλούταρχος καὶ Ὀνω- <sup>14</sup> [φρι]ς καὶ τῶν κοινωνῶν σιτολόγων (σ corr. from ε: l. οἱ κοινωνοὶ σιτολόγοι) <sup>15</sup> [δν'] ἐμοῦ Παμόνι(ος) [γ]ραμ(ματέως) σεση(μείωμεθα). For the date cf. P. Thead. 10. 16; in P. Grenf. ii. 78. 29 (ἔτ.) α, not β, is to be restored before τῶν κυρίων.

**1543.** 8.5 × 9.3 cm. About A. D. 299. Beginning of a receipt for chaff supplied

to soldiers on the march through Oxyrhynchus from an unknown place ; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 162-4, Milne, *Theban Ost.* 103-12. <sup>1</sup> Ἐλίτρισευ (a new word meaning 'measure by λίτραι': cf. λιτρισμός) ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως <sup>2</sup> πρὸς διάδοσιν τοῖς διοδεύου- <sup>3</sup> σιν γεννεοτάτοις (l. γενναιοτ.) στρατιώταις <sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ (l. τῆς ?) Νήσου Ἄ . . γωνος <sup>5</sup> δι(ὰ) Ἡρακλήου ἀδε[λφο]ῦ Ἀμούιτος <sup>6</sup> ἀχύρον ιε (ἔτους) ιδ (ἔτους) ζ (ἔτους) λι[τρ]ας <sup>7</sup> τεσσαράκο[ντα] . . . Written across the fibres, but apparently on the recto.

**1544.** 20.1 × 8.9 cm. A.D. 284-304. Receipt in a large cursive hand from a *πραγματευτής* (cf. 1514. 1) of Aurelius Ammonion, who is called *κράτιστος* like Ἀμμώνιος ἐπείκτης δημοσίων σίτων in 1412. 9 and might even be the same person (cf. 1412. int.), to another *πραγματευτής*, acknowledging 100 artabae of wheat, which the writer had put on board a ship at Pelusium. The dating by consuls (whose names are omitted) indicates a reign not earlier than Diocletian's, and the handwriting does not favour a later Emperor. <sup>1</sup> Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Φιλόμουσος *πραγμα-* <sup>2</sup> *τευτής* τοῦ κρατίστου <sup>3</sup> Ἀὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀμμωνίωνος <sup>4</sup> Ἀὐρηλίω Μαξίμω *πραγματ(ευτῆ)* (*πραγ.* above the line) *χαίρειν.* <sup>5</sup> ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ ἄς καὶ <sup>6</sup> ἐνεβαλλόμεν ἐν τῷ Πη- <sup>7</sup> λουσίω εἰς πλοῖον Ἡρα- <sup>8</sup> ἴσκου (ηραῖος.) *ναυτικοῦ* *πυροῦ* <sup>9</sup> ἀρτάβας ἑκατόν, <sup>10</sup> / ἀρτά[βα]ι ρ. <sup>11</sup> ἐπὶ ὑπ[ά]των (ὑπ.) Φαῶφι κγ.

**1545.** 17.9 × 8.1 cm. Fourth century. List of places ordered to supply meat, probably for military purposes (cf. 1513), Oxyrhynchus providing for 10 days' supplies (l. 11) and various villages for lesser periods, the length of which is probably a rough criterion of their comparative sizes. The papyrus belongs to the period after the division of the nome into pagi in place of toparchies (cf. 1425. 4, n.) ; but there is no indication that the villages belonged to any one pagus. Taampemou was in the eastern toparchy, Seruphis (which is mentioned next ; cf. 1421. 3, n.) in the western, like Senokomis, which is here coupled with Παρόριον (cf. 1475. 22, n.). Teis was in the Thmoisepho top., Petne in the middle top. ; Milon[os ?] and Severias were previously unknown. <sup>1</sup> Λόγ(ος) ὑπ[η]ρεσίας κρεῶν <sup>2</sup> Παχῶν ις· <sup>3</sup> Τααμπέμου ὑπὲρ ἡμερ(ῶν) 5, <sup>4</sup> Σερύφειω ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν ζ, <sup>5</sup> Σενοκόμειω καὶ Παρο- <sup>6</sup> ρίου ἡμέρας δ, <sup>7</sup> Τήσειω ἡμέρας β, <sup>8</sup> Πέτ[τ]νη (πεττνη) ἡμέρας δ, <sup>9</sup> Μίλων[ος ?] ἡμέρ(as) γ, <sup>10</sup> Σευηριάδος [ῆ]μέρ(as) δ, <sup>11</sup> καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ [τ]ῆς πόλεως <sup>12</sup> ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν ι.

**1546.** 16 × 11.2 cm. Late third century. An incomplete account rendered by *χωματεπιμεληταί* or *χωματεπέικται* (cf. 1409. 13-14, n.) to a superior (the strategus ?) concerning work done on the repairs of dykes by different villages, giving the number of *ναύβια* dug and the number still due ; cf. 1409 and 1469. The *μερίς* in l. 3 would be expected to refer to a toparchy rather than to a pagus (cf. 1425. 4, n.) ; but Seruphis (l. 5) was in the western toparchy, Teis (l. 10) in that of Thmoisepho (cf. however 1545, where those

two villages occur in the same list), and Phoboou (l. 11?) in the eastern.  
<sup>1</sup> Παρὰ Αὐρηλίω Σ[ιλ]βανῶν (l. -ανῶ) καὶ τοῦ <sup>2</sup> σὺν αὐτῷ χωμα(τεπιμελητοῦ) τ[ῆ]ς  
 νοτιωῆς <sup>3</sup> μερίδος. λόγ(ος) ἀπεργασίας τοῦ κατὰ κώ- <sup>4</sup> μην εἰς κς Φαρμουῦθι. (2nd h.)  
 ἔστι δέ· <sup>5</sup> (1st h.) Σερύφως ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰφβ <sup>6</sup> [ἀ]περγ(ασίας) να(ύβια) Ἰβξη, λο(ιπὰ)  
 Ἰβξη. <sup>7</sup> Τ. [. .] λει ἀπὸ σκ ρξ, λο(ιπὰ) ξ. <sup>8</sup> Τ[. . .] . (possibly Π[έλ]α) [ἀπὸ σ]μ ρν,  
 λο(ιπὰ) ρ. <sup>9</sup> [. . . . . ἀπὸ τ]δ ρν, [λ]ο(ιπὰ) ρνδ. <sup>10</sup> Τήεως [ ] να(ύβια) μδ.  
<sup>11</sup> Φοβῶ[ου να(ύβ.) . .]

(4) *Declarations to Officials.*

**1547.** 23.9 × 11 cm. A. D. 119. Census-return of an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, similar to 171 (ii, p. 208), 1548, P. Flor. 4, P. S. I. 53. The middle and lower portions are much damaged. At the top is a cross, as in 1452.  
<sup>1</sup> Δημητρίωι στρα(τηγῶ) καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις καθ(ήκει) (cf. 1452. 2, n.) <sup>2</sup> (2nd h.) [π]αρὰ Πετοσίριος Διονυσίου τοῦ Πετοσίριος μητ(ρός) <sup>3</sup> Μιξυτος Ὄρου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρ(ύχων) πόλεως. κατὰ τὰ κε- <sup>4</sup> (1st h. παρε(τέθη) in the margin; cf. 1475. 1, 1552. 1) λευσθ(έντα) ὑπὸ ῥαμμίου Μαρτιάλιος τοῦ κρα(τίστου) ἡγεμό(νος) <sup>5</sup> ἀ[πο]γρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελθ(όντος) β (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος <sup>6</sup> τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκία(ν) ἀπογρα(φήν) τὸ ὑπάρχον (ὑπ.) μοι ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου) <sup>7</sup> Βο(ρρᾶ) Δρόμ(ου) Ἰ μέρο(ς) οἰκία(ς) καὶ τῆι γυ[ν]αικί Τετοεῦτ(ι) <sup>8</sup> Θ[ο]ω[ν]ᾶτος (πρότερον) τοῦ πατ(ρός) α(ὐτῆς) τοῦ λοιπ(οῦ) Ἰ τὸ γ', καὶ <sup>9</sup> [δ]μ[ο]ίως ὑπάρχ(ει) τῆι αὐτῆι (πρότερον) Πετοσίριος ἀδελφου <sup>10</sup> αὐτῆς γ' μέρος το(ῦ) α(ὐτοῦ) Ἰ μέρο(ς), παρ' ἧ ἔστι καὶ τὸ λοιπ(όν) <sup>11</sup> γ' μέρος(ς) εἰς πλήρωσι(ν) τοῦ Ἰ μέρο(ς), ὃν Παποντῶ- <sup>12</sup> [το]ς ἐτέρου ἀδελ(φου) α(ὐτῆς) ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐκπροθέσμ(ω) γενομ(ένῃ) <sup>13</sup> ἀντι τοῦ ἐπιβάλλουτ(ος) τῶν κατ' ἀ δανείου συγγραφῆν <sup>14</sup> ὄφ[ε]λομένω τῆι Τετοεῦτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Παποντῶ[τος] <sup>15</sup> effaced <sup>16</sup> 15 effaced l. λαξὸς οὐ(λή) ποδὶ ἀρισ(τερῶ) (ἐτῶν) οδ. <sup>17</sup> Τι 20 effaced l. μητ(ρός) Τετοε(ύτος) Θωωνᾶ(τος) λαξὸς <sup>18</sup> οὐλή ποδὶ δεξιῶ (ἐτῶν) με. <sup>19</sup> Ἀπολλωνίδης Πετοσί(ριος) τοῦ Θωώνιος μητρὸ(ς) Ταψ[ό]ιτος? <sup>20</sup> Παύλου λαξὸς ἄσημος (ἐτῶν) κα, <sup>21</sup> καταγι(νόμενος) ἐν μέρει α οἰκία(ς) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου) το(ῦ) α(ὐτοῦ). <sup>22</sup> Παποντῶς Θωωνᾶ(τος) το(ῦ) Πετοσί(ριος) μητ(ρός) Θαισο(ύτος) Παπο(ντῶτος) λαξὸς <sup>23</sup> νυνεὶ ὃν ἀπόδημος (ἐτῶν) νξ. <sup>24</sup> / σώ(ματα) δ. <sup>25</sup> [. . .] Θωωνᾶ(ος) τοῦ Πετοσί(ριος) μητ(ρός) Θαισοῦτ(ος) . . <sup>26</sup> 16 effaced l. ἄσημος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ. <sup>27</sup> Θαῆσις Θο. . . ( ) δούλ(η) α(ὐτῆς)? ἀγορα(στῆ) ἄσημ(ος) ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ. <sup>28</sup> / σώ(ματα) β. <sup>29</sup> καὶ ὁμοί(ως) ὑπάρχ(ει) μοι ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου) τ[οῦ] α(ὐτοῦ) μέρη ἕτερα ο[ικ]ιῶν <sup>30</sup> κοινῶν καὶ πρὸς Πετόσι(ριν) Θωωνᾶ(τος) ἐν οἷς οὐδεὶς κα[τα]γ(ίνεται), <sup>31</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκία(ς) ἀπογρά(φομαι). <sup>32</sup> Θέωμ μητρὸς Θερμο[υ]θίου Νε[χ]θενίβ(ιος) ε. δ( ) [. . .] <sup>33</sup> ι (ἔτους) θεοῦ Οὐεσ[πασ]μα[νοῦ] κατ' οἰ[κ]ία(ν) [ἀπογρα(φ )] <sup>34</sup> [. . .] . s α[. . .] απ[ ] 20 l. <sup>35</sup> οἱ μέχρι τ[οῦ] ἐνεστ[ῶτος] 15 l. <sup>36</sup> ἀπογρά(φομαι) δὲ καὶ δίκαιον . . . . [ 12 l. <sup>37</sup> καὶ Πετοσί(ριος)? Θωωνᾶ(τος) μερῶ(ν) οἰκία(ς) . [ 12 l. After parts of 4 lines <sup>42</sup> [δ]μ[υ]ώ Αὐτοκρά(τορα) Καίσαρα Τραιανόν

Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐξ ὑ-<sup>43</sup> [γιοῦ]ς καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθ[είας] ἐπιδεδωκέναί . . . (cf. P. S. I. 53. i. 19). On the verso <sup>44</sup> Τῦβι κη.

**1548.** 21·1 × 9 cm. A. D. 202-3. Census-return of an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, similar to 1547 and breaking off at about the same point. The officials addressed are, as often in returns to the strategus (cf. e. g. 1111), not stated, though the document in a marginal note at the top is called an ἐγδόσιμον, i. e. an official copy; cf. 494. 25, n., Mitteis, *Grundz.* 63. <sup>1</sup> ἐγδ(όσιμον) <sup>2</sup> Παρὰ Πλουτίωνος Πλουτίωνος <sup>3</sup> τοῦ Πλουτίωνος μητ(ρὸς) Ταψίτος <sup>4</sup> ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως). κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) ὑπὸ Μαικίου <sup>5</sup> Λαίτου (cf. 1111. i. 3, n.) τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμ(όνος) <sup>6</sup> ἀπογρά(φομαι) πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δι[ε]λ(θόντος) ι (ἔτους) <sup>7</sup> Καيسάρων τῶν κυρίων Σεουήρου <sup>8</sup> καὶ Ἀντωνίου [[καὶ Γέτα Καίσαρος]] <sup>9</sup> κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογρα(φήν) τὸ (ο corr. from η) ὑπάρχ(ον) (ὑπ.) μοι ἐπὶ ἀμ- <sup>10</sup> φόδ(ου) Βορρᾶ Κρηπ(ίδος) δ' μέρος οἰκ(ίας) καὶ αἰθ(ρίου) <sup>11</sup> καὶ τῶν ταύτης χρηστ(ηρίων), εἰς ἃ ἀπογρά(φομαι). <sup>12</sup> αὐτὸς ἐγὼ [ὁ] Πλουτίων ἄτ(εχνος) ἄση(μος) (ἐτῶν) μη, <sup>13</sup> Διόσκο[ρος] δούλ(ός) μ[ο]υ ἄτ(εχνος) ἄση(μος) (ἐτ.) [.]η. <sup>14</sup> γ(υναίκες) (cf. P. S. I. 53. int.) Ταψίος ἢ κ(αὶ) Εὐδαιμ(ονίς) θυγά(τηρ) μου <sup>15</sup> συνοικοῦσα τῷ ἀνδ(ρὶ) Ἀπολλω- <sup>16</sup> νίῳ ἄτ(εχ.) ἄση(μ.) ὡς (ἐτ.) κ, <sup>17</sup> Γαιανῆ (γαῖα.) ὁμογνησία αὐτ(ῆς) ἀδελ(φή) ἄτεχ(ν.) <sup>18</sup> ἄσημος ὡς (ἐτ.) ιε, <sup>19</sup> Ἀφροδείτη ἐπικεκλημ(ένη) Ἰσιδώρα <sup>20</sup> ἀγο(ραστῆ) δούλ(η) τῆς θυγα(τρὸς) μου Ταψίτος <sup>21</sup> τῆς καὶ Εὐδαιμονίδο(ς) γένει Ὀασεῖτ(ις) <sup>22</sup> συνοῦσα τῇ δεσπ(οίνῃ) ἄτ(εχ.) ἄση(μ.) ὡς (ἐτ.) ιγ, <sup>23</sup> Ταέρως δούλη μου καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) <sup>24</sup> μου καὶ ἄλλων ἄτ(εχ.) ἄση(μ.) ὡς (ἐτ.) λε, <sup>25</sup> Ταεπίμαχος ἐτέρα δούλ(η) μου <sup>26</sup> καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) καὶ ἄλλων ἐκ δούλης <sup>27</sup> Ταέρωτος ἄτ(εχ.) ἄση(μ.) ὡς (ἐτ.) θ. <sup>28</sup> καὶ ὀμνύω τὴν Λουκίου <sup>29</sup> Σεπτίμιου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος <sup>30</sup> καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου <sup>31</sup> Εὐσεβοῦ[ς] Σεβαστῶ[ν] κα[ὶ] Πουβλίου . . .

**1549.** 12·3 × 13·9 cm. A. D. 240. Two returns of unwatered land at Peënno (a village near Nemera; cf. l. 23 and 1112. 7) from Aurelius Theogenes, similar to 1459 and numbered 33 and 34 in a series of documents glued together, of which nos. 31 and 32 form 1433. The first is addressed to the basilicogrammateus, like 1459. <sup>1</sup> λγ <sup>2</sup> Αὐρηλίῳ Πτολεμαίῳ βασιλ(ικῶ) <sup>3</sup> γρα(μματεῖ) Ὀξυρυνγ[ε]ίτου <sup>4</sup> παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Θεογένους <sup>5</sup> τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Διογέ- <sup>6</sup> νους τοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου <sup>7</sup> ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. <sup>8</sup> ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς τὸ ἐνε- <sup>9</sup> στὸς γ (ἔτος) Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου <sup>10</sup> Γορδιανοῦ Καίσαρος <sup>11</sup> τοῦ κυρίου τὰς ὑπαρχού- <sup>12</sup> σας μοι περὶ Πεεννῶ <sup>13</sup> ἐκ τῆς Θρασνμάχου <sup>14</sup> παρεί[μ]νης (cf. 713. 26, and for παρειμένη P. Hibeh 53. 5 and 1534. 8) [ε]ίς Ἀπολ- <sup>15</sup> λώνιον Ἀπολλωνίου <sup>16</sup> τοῦ Παυ[σ]ερίωνος α (ἀρτάβης) <sup>17</sup> ἀβρόχου (ἀρούρας) δ. <sup>18</sup> (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος <sup>19</sup> Καίσαρος Μάρκου <sup>20</sup> Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ <sup>21</sup> Εὐσ[ε]βοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς, the end being lost. The second return, addressed to a comogrammateus (cf. 1113) begins <sup>22</sup> λδ. <sup>23</sup> Κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Νεμέρων καὶ <sup>24</sup> ἄλλων κωμῶν [τ]ῆς μέσης <sup>25</sup> τοπαρχίας <sup>26</sup> παρὰ κτλ., as in ll. 4-21, except for the insertion of κλήρου after

παρεμέννης in l. 35, and concludes Σεβαστοῦ <sup>43</sup> Φαμενώθ. <sup>44</sup> [Αὐρήλιος Θεογένη]ς ὁ <sup>45</sup> [καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος . . .

- 1550.** 16 × 4.7 cm. A. D. 156. Notice of the death of two relatives, sent to the scribes of the city by a *ιεροτέκτων* (cf. 579, Milne, *Greek Inscriptions of the Cairo Museum*, 9313) of Thoëris, Isis, Sarapis and the associated gods (cf. 46. 8), similar to 79, 262, 1030, 1198, but incomplete at the end. <sup>1</sup> [Ἀ]πολλωνί[φ κ]α[λ] Διδύμω <sup>2</sup> [γ]ραμματεῦσι πόλ[εως] <sup>3</sup> [π]αρὰ Θέωνος τοῦ Ἀρθό- <sup>4</sup> [ν]ιος (l. Ἀρθώ- νιος or Ἀρθώνιος) τοῦ Θέωνος μητρὸς <sup>5</sup> [Ταψ?]όιτος τῆς Παῶτος <sup>6</sup> [τῶν] ἀπ' Ὀξυρύν- χων πό- <sup>7</sup> [λεω]ς ἱεροτέκτονος (ἱερ., as in l. 14; second o corr.) <sup>8</sup> [Θοήρ]ιδος[ς] κα[λ] Ἰσιδός[ς] καὶ <sup>9</sup> [Σαρά]πιδος κα[λ] τῶν <sup>10</sup> [συν]νάων θεῶ[ν] μεγίσ- <sup>11</sup> [τῶν]. ὁ πατήρ μο[υ] Ἀ[ρ]θό- <sup>12</sup> [ν]ιος Θεώνος τοῦ Ἀρθόν- <sup>13</sup> [ιος μ]ητρὸς Θερμοῦθίου <sup>14</sup> [τῆς] Πανσίριος ἱερω- τέκ- <sup>15</sup> [των] τῶν αὐτῶν <sup>16</sup> [καὶ ὁ] κατὰ μήτερά μου <sup>17</sup> [πάππ]ος Παῶς Πετεύριος <sup>18</sup> [μητρὸς] Τααφύνχιος <sup>19</sup> [τῆς] Σαράτ[ο]ς [τέ]κτων <sup>20</sup> [Ἰσ]ιδος τῶν [αὐ]τῶν <sup>21</sup> [θεῶ]ν ἀμφοτέ[ρ]οι ἀπὸ <sup>22</sup> [τῆς] αὐτῆς πόλε[ω]ς, ὁ μ[ε]ν <sup>23</sup> [πα]τήρ ἀναγραφόμε[ν]ος <sup>24</sup> [ἐπ'] ἀμφοδου Δρόμου <sup>25</sup> [Θοήρ]ιδος, ὁ δὲ κατὰ μέ- <sup>26</sup> [τερα]. (l. μήτ.) πάππος πυρετ[η]ς? (ε corr. from ι: l. (Παῶς) Πετεύριος?) <sup>27</sup> [ἀναγ]ραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμ- <sup>28</sup> [φόδο]ν Δρόμο[υ] Γυμ[να]- <sup>29</sup> [σί]ο[υ] ἐτελε[ύτη]σεν ἐν <sup>30</sup> [τῷ] δ[ι]ελευθ[ό]ντι μηνί <sup>31</sup> [Φα]ῶφι τοῦ ἐννεοστώτος <sup>32</sup> [εἰκ]οστοῦ ἐ[τους] Ἀν- <sup>33</sup> [των]ίου Καίσαρος <sup>34</sup> [τοῦ] κυρίου. διὼ (l. διδ) [ἐπι]δί- <sup>35</sup> [δ]ωμι τὸ ὑπό[μνη]- <sup>36</sup> [μα καὶ] ἀξιώ ἀναγραφῆναι <sup>37</sup> [τοῦ]τον τὸ ὄνομα <sup>38</sup> [ἐν] τῇ τῶν [τετελευ- <sup>39</sup> [τηκότων] τάξει . . .
- 1551.** 14.1 × 8.2 cm. A. D. 304. Notice of the death of the writer's son, addressed to a *συστάτης* (cf. 1509). This is the latest extant example of this class of documents upon papyrus, and at the end the formula has a clause which is absent from the earlier notices, e. g. 1030. <sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων (ὑπ.) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν <sup>2</sup> Αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλη[τιαν]οῦ <sup>3</sup> τὸ ἕνατον καὶ Μαξ[ι]μιανοῦ τὸ η [Φαμ]ε[ρ]νῶθ [ . <sup>4</sup> Αὐρηλίω Ὀρίωνι Θ[ . . . . ] . os <sup>5</sup> συστάτῃ τῆς λαμπρ[ᾶς] καὶ λαμ- <sup>6</sup> προτάτης Ὀξυρυνχε[ι]τῶν πόλε[ως] <sup>7</sup> παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Γερμανοῦ [Διο]γένους <sup>8</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὁ [γέ]ν[ε]ι [ν]εῖ- <sup>9</sup> [τ]ερος υἱὸς Γερμανοῦ ἐκ μητρὸς <sup>10</sup> Μυριλέας ἀναγρα- φόμενος ἐπ' ἀμ- <sup>11</sup> φόδου Ἰπέων Παρεμβολῆς <sup>12</sup> τῷ ὄντι μηνί Φαμενώθ [ . ] <sup>13</sup> τὸν βίον μ[ε]τ[ῆ]λλαξεν. διὼ ἐπ[ε]ί- <sup>14</sup> χθην ἐπι[δι]δοῦναι τάδε τὰ βιβλ[ῖ]α <sup>15</sup> ἀξιώων ταγήναι [αὐ]τὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν <sup>16</sup> τετ[ε]λε[υ]τηκότων τάξει . . . . <sup>17</sup> φισκ . . . . [ <sup>18</sup> τῆς καταβο- λῆς?, with traces of another line.
- 1552.** 12.3 × 9.7 cm. A. D. 214-5. Registration (ἀναγραφῆ) of a recently-born boy, addressed to an ἀμφοδογραμματεῦς and closely resembling 1267; cf. also P. S. I. 164, a similar return sent to a *συστάτης*. Part of the date and the signature are missing at the end. The age of the boy in l. 15 is not quite certain, but α is supported by 1267. 18 (3 years and 5 months), and the editors of P. S. I. 164 do not seem justified in restoring [ιδ] in the corresponding passage. <sup>1</sup> παρε[τίθη] (cf. 1475. 1, n.) <sup>2</sup> Βειθαρίων τῷ καὶ Δημητριά[ν]ω <sup>3</sup> ἀμφο[ο]-

δογρα(μματεῖ) γ φυλ(ῆς) β περιόδου (cf. 1030. int.) <sup>4</sup> παρὰ Ἀντιόχου Πτολλίωνος μ[η- <sup>5</sup> τρὸς Τκούιτος (τκούιτ.) καὶ Διονυσίου Ἡρα- <sup>6</sup> κλάτος τοῦ Θώνι[ο]ς τοῦ καὶ Θέω[νος <sup>7</sup> μ[η]τρὸς Θαήσιος ἀμφοτέρων ἀ[π'] Ὀ- <sup>8</sup> [ξυρύγχων] πόλεως. βουλόμεθ[α πρῶ- <sup>9</sup> τ[ω]ς ἀναγραφῆται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχ[ου]- <sup>10</sup> τος τῶ Ἀντιόχῳ μέρους οἰκίας ἐ[π'] ἀμ- <sup>11</sup> φόδου Λυκίων Πα[ρε]μβολῆς τὸν τοῦ <sup>12</sup> [Διονυσίου υἱὸν Π[. . . . .] μητρὸς <sup>13</sup> [. . . . .]ος τῆς [. . . . .]ε[.]. [. . . <sup>14</sup> (δωδεκά[δραχμον) ἀπ]δ γυμνασίου ὄντα πρὸς τὸ ἐ[νε]- <sup>15</sup> στὸς κγ (ἔτος) (ἔτους) α. (ἔτους) [κ]γ Αὐτοκρά[τορος <sup>16</sup> [Καίσα]ρος Μάρκου [Αἰρηλίου <sup>17</sup> [Σεου]ήρου Ἀντω[νίου Παρθικοῦ <sup>18</sup> [Μεγίστο]υ Βρεταν[υ]κῶ Μεγίστου . . .

- 1553.** 13.7 × 7.2 cm. A. D. 214. Conclusion of a declaration on oath concerning a voyage to Alexandria (?) and surety in connexion with an official position of some kind, probably that of κυβερνήτης; cf. 1554-5, which are addressed to strategē, as 1553 may well have been, and 1197, where ll. 17-18 are to be restored on the analogy of 1553. 7-9 [παρέ]σχον δ' ἑμαντοῦ ἐν[γνη]τῆ[ν] Σαραπίωνα. <sup>1</sup> [- <sup>2</sup> π[- Ἀλεξαν- <sup>3</sup> δρίας [- <sup>4</sup> ἐπιτροπῆ Ἀὔρη]λι[ος] Εὐ- <sup>5</sup> φράνωρ εἰδῶν, ἢ ἐν[ο]- <sup>6</sup> χος ἔσομαι τῷ ὄρκῳ. <sup>7</sup> παρέσχον δὲ ἑμαν- <sup>8</sup> τοῦ τούτου χάριν ἐν- <sup>9</sup> γνητῆν Ἀνουβᾶν <sup>10</sup> Διογένους μητρὸς Ἡρα- <sup>11</sup> ἴδος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως) <sup>12</sup> παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦν- <sup>13</sup> τα. (ἔτους) κβ Αὐτοκρ. <sup>14</sup> Καίσ. Μάρκου <sup>15</sup> Αἰρηλ. Σεουήρ. <sup>16</sup> Ἀντων. Παρθ. <sup>17</sup> Μεγ. Βρετανικοῦ <sup>18</sup> Μεγ. Γερμαν. <sup>19</sup> Μεγ. Εὐσεβ. <sup>20</sup> Σεβασ. Μεχείρ ιδ. <sup>21</sup> (2nd h.) Ὀρίων Ἀπολλωνίου ὁμοσ[α (l. ὤμ.) <sup>22</sup> τὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἕκαστα πο[ι]- <sup>23</sup> ἴσω ὡς πρόκειται. <sup>24</sup> (3rd h.) Ἀνο[υ]βᾶς Διογένους <sup>25</sup> ἐνγνώμαι τὸν Ὀρίων- <sup>26</sup> α ὡς πρόκειτ[αι].

- 1554.** 13.7 × 8.3 cm. A. D. 251. Conclusion of a declaration on oath for surety of a boat-owner, addressed to a strategus (cf. l. 8 with 1555. 14), similar to 1555; cf. also 1553. <sup>1</sup> [Ἀ]φινί[ου] Γάλλου Οὐελδουμνιανοῦ <sup>2</sup> Οὐολου[σιανοῦ] Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν <sup>3</sup> Σεβαστῶν τῆ[χ]ην ἐκουσίως καὶ αὐθαι- <sup>4</sup> ρέτως ἐγγυᾶσθαι (εγ'γ.) Αὔρη[λι]ον Πετόσι- ? <sup>5</sup> ριν Ὀννώφριος μητρὸς Τισόιτος ἀπὸ <sup>6</sup> κώμης Σέσφθα (cf. 1423. 10, n.) κυβερνήτην πλοί- <sup>7</sup> ου ἰδίου σκαφοπάκτωνος (a new word; for πάκτων cf. Reil, *Beiträge*, 88) ἐμφανῆ ὄντα, ὃν καὶ παραστήσω σοι ὁπόταν <sup>9</sup> ἐπιζητηθῆ, ἢ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ὑφέξομαι (ὑφεξ.) <sup>10</sup> τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον, ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην <sup>11</sup> τῷ ὄρκῳ. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκρατόρων <sup>12</sup> Καισάρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου Τρεβ[ωνιανοῦ] <sup>13</sup> Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἀφ[ωνίου] <sup>14</sup> Γάλλου Οὐελδουμνιανοῦ Οὐολ[ουσιανοῦ] <sup>15</sup> Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν [μηνὸς <sup>16</sup> Χ[ο]iak ζ. <sup>17</sup> [Αὔ]ρηλιος Κάσιος Ἀπολλ[ωνίου], followed by traces of 2 lines.

- 1555.** 13 × 11.8 cm. A. D. 260-1. The upper part of two declarations on oath to a strategus concerning surety, probably for appearance at an inquiry, though no definite indication is given; cf. P. Grenf. ii, 62, 79. Col. i: <sup>1</sup> Αὔρηλίῳ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ <sup>2</sup> καὶ Νεμεσιανῷ στρα(τηγῷ) Ὀξ(υρυγίτου) <sup>3</sup> Αὔρηλιος Φιλαντίνοος <sup>4</sup> ὁ καὶ Μῶρος Βησαρίωνος <sup>5</sup> καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω. <sup>6</sup> ὀμνῶ τὴν τῶν κυρίων

<sup>7</sup> ἡμῶν Μακριανοῦ καὶ Κνήτου <sup>8</sup> Σεβαστῶν τύχην ἐκου- <sup>9</sup> σίως καὶ αὐθαίρετως <sup>10</sup> ἐγγυᾶσθαι Αὐρήλιον <sup>11</sup> Σερήνον Κάστορος <sup>12</sup> μητρὸς Θερμουθίου ἀ- <sup>13</sup> π' Ὀξυρύχων πόλεως, <sup>14</sup> ὃν καὶ [παραστήσω σοι . . . Col. ii (2nd h.) has the same formula, Aurelius Asclepiades also called Sarapion, son of Pausirion, becoming surety for Aurelius Aphunchis son of Thonis. On the verso is 1517.

(5) *Petitions.*

- 1556.** 9.2 × 6.1 cm. A. D. 247. Conclusion of a petition concerning an assault, no doubt addressed to a strategus (cf. l. 1 with P. Tebt. 303. 13-14). <sup>1</sup> [. . .] ἐνὶ τῶν περι σὲ ὑπη- <sup>2</sup> [ρετ]ῶν ἐφιδεῖν με ἅμα δη- <sup>3</sup> μοσίῳ ἰατρῷ (ιατ.) {ἐφιδεῖν <sup>4</sup> με} καὶ προσφωνῆσαί σοι <sup>5</sup> τὴν περι ἐμέ διάθεσιν, <sup>6</sup> ἔχειν δὲ τὰ βιβλίδια ἐν <sup>7</sup> καταχωρισμῷ ἄχρι τῆς <sup>8</sup> παρὰ τῷ μείζονι (cf. e. g. 1121. 22) ἐκδι- <sup>9</sup> κίας. (ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκρατόρω[ν] <sup>10</sup> Καισάρων Μάρκων <sup>11</sup> Ἰουλίων (ἰουλ.) Φιλίππων <sup>12</sup> Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν <sup>13</sup> [Σεβασ]τῶν Τῦβι η, with traces of another line. On the verso is a fragment of a document dated (ἔτους) ε Παχῶ[ν] . . ., i. e. a year later than the recto.
- 1557.** 10.5 × 8 cm. A. D. 255. Conclusion of a petition (to a strategus?) concerning a robbery of cattle. <sup>1</sup> . [— <sup>2</sup> δοπρ[. . .].]υρα . . [ . . . . . <sup>3</sup> γενό[με]ν[ος] ] πρὸς τοὺς δημοσίους (cf. 1411. 2, n.) <sup>4</sup> ἐμήνυσα αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὔτινες <sup>5</sup> ἅμ' ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοψίαν <sup>6</sup> ἐλθόντες ἐπέιδον τὸ ἀτόπημα, <sup>7</sup> ὅθεν ἐπιδιδούς τὰ βιβλίδια <sup>8</sup> ἀσφαλιζομαι (third a corr. from η) καὶ ἀξιώ ἐξαιτῆς <sup>9</sup> παντὶ σθένει ἀναζητηθέντα <sup>10</sup> τὰ κτήνη ἀποκαταστήναί <sup>11</sup> μοι μετρίῳ ὄντι καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν <sup>12</sup> τὸ ζῆν ποριζομένῳ. (ἔτους) β <sup>13</sup> Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων <sup>14</sup> Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ <sup>15</sup> καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ <sup>16</sup> Γαλλιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν [Σ]εβαστῶν <sup>17</sup> Παχ[ῶν] . . <sup>18</sup> (2nd h.) Αὐ[ρήλιος] Ξ[. . . . .] <sup>19</sup> [ἐπιδέδωκα].
- 1558.** 9 × 10.3 cm. A. D. 267. Fragment from the end of a petition by a woman, with two ὑπογραφαί of officials, of which the first (ll. 6-8) was apparently translated from Latin and may well have been that of a praefect. The 'laws of the Egyptians' are contrasted with the 'Roman constitution' (ll. 3-4). The 14th year in the date (l. 5) probably refers to Gallienus. The length of the lines is uncertain. <sup>1</sup> — . π . [ . . . ]αι . [ . . . <sup>2</sup> — πρ]οειληφόσιμ καὶ ὅτι καθολικῶς κε- <sup>3</sup> [λεν — προσέτ ?]αζα χρήσασθαι τοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων <sup>4</sup> [νόμοις — τ]ῆ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία — <sup>5</sup> — Διονυσία ἐπιδέδωκα. (ἔτους) ιδ Τῦβι η. <sup>6</sup> (2nd h.) — ἔντεξ[ί]ν σου τοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξι φανεράν <sup>7</sup> — πρὸς τ]ὸ μηδὲν ἐπὶ περιγραφῆ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου (ἱερ.) <sup>8</sup> [ταμείου γενέσθαι. — τὰ Ῥωμ]αϊκά (ἰαῖκα). κόλ(λημα) β. (3rd h.) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων ἐπιδ(έδωκα). <sup>9</sup> (4th h. ?) — τ]ῷ δι' ἐναντίας μέρει δικάζοντί μοι ἔντυχε. Αὐρ. Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων may be identical with the individual of that name in 1209. 8 (A. D. 251-3) and 1276. 3 (A. D. 249).
- 1559.** 9.5 × 15 cm. A. D. 341. Beginning of a petition to the ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης, the chief of the police of the nome in the fourth century (cf. 991 and Jouguet,



P. Thead. 17. 15, n.) from a senator, complaining of his treatment by Besammon. A new praefect of Augustamnica (cf. 1428. int.), Fl. Julius Ammonius, occurs in l. 8. <sup>1</sup>Υπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου[υ] Προβ[ι]ου <sup>2</sup>τῶν λαμπροτάτων Ἀθῦρ ις. <sup>3</sup>Ἀῦρηλίῳ Διοσκόρῳ ἐπόπτη εἰρήνης Ὁξυρυγίτου <sup>4</sup>παρὰ Ἀῦρηλίῳ Ἀριστίωνος Πτολεμαίου ἄρξαντος βου- <sup>5</sup>λευτοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. οὐκ (οὐκ) ἄξια τετόλμη- <sup>6</sup>κεν οὔτε τῆς εὐνομίας τῶν εὐτ[υ]χε-  
στάτων τού- <sup>7</sup>των καιρῶν οὐδὲ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου <sup>8</sup>ἡγεμόνος Ἀγυοσταμνεΐκης Φλαοῦνιου Ἰουλίῳ (ἰουλ.) Ἀμμωνίου <sup>9</sup>Βησάμμων τις Ἀπολλῶτος ἀπὸ κόμης Πανευεὶ γ' (sc. πάγου?; cf. 1425. 4, n. and P. Flor. 71. 324, where πάγου is omitted after ζ') <sup>10</sup>παρ[α]. .]κα[.].με. .οι[. . . . .].]φήσεται κατὰ τῆν τῶν <sup>11</sup>[25 letters]ον γήδια παρὰ Ταμί- <sup>12</sup>[τος? 30 l.]r[. . .

(6) *Registration of Contracts.*

1560. 10 × 9 cm. A. D. 209. Fragment from the beginning of an application to a strategus (ll. 2-5), enclosing a letter (ll. 5-8) of the archidicastes Eudaemon also called Asclepiades, who was previously unknown, authorizing the μεταδόσις of a ὑπόμνημα, of which a copy is appended (ll. 8-12), together with a copy of the contract in question (ll. 13 sqq.). The whole document is similar to 1474; cf. 1472. int. The applicant, Aurelius Horion, who is also known from 705, bears an interesting list of Alexandrian titles; cf. 1412. 1-3, n. While the total length of the lacuna between the lines is clear from the certain restorations in ll. 4-9, the point of division is not quite certain; but probably the fragment belongs to a point near the ends of lines. <sup>1</sup>(in the upper margin) —]ωι (probably not στρατηγῶι). <sup>2</sup>[. . . . . στρατηγῶ δι' Ἀμ]μωνίου διαδόχου <sup>3</sup>[παρὰ . . . . . υρι. ου (cf. l. 13) Ἀῦρηλίῳ Ὁρείωνος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει]ει] γενομένου στρατηγοῦ <sup>4</sup>[τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀρχιδικασ]τοῦ διὰ Φιλωρωμ[α]ίου οἰκονόμου. οὗ ἐπόρισα ἐκ τοῦ καταλ[ο]- <sup>5</sup>[γείου χρηματισμοῦ ἐστιν ἀντί]γραφον. Εὐδαίμων [ὁ] καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης] ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικασ- <sup>6</sup>[τῆς στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρυγίτου χαί]ρειν. τοῦ δεδομένου ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον [με- <sup>7</sup>ταδοθήτω ὡς ὑπόκειται. ἔρρωσο.] (ἔτους) ις Α[ου]κίου Σεπτ[ε]μίου Σεουήρου καὶ Μάρκου Ἀρη- <sup>8</sup>[λίῳ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστῶν Φα]μενῶθ ιβ. Τέρας διὰ Διονυσ[ε]ου σ]εσημ[ε]ίωμαι). Εὐδαίμωνι [τ]ῶ [καὶ <sup>9</sup>[Ἀσκλη(πιάδη) ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ω]ν <sup>10</sup>[κριτηρίων παρὰ . . . υρι. ου Ἀῦρηλίῳ Ὁρείωνος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει γενομένου σ]τρα- <sup>11</sup>[τηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθην]ίας καὶ πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀρχιδικαστοῦ. τοῦ προε[ι]- <sup>12</sup>[μένου μοι . . . . . χειρογράφου κ]αὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸ ὑπογραφῆς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. . [ <sup>13</sup>[25 l.]υρι. φ Ἀῦρηλίῳ Ὁρείωνι καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει <sup>14</sup>[γενομένῳ στρατηγῶ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλ[ε]ως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων διὰ Πρύθεντος φ[ι]- <sup>15</sup>[λου χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ . . . . . υρ]ει[. ου Ἀῦρηλίῳ]υ [Ὁρί]ωνος κατελ[. . . ] Π[ρ]οῦθεντι [, with traces of 4 more lines.

**1561.** 16.9 × 17.3 cm. A. D. 268. Conclusion of a series of documents concerning the *δημοσίωσις* of a loan on mortgage of house-property, closely resembling **1200** and **1475**, but having the very cursive signature of an official in the office of the archidicastes at the end; cf. **1475**. int. Lines 3–6 correspond to **1475**. 33–5 *ὡμολόγησα*, followed by *ἔτους β Κλαυδίου Σεβαστοῦ Θώθ.* <sup>7</sup> *Ἀὐρήλιος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ἔσχ[ου] παρὰ Σαραπίωνος τὰς τοῦ δανίου* <sup>8</sup> *δραχμ[ά]ς πεντακισχειλίας διακοσίας π[έν]τη (l. π[έν]τε) [κα]ὶ ἑκοσι [τό]κων δραχμιαίων καὶ ἀπο-<sup>9</sup> δώσω ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ ὑπεθέμην τὴν προκειμένην μου οἰκίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς <sup>10</sup> προκειμένοις, καὶ εὐδοκῶ τῇ ἐσο[μένῃ] δημοσιώσει, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα. <sup>11</sup> [βο]υλ[ό]με[ος] δὲ ἀπὸ τ[ῆς] τρισσ[ῆς] ἀσφαλεῖ[α]ς μοναχῆν ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι κτλ., as in **1475**. 41–6. <sup>20</sup> (2nd h.) ὁ π[ρὸς] τῇ διαλ(ογῇ) τῆ[ς] π[ό]λ(εως)· διέ- γρη(ψεν) Ἀὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀλεξάνδρου χρη(ματίζοντος). <sup>21</sup> (ἔτους) β Κλαυδίου Σ[ε]βαστοῦ Θ[ώθ] α.*

**1562.** 22.7 × 8.8 cm. A. D. 276–82. Beginnings of lines of a contract by Demetrianus for the *ἐκμαρτύρησις* of a *διάλυσις* (l. 25) by Ammonius (? his brother; cf. ll. 3–4). The reign was that of Probus (cf. l. 7 with l. 27), and in spite of the great length of the lines (110–120 letters are lost at the ends; cf. ll. 1 and 26) much of the *ἐκμαρτύρησις* (ll. 1–5 and 29) can be restored from the nearly contemporary and completely preserved parallel, **1208**. On the nature and purpose of *ἐκμαρτύρησις* see **1208**. int., Jörs, *Zeitschr. f. Savignyst.* xxxiv. 107 sqq. The contract of *διάλυσις* (ll. 5–28) concerned house-property which was to have been conveyed (*καταγράφεσθαι*) to Demetrianus by Ammonius (l. 12); but before payment was made the agreement was interfered with by the claims of a third party (apparently the Eudaemon mentioned in ll. 9 and 18), who demanded from Ammonius the repayment of a debt concerning the Treasury (ll. 14–16). The matter was brought before a deputy-epistrategus (l. 17), an extract from the proceedings being quoted in ll. 18–19, which are indented, with the result that the original contract of *καταγραφή* deposited in the archives was annulled (ll. 19–21) and Ammonius undertook to waive any claims against the original purchaser. <sup>1</sup> [Ἔτους [Ἀυτοκράτορος] Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀὐρηλίου Πρόβου Περσικοῦ Μεγίστου Γοθικοῦ Μεγίστου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου (?) Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ (month and day) <sup>2</sup> [ἐ]ν τῇ λαμπ[ρᾷ] καὶ λαμπρο[τάτῃ] Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλει ἐπὶ ἀσχολουμένου ὠνῆν ἀγορανομίου καὶ μνημονίου. <sup>3</sup> [ὁ]μολογεῖ Ἀὐρήλιος Δημητριανὸς Πλ[ουτ] μητρὸς βουλευτῆς (or ἀπὸ) τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως ἐκμαρτυρεῖσθαι ἐν ἀγνῷ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆματι ἢν προέθετο αὐτῷ ὁ ἀδελφὸς? αὐ- <sup>4</sup> [το]ῦ Ἀμμώνιος βουλευτῆς τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἰδιόγραφον διάλυσιν γενομένην τῷ . ἔτει μηνί , ἢς μοναχὸν? ἀθηντικὸν ἐπήνεγκεν <sup>5</sup> ὁ ὁμολογῶν τῷ πρὸς τῷ μνημονίῳ συγκαταχωρισθόμενον εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τόπων βιβλιοφυλάκιον, ἢς ἐστὶν ἀντί-

γραφον. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος — <sup>6</sup> βουλευτῆς τῆς λαμπρῶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυχιῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ Δημητριανῶ Πλουτ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ — ἔτει τῆς <sup>7</sup> Αὐρηλιανοῦ βασιλείας Φαρμούθι ιθ[ — τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι <sup>8</sup> ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου) Νότου Δρόμου καὶ Μυρβαλῆανου τρίτου? μέρος — σὺν τοῖς χρη- <sup>9</sup> στηρίοις πᾶσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφό(δου) — Εὐδαίμονι? <sup>10</sup> τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ ἀπολελυμέ[ω — <sup>11</sup> πρὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀποτάκτου συστάσεως (cf. 1409. 15, n.) ο[ — <sup>12</sup> τὸν τῷ Δημητριανῶ καταγραφ[έντα — <sup>13</sup> αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δὲ ἀποδομ[ένου — <sup>14</sup> προάγει τὸ δάνιον τῆς ἀπολύσεως τῶ[ν — <sup>15</sup> ἐπὶ περιγραφῇ τοῦ ταμίου καὶ το[ — <sup>16</sup> μέχρι τῆς τῶν ὀφειλομένων [ἀποδόσεως — <sup>17</sup> διαδεχομένῳ τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν — <sup>18</sup> κέλευσον κληθῆναι Εὐδαίμου[α — διαδεχόμενος <sup>19</sup> τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν εἶπ(εν) μετ' ἄλ[λα? — ἄκρον? εἶναι <sup>20</sup> τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις καταγραφῆν — διὰ τὸ? <sup>21</sup> μὴ διὰ δίκης χωρῶν, καὶ ἔδοξεν ὡ[ς — ὁμολογῶ <sup>22</sup> μηδεμίαν ἔφοδον ἢ ἐπέλευσιν ἔχ[ειν πρὸς τὸν Δημητριανὸν — μηδὲ ἐγκαλῶν μηδὲ <sup>23</sup> ἐνκαλέσιν μηδὲ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μη[δὲ — μηδὲ <sup>24</sup> προσχρήσασθαι τὸν Ἀμμώνιον [ — διὰ τὸ ἄκρον εἶναι τὴν πρᾶ- <sup>25</sup> σιν. κύρια τὰ τῆς διαλύσεως γράμματα [ — γραφέντα, ἦνπερ ὅποταν αἰρῇ ἀνοίσεις διὰ δημοσίου οὐ προσδεόμενος ἑτέρας μου εὐδοκίσεως διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εὐ- <sup>26</sup> δοκεῖν τὸν Ἀμμώνιον τῇ ἐσομένῃ [δημοσιώσι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαι ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὠμολόγησα. (ἔτους). Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρύβου <sup>27</sup> Περσικοῦ Μεγίστου Γοθτικοῦ Μεγίστου[ν Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβεῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ — Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος εὐδοκῶ? <sup>28</sup> περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου τρίτου μέρους [οἰκίας καὶ ψιλοῦ τόπου? — <sup>29</sup> ἕως τούτου τὸ ἀντίγρα(φον). κυρία [ἢ ὁμολ(ογία), περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαι ἐπερωτηθεῖς) ὁ ὁμολ(ογῶν) ὠμολ(όγησεν) ἐν ἀγνῇ τῇ αὐτῇ.

(7) *Horoscopes and Prayers.*

- 1563.** 11.1 × 19.3 cm. A. D. 258. Horoscope of a person born on Thoth 27 (Sept. 24) of the 6th year of Valerian, Gallienus, and Saloninus, who is here called Augustus, as on coins (cf. 1273. 44, where he is called Caesar, apparently in the 7th year). The positions of the heavenly bodies are defined by degrees and minutes, as in 1476. On the importance of this astronomical date for the chronology of Gallienus see 1476. int. <sup>1</sup> ♂ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ κ[αὶ Γαλλιανοῦ] καὶ Κορηηλίου Σαλορείνου (first ο corr. from ω) <sup>2</sup> Σεβαστῶν Θῶθ κζ[ῶρα]. ἡμέρας. <sup>3</sup> Κρόνος Εἰχθύσι μοι(ρῶν) β, <sup>4</sup> Ἀρης Ζεὺς Καρκίνῳ μοι(ρ.) [.κ. [. .] ροι ([ἐ]κά[τε]ροι?) , <sup>5</sup> Ἀφροδείτη Λέοντι μοι(ρ.) ιθ, <sup>6</sup> ἥλ[ιο]ς Ζυγῶ μοι(ρ.) γ, <sup>7</sup> Ἐρμῆς Ζυ[γῶ] μοι(ρ.) γ, <sup>8</sup> σε[λ]ήνη [Αἰγός]κερῳ (cf. p. 232) μοι(ρ.) κ[. λ] (επτῶν) μγ, <sup>9</sup> ὠροσκόπος Αἰγόςκερῳ [μοι(ρ.) .] <sup>10</sup> Εὐροφᾶ . [ . ] (a proper name; cf. 1476. 13).
- 1564.** 9.3 × 13.8 cm. A. D. 283. Horoscope of a person born on Phamenoth 27 (March 23) of the 1st year of Carinus; cf. 1476. int. <sup>1</sup> Γένεσις Πιχμῆ <sup>2</sup> α (ἔτους) Καρίνου Φαμενώθ <sup>3</sup> κζ ὦρ(α) α ἡμέρας. <sup>4</sup> ὦρα (cf. 1565. 4 and p. 229) ἥλιος

Κριῶ, <sup>5</sup> Ἄρης Ταύρω, <sup>6</sup> σελήνη Ζεὺς Καρκίνω, <sup>7</sup> Κρόνος Αἰγόκερω, <sup>8</sup> Ἐρμῆς Ἄφροδι(ίτη) Ἰχθύσι (ἰχθ.). <sup>9</sup> διεντύχι.

**1565.** 9.2 × 8.9 cm. A. D. 293. Horoscope of a person born on the last day of the 9th year of Diocletian (Aug. 28); cf. 1476. int. <sup>1</sup> Θ (ἔτους) καὶ η (ἔτους) καὶ α (ἔτους) πληρουμ[έ- <sup>2</sup> νου ἐπαγομένων ε ὥρα α <sup>3</sup> ἡμέρα{ι}ς. <sup>4</sup> ὥρα (cf. 1564. 4) ἥλιος Παρθένω, <sup>5</sup> Ἄφροδιτή Ζυγῶ, <sup>6</sup> Ἄρης Σκορπίω, <sup>7</sup> σελήν[η] Τοξότη πολλά{ν}, <sup>8</sup> Κρόνος Δι[δ]ύμοις ἀρχάς (cf. P. Brit. Mus. 110. 4=i. 131), <sup>9</sup> Ζεὺς Διδύμοις, <sup>10</sup> Ἐρμῆς δι' ὄλου τοῦ ξ[ι]ο[ἀ]νον (an unprecedented use of this word for a sign of the Zodiac) Ἄε[ρ]- <sup>11</sup> [το]ς. Written across the fibres.

**1566.** 23.5 × 14.3 cm. Fourth century. A badly-spelled Gnostic invocation of the Deity under various names, several of which are non-Greek words, with an address on the verso; cf. B. G. U. 1026. xxiii. There are traces of an earlier document which has been washed out. <sup>1</sup> Χαίραι (l. χαίρε, as elsewhere) Ἥλιαι (l. Ἥλιε), <sup>2</sup> χαίραι Σαπιφινήπ, <sup>3</sup> χαίραι σωτήρ, <sup>4</sup> χαίραι Ἀβράσα{κ}ξ, <sup>5</sup> χαίραι Πετκηιερχενειν- (πετ' κήιερ.) <sup>6</sup> καμητρον (καμ'τ.), χαίραι Ἥλουαί, <sup>7</sup> χαίραι Ἐλουείν, χαίραι Πετα- <sup>8</sup> πωκασνευει. ξα . πετρεταετκηκειειχωδοιουριβι (-ταετ' κηρ- : -κηκει —ουβι in the margin), <sup>9</sup> Ὀπιανδὸς Ὀπιανδὸς βασι[λ]ίσκος, <sup>10</sup> Τι[[π]]αρκαμικειντεῦ, ἀνομασία (l. ὄνομ.; cf. 1478. 5 ἀνοματος). On the verso <sup>11</sup> ἀπ(όδος) εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

(8) *Orders and Demands for Payment.*

**1567.** 3.7 × 10.7 cm. Fourth century. A short order connected with the finding of an animal. <sup>1</sup> Εἰ Θεαῖς εὔρεν τοῦτο τὸ <sup>2</sup> τετράποδων (l. -δου), ἐνεργήτω (l. ἐνεργείτω). <sup>3</sup> τοῦτό μοι ἔξω (or ἐνεργήτω τοῦτό μοι ἔξω). The writing is across the fibres.

**1568.** 3.9 × 9.8 cm. A. D. 265. Order to a poultry-dealer (ἀρνιθάς, an apparently new word) to supply two hens (τοκάδες; cf. ἀρνιθῶν τελείων τοκάδων in 1207. 9) and twenty eggs for a birthday-festival. The 13th year in the date probably refers to Gallienus. <sup>1</sup> Θωνίω ἀρνιθῆ π(αρά) Σαραπίωνος, <sup>2</sup> δὸς εἰς γενέσια Παρά- ρους τοκάδες δύο, / β, <sup>3</sup> ᾧὰ εἴκοσι, / ᾧὰ κ. (ἔτους) ιγ Φαῶφι α. <sup>4</sup> (2nd h.) σεσημ(εἶωμαι). On the verso parts of 3 lines of an account.

**1569.** 8.6 × 7.9 cm. Third century. On the verso of the ends of 8 lines of a letter mentioning οἰκοδόμοι and a λογιστήριον, which was written in about the middle of the third century across the fibres. Order to an agent (πραγμα- τευτής: cf. 1514. 1) from a woman to pay a builder six jars of wine, dated on Choiak 21 (Dec. 17) of the 1st year of an unnamed reign, which was probably that of Macrianus and Quietus, Claudius, Aurelian, or Tacitus; cf. 1476. int. <sup>1</sup> Π(αρά) Αὐρηλίας Διογενίδος. <sup>2</sup> δὸς Διονυσίω οἰκοδόμω <sup>3</sup> ἀπ' (π' : π corr.) οἶας βούλεται ληνοῦ <sup>4</sup> οἶνον κεράμια [ἐ]ξ, <sup>5</sup> γ(ίεται) οἶνον κερ(άμ.) 5. <sup>6</sup> (ἔτους) α Χοΐακ α.

<sup>7</sup> (2nd h.) Ἄμμων[ί]φ *πραγμα(τευτή)*. <sup>8</sup> Α(ὕρηλιος) Ἱερακίων <sup>9</sup> ἔσημ(ειωσάμην). The writing is along the fibres.

**1570.** 6.8 × 9.2 cm. After 250. On the verso of part of a lease written in the 4th year of an unspecified reign, which was probably that of Valerian and Gallienus or Aurelian or Probus, to be published in Part xiii. Order for the payment of 480 drachmae to ἀπαιτηταὶ ταύρων (or Ταύρων as a place-name; for ἀπαιτηταὶ cf. 1419, 4, n.), written in the 4th year of probably the same reign as that mentioned on the recto. <sup>1</sup> Π(αρά) Διογενίδος Σαρα- <sup>2</sup> πάμμωνι χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> δὸς Ἴσιδώρῳ (ἴσιδ.) καὶ Ἡρακλέ- <sup>4</sup> ωνι ἀπειτηταῖς (l. ἀπαιτ.) ταύρων <sup>5</sup> ἀργυρείου δραχμὰς τε- <sup>6</sup> τρακοσίας ὀγδοήκο(ν)τα, <sup>7</sup> γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) νπ, λαβὼν <sup>8</sup> παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ σύ(μ)βολα. <sup>9</sup> (ἔτους) δ Χοΐακ κγ. <sup>10</sup> ἔρρωσο.

**1571.** 14.5 × 10.4 cm. A. D. 297. Order to a γεωργός to pay 23 artabae of wheat to a δεκάπρωτος (cf. 1410. int.), <sup>1</sup> Ἀπολλώνιος Ὀρπαήσι[[ς]] <sup>2</sup> γεωρ[γῶ] χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> παραμ[ε]ῖ]γρησον Δημη- <sup>4</sup> τρι[α]νῶ δεκαπρώτου (l. -τω) <sup>5</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτ.) <sup>6</sup> καὶ ε (ἔτ.) πυροῦ ἀρτά- <sup>7</sup> βασ εἴκοσι τρῖς, / (ἀρτ.) κγ. <sup>8</sup> (ἔτ.) ιγ (ἔτ.) καὶ ιβ (ἔτ.) καὶ ε (ἔτ.) <sup>9</sup> Μεσορῆ ις. <sup>10</sup> Ἀπολλώνιος [σ]εσημί- <sup>11</sup> ωμαι <sup>12</sup> (2nd h.) Ἀπολλώνιος Ἡρᾶ.

**1572.** 8.2 × 12.6 cm. A. D. 299. Order to supply a baker with 50 out of 100 artabae of τήλις ('fenugreek'; here employed for food, not unguents), countermanding a previous order for the employment of the artabae for military purposes. <sup>1</sup> Π(αρά) Σαραπίωνος Δημητριανῶ δεσπ(ότη?) χαίρειν. <sup>2</sup> δὸς Ἐποφροδίτῳ ἀρτοκόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολυθ(εισῶν) <sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸν τήλεως ἀρτάβας πεντή- <sup>4</sup> κουτα, / (ἀρτ.) ν, ἀκρουον ὄντος τοῦ προτέρου ἐπι- <sup>5</sup> στάλματος τοῦ εἰς ἀρτοποιείαν τῶν γεννεοτάτων (l. γενναιστ.) στρατιωτ(ῶν) (εἰς — στρ. above the line) δοθέντος σοι (σ corr. from π?) τῶν ἀρταβῶν ἑκατόν. <sup>6</sup> (ἔτους) ιε καὶ (ἔτ.) ιδ καὶ ζ (ἔτ.) Παχῶν ιη. <sup>7</sup> (2nd h.) Σαραπίων σεση(μείωμαι).

**1573.** 12.4 × 15.6 cm. Late third century. Three orders for payment addressed to the same person, the first two, which are in the same hand, being written on the verso of 1527 and another document joined to it, of which the writing is obliterated, while the third was written across the fibres on the recto of a piece of papyrus which was originally distinct. The first order (ll. 1–5) is from a ὑπηρετής and concerns the payment of 92 drachmae for τιμὴ οἴνου, apparently a tax of some kind, which was defined in an obscure marginal note. The second order (ll. 6–10), written on the same day, concerns a payment of 112 drachmae for τιμὴ οἴνου provided on account of the *annonā* of the epistrategus Demetrius, who is not otherwise known. The third order (ll. 11–16), which is from a gymnasiarch or ex-gymnasiarch and has lost a few letters at the beginnings of lines, concerns the payment of a number of items, of which the total was 768 drachmae, on account of a

monthly instalment of a tax; but the nature of it is not made clear. <sup>1</sup>Ἐρμίας ὑπ(ηρέτης) Σαραπίωνει χαίρειν. <sup>2</sup>δὸς κλη(ρο)νόμοις Σαραποδώρου <sup>3</sup>ὑπὲρ τιμῆς οἴνου δραχμὰς <sup>4</sup>ἔρενήκουτα (l. ἐνενή.) δύο (in the right-hand margin εἰς διαγρα(φήν) παραδ( ) Πεματαίου). <sup>5</sup>ἐπι . εϋ . . σον. Ἀθῦρ ια. <sup>6</sup>[Ἐρμί]ας ὑπ(ηρέτης) Σαραπίωνει χαίρειν. <sup>7</sup>[δὸς Πο]λυδεύκη (η corr. from ου) ὑπὲρ τιμῆς οἴνου οὐ παρέσχε <sup>8</sup>[ἰς λό]γον ἀννώνης τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγου (η corr. from ι) <sup>9</sup>[Δη]μητρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν δώδεκα, <sup>10</sup>γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) ριβ. Ἀθῦρ ια, δι(ὰ) χειρ(ιστοῦ). <sup>11</sup>(2nd h.) [Π(αρά) Σε?]ουήρου γυμνα(σι)αρχήσαντος Σαραπίωνι τῷ φιλιτάτῳ χαίρειν. <sup>12</sup>[δὸς . .]ου ὑπὲρ διαγρα(φή)ς μηνιαίου τοῦ ὄντος μην(ὸς) Παχῶν ὑπὲρ μὲν [. .], <sup>13</sup>[. . . . .]. δι(ὰ) Ἰσιδώρου (ἰσιδ.) βοηθ(οῦ) (δρ.) τλβ, μερ(ισμοῦ) Ζωίλου (ζωῖλ.) δι(ὰ) Ὠρίωνος <sup>14</sup>[(δρ.) . ., δι(ὰ) Νι?]γνάρου (δρ.) τ, ἀπηλ(ιώ)του τοπ(αρχί)ας δι(ὰ) Λουκίου (δρ.) μ, μέσ(ης) τοπ(αρχί)ας δ[ι(ὰ)] . . . τρυ (δρ.) ., <sup>15</sup>[δι(ὰ) . .]κιος (δρ.) ιβ, / τὸ π(ᾶν) τῆς διαγρα(φή)ς (δρ.) ψξη. <sup>16</sup>[Σεουήρο]ς σεση(μείω)μαι.

**1574.** 7.4 × 13.6 cm. A. D. 324. On the verso of the last four lines of an early fourth-century letter. Order to give a jar of wine to the writer's brothers, dated in the 18th year (of Constantine) which = the 16th (of Licinius) and the 8th (of the Caesars Crispus, Constantine, and Licinius), Tubi 26, i. e. Jan. 22, 324, a year later than 1139. recto; cf. 1430. 1, n. <sup>1</sup>Ἀμμώνιος Κάστορι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. <sup>2</sup>δὸς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς οἴνου κνίδ(ιου) ἔν. <sup>3</sup>ἔρρωσθαί σε εὔχομαι. <sup>4</sup>(ἔτους) ιη (ἔτ.) ις (ἔτ.) η (ἔτ.) Τῦβι κς. P. S. I. 205. 5 (ἔτους) ια (ἔτ.) καὶ ἐνάτου καὶ α (ἔτ.), which the editors assign to 294-5, supposing two errors in the figures, is dated like 1574, and refers to 316-17; cf. 1410. 5, n.

**1575.** 5.9 × 14 cm. A. D. 339?. On the verso of 1589. Order to the writer's sister to give their brother 1 artaba of barley, dated by three different eras of Oxyrhynchus, the first being probably that of A. D. 307, the second being lost, the third apparently that of 334 (α might be read for ε in the third figure); cf. 1431. 5, n. <sup>1</sup>Π(αρά) Σαραπίωνος Σαραπίαδι ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν. <sup>2</sup>δὸς Διονυσίῳ ἀδελφῷ ἀφ' ὧν ἔχεις <sup>3</sup>κριθῆς ἀρτάβην μίαν, γ(ίνεται) (ἀρτ.) α. (2nd h.) ἔση(μειωσάμην). <sup>4</sup>(1st h.) (ἔτους) λβ κ[αὶ ἰδ?] καὶ ε Παῦνι α.

**1576.** 5.8 × 10.6 cm. Third century, probably before A. D. 250, written across the fibres in the 4th year of an unnamed Emperor. Order to allow the bearer to taste some wine. <sup>1</sup>Ὠρίων Δίῳ χαίρειν. <sup>2</sup>τῶι ἀναδιδόντι σοι ταυτά <sup>3</sup>μου τὰ γράμματα ποί- <sup>4</sup>ησον αὐτὸν γεύσασθαι <sup>5</sup>τοῦ οἴνου. (ἔτους) δ Θῶθ ιβ.

**1577.** 17.3 × 9.1 cm. Third century. Demand addressed to Heraclides, overseer of an estate, by the φροντιστής of Stephanitis (a village; cf. 1578. 2 and 998 Στεφανίωνος), to send money in order to pay for repairs of dykes, price of reeds, and the writer's salary, making 880 drachmae in all, from which were to be deducted (ἀντιλημμάτισον: cf. 1578. 11 ἀντελλόγησον) 18 drachmae, the price of two jars of wine sold by the φροντιστής. Written in the 2nd year

of an unnamed Emperor, the reign being very likely the same as that in 1578 (4th year), which was found in the same mound and may refer to the same estates. <sup>1</sup> Αὐρη(λίω) Ἡρακλείδῃ ἐπιτρόπ(ω) <sup>2</sup> π(αρά) Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἀρθωνίου φροντιστ(οῦ) Στεφα- <sup>3</sup> νεΐτιδος. αἰτοῦμαι ἐπισταλῆναι <sup>4</sup> εἰς χωφόριον κτήματ(ος) Στεφανείτιδ(ος) <sup>5</sup> τοῦ καθήκ(οντος) α (ἔτους) μέρους (δραχμᾶς) υ, <sup>6</sup> καὶ εἰς τιμὴν καλάμου τούτ[ο]υ (τοῦ) μέρους ὁ(μοίως) <sup>7</sup> ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) (δρ.) τ, κἀμοὶ ὑ[π]ἔρ <sup>8</sup> ὀψωνίων τῶν ἀπὸ Χοιάκ ἕως <sup>9</sup> Μεχεῖρ μηνῶν γ (δρ.) ρπ. <sup>10</sup> γ(ίνονται) τῆς αἰτήσεως (δρ.) ωπ. <sup>11</sup> ἐξ ὧν ἀντιλημμάτισον <sup>12</sup> ὑπὲρ τιμῆς οἴνου κεραμ(ίων) β ἐκά[στ]ου <sup>13</sup> (δρ.) θ (ὀβολοῦ) (δρ.) ιη (δυοβολούς). <sup>14</sup> (ἔτους) β Μεχεῖρ ε. <sup>15</sup> (2nd h.) Αὐρήλιος Ἀρθῶνις ἐπιδέδωκα. <sup>16</sup> (3rd h.) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἡρακλείδης ἐσημ[ι]- <sup>17</sup> σάμην.

- 1578.** 17.6 × 18.3 cm. Third century. Three demands, which were originally separate, similar to 1577, addressed in successive months to Sarapammon, overseer of the estates of the heirs of Claudia Isidora, by a φροντιστής of Tholthis in the Thmoisepho toparchy. Col. i has only a few letters from the ends of lines. In Cols. ii-iii money was required for the writer's salary, grass-seed, seed-corn, expenses, and unspecified ἔργα. A deduction for wine sold at the same rate as that in 1577. 11 occurs in l. 11. All three columns contain the signature of Sarapammon authorizing the payment (cf. 1577. 16), and in Col. iii a different person has added a note ordering the payment of an instalment of a sum due to Didymianus for an ἐπιθήκη (note of credit; cf. 1055. 6, B. G. U. 1064. 11). Written in the 4th year of an unnamed Emperor; cf. 1577. Col. ii: <sup>1</sup> Αὐρ(ηλίω) Σαραπάμμωνι ἐπιτρόπ(ω) κλ(ηρονόμων) Κλ(αυδίας) Ἰσιδώ[ρ]ας (ἰσιδ.) <sup>2</sup> παρὰ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀρείου φροντιστοῦ Θάλλθ(εως) [Θμοισ(εφώ). <sup>3</sup> αἰτ[ο]ῦμαι ἐπισταλῆναι ἰς μὲν ὀψ[ώ]νια <sup>4</sup> τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Ἀθῦρ (δρ.) ρκς, <sup>5</sup> καὶ ἰς (ἰς) συνωνῆν χορτοσπέρμου <sup>6</sup> καὶ κατασπορὰν σειτικ(ῶν) ἑδαφῶν καὶ <sup>7</sup> κλεισμοῦ οἴνου κυριακοῦ (δρ.) τμα, <sup>8</sup> καὶ τὰς ἀναλωθείσας ὑπ' (ὑπ) ἐμοῦ ἐν ὑπερ- <sup>9</sup> δαπανήματι διὰ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Φαῶφι (δρ.) νγ. <sup>10</sup> / αἰ τῆς αἰτήσεως (δρ.) φκ. [Ι. .] <sup>11</sup> καὶ ἀντελλόγησον (ου above αι) ὑπὲρ (ὑπ.) τειμ(ῆς) κερα(μίων) γ <sup>12</sup> κτήμ(ατος) Α(ὐρηλίας) Ἀθηναΐδος (αθηναΐδ.) γενήμ(ατος) β (ἔτους) <sup>13</sup> ὡς τοῦ α (δρ.) θ (ὀβολοῦ) (δρ.) κς (τριώβ.). <sup>14</sup> (ἔτους) δ Ἀθῦρ κς. (2nd h.) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀρείος ἐπιδέδωκα. <sup>15</sup> (3rd h.) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σαραπάμμων ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος ἐσημ[ι]- <sup>16</sup> σάμην τὰς τῆς αἰτήσεως δραχμᾶς <sup>17</sup> (δρ.) φκ, ἐν αἰς ἀντιλημματιζό- <sup>18</sup> μенаι (δρ.) κς (τριώβ.), περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλα Ἀ- <sup>19</sup> σκληπιάδῃ χειριστῇ. Col. iii. 20-32 correspond to ii. 1-19, 128 dr. being demanded for ὀψῶνια of Choiak, and 40 dr. εἰς τὰ ἐπέρχομενα ἔργα. The date is Choiak 20 of the 4th year. <sup>33</sup> (4th h.) ἐξοδ(ίασον) Διδυμιανῶ τῶ καὶ Φιλαν- <sup>34</sup> τινῶ εἰς ἣν παρεκομίσ(ατο) <sup>35</sup> ἐπιθήκην ἀργυ(ρίου) (ταλάντων) β μεθ' ὃ <sup>36</sup> ἔσχευ (τάλ.) α ἄλ(λας) κατὰ μ(έρος) ἐπὶ λόγου (δρ.) Β. On the verso is an account, to be published in Part xiii.

(9) *Private Correspondence.*

- 1579.** 2.8 × 5.4 cm. Third century. Invitation to a marriage-feast, similar to 1580, &c. ; cf. 1484-7. int. <sup>1</sup> Καλεῖ σε Θερμοῦθις δ[ει- <sup>2</sup> πηῖσαι εἰς γάμους τ[ῆς <sup>3</sup> θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ οἰ- <sup>4</sup> κία αὐτῆς αὔριον [ῆτις <sup>5</sup> ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ ὤρ(as) [. Written across the fibres.
- 1580.** 2.6 × 6.4 cm. Third century. Another invitation to a marriage-feast ; cf. 1484-7. int. <sup>1</sup> Καλεῖσαι (l. σε) Θέων εἰς [γ]άμους <sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ αὔριον <sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ ὤρ(as) η.
- 1581.** 13.4 × 10.6 cm. Second century. A letter, not quite complete at the end, from a woman to her 'brother' (the use of such terms is often conventional ; cf. 1296. 15, n.), urging him to make Sarapion (a son or younger brother ?) work (cf. 1493. 11-14), and promising to send some bread, besides other messages. <sup>1</sup> Ἀ[πία Ζωίλωι τ]ῶι <sup>2</sup> ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> πρὸ πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγι- <sup>4</sup> αίνειν. ἐρωτηθεῖς, ἀδελφέ, <sup>5</sup> Σαραπίωνα μὴ ἀφῆς ἀργεῖν <sup>6</sup> καὶ ῥέμβεσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἐργασί- (corr. from το . . .) <sup>7</sup> αν αὐτὸν βάλει. ἐγὼ μὲν <sup>8</sup> τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπόησα. πέμψω δέ <sup>9</sup> σοι διὰ Πτολεμ[αίου ὄτα]ν αὐτὸς ὁ <sup>10</sup> Πτολεμαῖος λάβ[η]. ἄσ- πασα]ι Μο- <sup>11</sup> δεστῶν καὶ τὸν νιόν. [παρ]αδώσεις <sup>12</sup> δὲ καὶ τῷ Μοδεστῇ [ἀφ'] ὧν ἐὰν <sup>13</sup> κ[ο]μισθῇ σοι. διὰ π[αντ]ῶς ἔχ[ε] <sup>14</sup> τ[ὸ]ν Σαραπίωνα ἐπ[ι]μ[ε]λῶς. <sup>15</sup> ἄ[σπ]ασαι καὶ Ἐρμιφ[υνη] καὶ Ἡρα- <sup>16</sup> κ[λ]εῖδ]ην καὶ τὸν [νιὸ]ν αὐτοῦ. <sup>17</sup> ἀ[σπά]ζεται σε καὶ Σ[αρα]- πίωνα <sup>18</sup> [. . . . .]ις καὶ ὁ [πατῆ]ρ μου . . . On the verso <sup>19</sup> π(αρά) Ἀπίας Ζωίλωι [ἀδελφῶι ?
- 1582.** 14.5 × 12.7 cm. Second century. Conclusion of a letter from a man to his 'brother', written across the fibres, expressing joy at the recovery of a friend from fever, &c. <sup>1</sup> ἄμα τῷ Σερῆνον τὸν χρυσοχοῦν <sup>2</sup> τὸν φίλον ἦκειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀκού- <sup>3</sup> [σας . . .] . . . α τὰ περὶ σὲ . . . [ι]δία <sup>4</sup> [. . . ἡ]μῆρα τῶν γυμνασιάρ- <sup>5</sup> χων ἔτοιμος ἦμην ἐλθεῖν <sup>6</sup> πρὸς σὲ καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν σ[οι]. <sup>7</sup> θεῶν δὲ διδόντων καλῶς <sup>8</sup> ἔξεις. λέγει γὰρ Σερῆνος ὁ φίλος <sup>9</sup> ὅτι ἀπύρετός ἐστιν. τοῦτο δὲ <sup>10</sup> προσδοκία ἀγαθῆ. ἀσπάζεται <sup>11</sup> σε Σαραπίων ὁ υἱός μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ <sup>12</sup> αὐτοῦ. τὰ παιδιά σου ἔρρωται. <sup>13</sup> ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχο(μαι), ἀδελ(φέ). <sup>14</sup> Ἐπεῖφ β. On the verso <sup>15</sup> Σαραπίωνι ἀδελ(φῶ) ἀπὸ Ἀβασκ(άντου).
- 1583.** 9.4 × 11.8 cm. Second century. A letter to a friend, asking for various articles of clothing to be sent ; cf. 1584. <sup>1</sup> Διογένης Διοσκορᾶτ[ι] τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ <sup>2</sup> χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑ(γ)ιαίνειν (νῖαιν.) <sup>4</sup> καὶ τὸ προ[σ]κ[υ]νήμα σ[ο]υ ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ <sup>5</sup> κυρίῳ Σ[α]ρ[ά]πιδι. γενοῦ παρὰ Ἰσιδωρον <sup>6</sup> χάριν τοῦ [φαι]νόλου καὶ τοῦ ἐπικαρσίου (cf. 921. 14, n., B. G. U. 816. 19) <sup>7</sup> καὶ ἀπνε[ε]γον παρὰ Καλύκην, καὶ <sup>8</sup> π[ε]ψ[υ]ατε ἡμῖν ἄς αἰᾶν (l. ἐὰν) ἦς εἰληφῶς <sup>9</sup> παρὰ Φαριτῶν τὴν δερ[μ]ατικὴν (l. δαλματικὴν) καὶ αὐ- <sup>10</sup> τὸ πέμψον καὶ τὸν κύαθον. γράψον <sup>11</sup> μοι



περὶ τῶν ὄντων {ὄντων} καὶ τὰ γενό-<sup>12</sup>μενα. ἄσπασε (l. -σαι) Εὐπλία[ν.] ἐρ(ρ)ῶσθαι σ' {ύμᾱς} <sup>13</sup>εὔχομαι. On the verso <sup>14</sup>ἀπόδος Διοσκ[ο]ράτι.

**1584.** 20.8 × 7.8 cm. Second century. A letter from Theon to his two 'sisters' (cf. *θυγάτηρ ὑμῶν* in l. 31), announcing the dispatch of various articles of clothing, &c. 2-7 letters are lost at the ends of lines. <sup>1</sup>Θέων Διογενίδι ἰδ[ίαις <sup>2</sup>ἀδελφαῖς χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup>ὦν ἐν τῇ Συναῶ (in the western toparchy; cf. 1285. 78) πρὸ π[άντων <sup>4</sup>γράφω ἀσπασόμενος [τὰ <sup>5</sup>τέκνα ὑμῶν. τῇ Ἐπ[εο-? <sup>6</sup>κλείᾳ ἐνετειλάμην <sup>7</sup>περὶ τῶν φαινολίων [καὶ διὰ <sup>8</sup>ἐπιστολῆς ἐντέλλομαι <sup>9</sup>εἰ (l. ἦ) ἐμοὶ εἰ (l. ἦ) Πάννῳ. περὶ[- <sup>10</sup>γνωτε δέ μοι μὴ γρ[ά]- <sup>11</sup>ψαντι ὑμεῖν, τὰ γὰρ [. . . ἀ- <sup>12</sup>γνωεῖτε. λέγει πέμψαι <sup>13</sup>σοι κίστην ἐν ἣ κίθων? διὰ <sup>14</sup>Πισάτος ἀδελφοῦ Γρα[. . . <sup>15</sup>καὶ διὰ Πετεχώντο[ς σφν- <sup>16</sup>ρίδαν ἔχον (l. ἔχουσαν) [. ?] κρονοδ[ίον? <sup>17</sup>καὶ διὰ Πετεχώντο[ς <sup>18</sup>παλλίον ζύρνιλον, φαινο- <sup>19</sup>λίον ζε(ύγη) β. γυναικί] δὲ ἐ- <sup>20</sup>δωκα (δραχμὰς) ε. ἐκομισάμην <sup>21</sup>καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σφν[ρίδαν, <sup>22</sup>ἐν κύθρα μέτρον, κρ[ί] <sup>23</sup>κρομύων χοίρικας [, διὰ <sup>24</sup>Ξένου (δρ.) η. ἄσπασαι Διο[γενί- <sup>25</sup>δα καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. <sup>26</sup>οὐκ ἐδήλω[σ]άς μοι περὶ . . . <sup>27</sup>ου ἐλαίου εἰ ἐ]λαβες [διὰ <sup>28</sup>Μυσθαράτος, ἐπεὶ εἶσ[δοτε? <sup>29</sup>οὖν στατήρα ὥστε μοι καὶ <sup>30</sup>δηλῶται (l. δηλοῦτέ) μοι. ἀ(σ)πάξεται [ύμᾱς <sup>31</sup>(in the left-hand margin) ἢ θ[υ]γάτηρ Ἄξ . . . ἢ θυγάτηρ ὑμῶν. [ἐρρ]ωσθε. Θῶθ ιδ. ἄσπασαι Κεφαλίωνα. On the verso <sup>32</sup>(2nd h. ?) ἀπὸ Πάννου (cf. l. 9) Ἐπεροκλείᾳ (cf. l. 5) τῇ ἀδελφῇ.

**1585.** 10.3 × 5 cm. End of the second or early third century. On the verso of a fragment of a taxing-list, containing parts of 10 lines and apparently mentioning the 30th year (sc. of Commodus, i.e. A.D. 189-90). An incomplete letter from Severus to Euploüs, inquiring about the vintage and proposing to send a boat for the wine. <sup>1</sup>[Π(αρά)] Σεουήρου Εὐπλόφ. <sup>2</sup>μ[ε]γ[άλως] . αμειν (the first letter corrected or deleted) εἴχατε πέμψαι μοι φάσιν <sup>3</sup>περὶ τοῦ κτήματος, πότερον ἐτρογήσατε ἢ οὐ, <sup>4</sup>ἵνα (ἵνα, as in l. 6) αὐτάρκες πλοῖον τ[ῶν] ὄλων παραλαβῶν <sup>5</sup>πέμψω. εἰ οὖν ἐτρο(υγ)ήσατε, ἀνελθε φέρων μοι <sup>6</sup>τὴν φάσιν, ἵνα ἐξαυτῆς καὶ τὸ π[λο]ῖον ἐξέλ- <sup>7</sup>[θη] εὔρον γάρ. ὑπέρ (ὑπ.) τοῦ οὖν μ[η]δαμῶ]ς ἀργηθῆ- <sup>8</sup>[ναι] αὐτὸ εὐθέως ἀνελθε δι[ ] I I letters <sup>9</sup>[. . . .]. ω παραμ[ε]ν[αι] . . .

**1586.** 12.5 × 9.5 cm. Early third century. A letter from a man to his 'sister', consisting of the conventional good wishes and salutations. A midwife (*ιατρίνη*) is mentioned in l. 12. <sup>1</sup>Ἀρποκρατίων Ἡραίδι τῇ <sup>2</sup>ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup>πρὸ τῶν ὄλων εὔχομαί <sup>4</sup>σε ἰγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν τέ- <sup>5</sup>κνων σου καὶ τῶν σῶν πάν- <sup>6</sup>των. γράφω δέ σοι καὶ ἐγὼ <sup>7</sup>ἐρρωμένος καὶ εὐχόμενός <sup>8</sup>σοι τὰ κάλλιστα. ἄσπασαι Ἄ- <sup>9</sup>πολλώνιον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ <sup>10</sup>Πλουτογένειαν καὶ Εὐτυχίαν <sup>11</sup>καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν θυ- <sup>12</sup>γατέρα. ἢ ἱατρίνη (ἱατρ.) σε ἀσπάξε- <sup>13</sup>ται καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἦρων <sup>14</sup>καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ πάντες σε προσαγο- <sup>15</sup>ρεύουσιν. ἐρρῶσθ(αι) εὔχομ(αι) [π]αιοικεῖ. On the verso <sup>16</sup>Αὐρηλία [Ἡραίδι] π(αρά) ἀδελ(φου) Ἀρποκρατίωνος.

- 1587.** 20.8 x 8.7 cm. Late third century. A letter chiefly concerning various documents. A few lines at the end and probably 15–19 letters at the beginning of each line (cf. ll. 5 and 19) are missing. <sup>1</sup>Χαίροις (or Χαίρε), κύριέ μου (?) Σαραπίων. Ἀμμωνίος σε <sup>2</sup>[προσαγορεύω (cf. 1492, 3, n.).] <sup>3</sup>—αντων ἀκρειβῶς κατέχω (or κατεχώ[ρισα]) <sup>4</sup>[τὸ βιβλίδιον ἐπ]εσκεμμ[έ]νον (cf. 1451. 3) ἐκ τῆς βιβλιο- <sup>5</sup>[θήκης τῶν ἐγκτήσεων (or δημοσίων λόγ)ων]. Ἡρακ[λείδης ἐπέστειλέ μοι <sup>6</sup>—]ἔδωκα τῷ ἐπιστολαφόρῳ τὰς <sup>7</sup>—] πολλῶν ἴνα (ἴνα) ἄρης οὐς προεχρή- <sup>8</sup>[σω? — μετ]άλημψιν δοίης. περὶ τῶν <sup>9</sup>— τοῦ ὑπολόγου (ὑπ.) μέχρη σήμερον <sup>10</sup>— οὕτω? ] γὰρ τάχα δυνηθῶμεν αἶρε- <sup>11</sup>—] ἐπιδίδωμι ὃ ἔδωκέ μοι βιβλί- <sup>12</sup>[διον—] αὐτῷ τ[ὴν δ]ιαγραφὴν. τὸ δὲ <sup>13</sup>—]ηθήσεται ἐπεὶ θορυβούμεθα <sup>14</sup>— τοῦ Κτησιδήμου ἀκρειβῶς παρὰ <sup>15</sup>—] ἐὰν δὲ μάθηται (l. -ητέ) αὐτὸν καταλεί- <sup>16</sup>[ψαντα— ἐπι]στείλατέ μοι ἴν' (ἴν) εἰδῶ. οὕτω <sup>17</sup>—]. οὖως περὶ τοῦ κατὰ σὲ ὅτι δι- <sup>18</sup>—] ἐκ τῆς ἐπεσκεμμένης ἐκ <sup>19</sup>[τῆς βιβλιοθήκης ]ον θαρρείτω ὅτι οὐκ ἀμελῶ <sup>20</sup>—]οι συστατικῶν γραμμάτων <sup>21</sup>— Π[οσιδώνιος ἀντιλαμβάνε- <sup>22</sup>[ται—]φοβος ὃ ἠγοούμενος αὐτοῦ <sup>23</sup>— π]ρὸς τὸν Ποσιδώνιον καὶ <sup>24</sup>— ἄσ]πασαι τὸν κύριόν μου Κυ- . . .
- 1588.** 12.7 x 11.3 cm. Early fourth century. A letter, incomplete at the end, from Dorotheus to his father about demands for money which were being made by creditors, assisted by a soldier in attendance upon the epistrategus, this being one of the latest mentions of that official. The reign is not earlier than that of Diocletian, as is indicated both by the handwriting and the mention of a talent in l. 11. <sup>1</sup>Δωρόθεος Ἀφυγχίω <sup>2</sup>τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup>ἡ φιλικὴ σχέσις πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὸν υἱόν <sup>4</sup>σου ἐλπίζ[ε]ι μεγάλη[ν] ἔχθραν (ν of both words above the line) γε- (over an erasure) <sup>5</sup>νέσθαι. ἔως γὰρ κἀγ[ὼ] οὐκ (οὐκ', as in l. 10) ἠνωχλοῦ- (ω above ο deleted) <sup>6</sup>μην ὑφ' ὧν ἐζήληφας δι' ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀργύρια, <sup>7</sup>περὶ ὧν πολλάκις σοι ἀπαντήσας <sup>8</sup>ὠμίλισα (l. ὠμίλησα), ἦ . . . πόμην σου (σον'). νῦν δὲ <sup>9</sup>ὄχληθεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν μετὰ καὶ στρατιῶ- <sup>10</sup>του τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου οὐκ ἐξευρίσκω <sup>11</sup>τι ἄλλο ποιεῖν περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, λέγω τα- <sup>12</sup>λάντου ἐνός, (ταλ.) α, ἢ δανείσασθαι <sup>13</sup>. . . [.]. ἦ [.]. οἶνος τότε μηδὲ στατήρα <sup>14</sup>[15 letters]σμου ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤκειν (ηκεῖ) <sup>15</sup>[20 l.] . . . θεὸς χάρις αὐτῷ <sup>16</sup>[26 l.]νον . . .
- 1589.** 5.9 x 14 cm. Early fourth century, 1575, which was apparently written in A.D. 339, being on the verso. A letter in two short columns, of which the first has only a few letters from the ends of lines. In Col. ii the writer is concerned with an ἀπογραφή and speaks of coming 'to Egypt', but concludes with directions for sending some wine, so that probably he was at Alexandria, which is distinguished from Egypt in e. g. the praefect's titles. An unknown word μοσθίον, a diminutive of μοῦστος, meaning apparently a jar or some other measure of wine, occurs in l. 16. Col. i: <sup>1</sup>Χαίρειν. <sup>9</sup>ἔγραψ[ά] σοι ὡς Col. ii. <sup>10</sup>ἔγραψ[ά]ς μοι. γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι ἐξ ἐμοῦ <sup>11</sup>ἡ ἀπογραφή σου ἐγένετο, προτρέψας αὐ- <sup>12</sup>τὸν οὕτως ἀπογράψασθαι ἴν(α) κἀγὼ δυ- <sup>13</sup>νηθῶ τὰ ἴσα (ἴσα)

ἀπογράψασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ <sup>14</sup> τὸ πρὸς ?] μέρος χωρίου σου ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ <sup>15</sup> Αἰγύπτῳ. πᾶν ποιήσον ἐπὶ ἔρχομε (l. -μαι) <sup>16</sup> εἰς Αἴγυπτον, κἂν μωσθίου οἴνου μοι φο- <sup>17</sup> λέτρισον (φορέτ.), καὶ γράψον μοι τί δῶ αὐτῷ <sup>18</sup> φόλετρον (l. φορ.). ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσης. ἔρρω- <sup>19</sup> σό μοι, κύριε. The writing is across the fibres.

**1590.** 11.6 × 13.5 cm. Fourth century. Conclusion of a letter of Demetrianus, with two postscripts, one complaining that a certain Syrus had broken faith with him about the payment of a debt, which Demetrianus wished to be collected, the second asking that pressure should be brought to bear upon two ὑδροπάροχοι (cf. 729. 16, Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv. 120) to lease the right of working the vineyard which they watered. <sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἀγορευτοῦ εὐθέως. ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς <sup>2</sup> εὐχομαι. <sup>3</sup> Σύρος [δ]᾽ ὁ πρᾶτης οὐδεμίαν δεξιάν <sup>4</sup> ἔχει. εἴπα[τ]ε αὐτῷ περὶ ὧν ὀφείλει. δότω <sup>5</sup> οὖν ὡς ἄλλοτε ἔγραψα μετὰ συνπεριφορᾶς ('indulgence'). <sup>6</sup> Φαῶφις. <sup>7</sup> ἔαν ἰ[σ]χύσητε (ἰ[σ]χ.) πείσαι Ἀφῦγχιν καὶ τὸν <sup>8</sup> κοινωνὸν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑδροπαρόχ[ους] (ὑδρ.) τοῦ <sup>9</sup> Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀμπελουργικ[ῶ]ν μι- <sup>10</sup> σ[θ]ω]τὰς γενέσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδροπαρο- (ὑδρ.) <sup>11</sup> χισμῶν ποιούσι, ἐρχόμενοι εἴπα[τ]ε, <sup>12</sup> ἐ[πεὶ ἀν]άγκη μὲν ὑμῖν (ὑμ.) ἀργυρίου. καὶ θελή- <sup>13</sup> σ[ατε] μῆ[. . .]. In the left-hand margin <sup>14</sup> . . . οὐ σου ὥστε μεταβληθῆναι Νείλω τῷ [ On the verso <sup>15</sup> ] Δημητριάδος.

**1591.** 9.7 × 6.8 cm. Fourth century. Beginning of a letter from a father to his son, telling him not to make cakes (ψωμία: cf. 1489. 5). <sup>1</sup> Κυρίῳ μου νίῳ (νῦω) Ἀνεικήτῳ <sup>2</sup> Δημήτριος χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> πᾶν ποιήσον βοήθ(η)σον <sup>4</sup> μὴ ποιήσης τὰ ψωμία. <sup>5</sup> ἐπ(ε)ὶ γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν <sup>6</sup> ὧδε πεποιημένα <sup>7</sup> ψωμία, τοῖνυν <sup>8</sup> οὖν μὴ ἀμελήσης <sup>9</sup> καὶ ποιήσης αὐτά. <sup>10</sup> βοήθησον οὖν τύνυν (l. τοῖνυν) ἐξηλθε (l. ἔξελθε) πρὸς ἡμᾶς, with traces of another line. On the verso is an account in 4 lines.

**1592.** 5 × 10.3 cm. Late third or early fourth century. Fragment of an early Christian letter from a woman to her 'father', written in small uncials with contractions of κύριος and πατήρ (different in ll. 3 and 5); cf. 1493. int. The phraseology in l. 4 recalls the Psalms. <sup>1</sup> χαί[ρειν]. αἰδε- (l. ἐδε-) <sup>2</sup> ξά[μ]ην σου τὰ γράμμα- <sup>3</sup> τα, κ(ύρι)έ μου π(άτε)ρ, καὶ πάνυ ἐ- <sup>4</sup> μεγαλύνθην καὶ ἠγαλλεία- <sup>5</sup> σα ὅτι τοιοῦτός μου π(ατ)ήρ <sup>6</sup> τὴν μνήμην ποιεῖται. αὐτὰ <sup>7</sup> γὰρ δεξα- μένη τὸ ἱερόν (ἱερ.; cf. 1492. 1) σου <sup>8</sup> [ 11 letters προσεκ]ύνησα . . .

**1593.** 21 × 14 cm. Fourth century. A letter to Ischyron, which has lost the beginning and consists mainly of entreaties to write. <sup>1</sup> [. . . . .]ε [ 25 letters <sup>2</sup> [εὐθυ]μοῦντί σοι (l. σοι) καὶ εὐδαιμονοῦντι διὰ π[αν]τός <sup>3</sup> [. . . . .] δοθῆνέ (l. -ναί) σοι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα. <sup>4</sup> [. . . .]ζω σοι (l. σε), ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἔαν μὴ μίαν (l. ἐν) ἐπιστόλιν <sup>5</sup> οὐκ [ε]δήλωσάς μοι κἂν περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας <sup>6</sup> ὑμῶν (ὑμ.) καὶ περὶ ὄ{ι}οιδες οὐδεμίαν ὑπόμνησιν (ὑπ.) <sup>7</sup> μοι ἐδήλωσας. κἂν νῦν, ἀδελφέ, πάντα <sup>8</sup> ὑπερθέμενος ἀντίγραφόν μοι πρῶτ[ο]ν <sup>9</sup> μὲν περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας σου. πάλαι μὲν καὶ σύ, <sup>10</sup> ἀδελφέ, ἤκουσας ὅτι ἀπὸ μηνὸς Φαμενώθ <sup>11</sup> ἕως μηνὸς Παῦνι (παῦν.) οὐδεμίαν (sc. ἡμέραν) εὐθύμησα, <sup>12</sup> κ[α]ὶ θεῶ χάρις, μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης {οὖν}, ἀδελφέ, <sup>13</sup> τοῦ σοι (l. σε)

ἀντιγράψε (l. -ψαι) μοι πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τῆς <sup>14</sup> ὀλοκληρίας σου, δεύτερον (l. -ρον) καὶ περὶ ὧν βούλης <sup>15</sup> παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀντίγραφόν μοι, ἐμοῦ ἡδέως ἔχοντι (l. -τος). <sup>16</sup> ἀσπάζομαι τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν, τουτέστιν σόν, ἀδελφέ. <sup>17</sup> ἀσπάζομαι Βαρού. ἀσπάζομαι Σαραπίωνα. ἀσπάξο- <sup>18</sup> μαι τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. <sup>19</sup> ἐρρωσθ[α]ί σε εὔχομαι <sup>20</sup> πολ[λο]ί[s] χρόνοις. On the verso <sup>21</sup> ἀπόδ(ος) Ἴσχυρίω[ι] ἀδελφ[ῶ] π(αρά) Κ[. . .

# INDICES

## I. KINGS AND EMPERORS.

### CLEOPATRA VI AND ANTONY.

ἔτος κβ καὶ ζ 1453. 22.

### JULIUS CAESAR.

θεός 1453. 11.

### AUGUSTUS.

Καῖσαρ (ἔτ. α) 1453. 21, 29; (ἔτ. κζ) 1457. 6, 16.

Καῖσαρ θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ (ἔτ. α) 1453. 11. θεὸς Καῖσαρ (ἔτ. λδ) 1452. 54.

### TIBERIUS.

Τιβέριος Καῖσ. Σεβαστός (ἔτ. ιη) 1480. 27.

### CLAUDIUS I.

Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Καῖσ. Σεβ. Γερμανικὸς Ἀντοκράτωρ (ἔτ. δ) 1447. 1.

Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Καῖσ. (ἔτ. δ) 1447. 7.

### VESPASIAN.

Οὔεσπασιανὸς ὁ κύριος (ἔτ. β) 1439. 4.

Οὔεσπασιανὸς (ἔτ. ι) 1447. 33. θεὸς Οὔεσπ. (ἔτ. ε) 1452. 44.

### DOMITIAN.

Ἀντ. Καῖσ. Δομιτιανὸς Σεβ. (ἔτ. α) 1471. 20, 33.

Ἀντ. Καῖσ. Δομιτ. Σεβ. Γερμανικὸς (ἔτ. β) 1462. 37; (ἔτ. γ) 1462. 16.

Δομιτιανὸς (ἔτ. θ) 1452. 27.

### TRAJAN.

Ἀντ. Καῖσ. Νέρονας Τραιανὸς Σεβ. Γερμ. (ἔτ. ε) 1520. 1.

Ἀντ. Καῖσ. Νέρ. Τραιαν. Σεβ. Γερμ. Δακικὸς (ἔτ. ια?) 1434. 4; (Δακικὸς Παρθικὸς, ἔτ. κ) 1454. 11.

Τραιανὸς Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. ιζ) 1521. 1.

θεὸς Τραιανός (ἔτ. γ) 1452. 57 (?).

### HADRIAN.

Ἀντ. Καῖσ. Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβ. (ἔτ. β) 1547. 42; (ἔτ. ιβ) 1422. 13; (ἔτ. κ) 1472. 7.

Ἀδριανὸς Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. β) 1547. 5; (ἔτ. ε) 1440. 2; (ἔτ. ιβ) 1472. 17.

Τραιανὸς Ἀδρ. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. ια) 1452. 14, 40.

Ἀδριανός (ἔτ. η) 1452. 22. θεὸς Ἀδριανός (ἔτ. ιε) 1451. 22.

Ἀδριανῆ βιβλιοθήκη 1473. 40; 1475. 44.

## ANTONINUS PIUS.

'Αντωνίνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. ι) 1435. 18; (ἔτ. κ) 1436. 36; 1550. 32.  
θεὸς Ἀντωνίνος (ἔτ. ις) 1451. 23. θεὸς Αἴλιος Ἀντων. (ἔτ. κγ) 1446. 93.

## MARCUS AURELIUS (COMMODUS).

Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος (ἔτ. δ) 1451. 24; (ἔτ. ιδ) 1451. 27.  
Αὐρ. Ἀντων. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. ιε) 1451. 2, 15.  
Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρ. Ἀντων. Σεβ. Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Γερμ. Σαρματικὸς Μέγιστος  
(ἔτ. ις ἢ ιζ) 1451. 8.  
Αὐρήλιοι Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Κόμμοδος Καίσαρες οἱ κύρ. (ἔτ. ιδ) 1539. 2.

## COMMODUS.

Μ. Αὐρ. Κόμμοδος Ἀντων. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. κς) 1540. 2, 10.  
Λούκιος Αὐρ. Κομμ. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. λβ) 1541. 2.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (CARACALLA, GETA).

Λ. Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντων. Καίσαρες οἱ κύρ. 1441. 1.  
Αἰτοκράτορες Καῖσ. Λ. Σεπτ. Σεου. Εὐσ. Περτ. Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηρικὸς Παρθ. Μέγ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ.  
Ἀντων. Σεβαστοί (ἔτ. ζ) 1473. 18, 31.  
Λ. Σεπτ. Σεου. Εὐσ. Περτ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντων. [Σεβαστοί] (ἔτ. ζ) 1473. 22; (Εὐσεβῆς  
Σεβαστοί, ἔτ. θ) 1473. 42.  
Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Λ. Σεπτ. Σεου. Εὐσ. Περτ. Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβ. Παρθ. Μέγ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντων. Εὐσ.  
Σεβαστοί [[καὶ Πούπλιος Σεπτ. Γέτας]] Καίσαρ Σεβαστός (ἔτ. θ) 1473. 44.  
Λ. Σεπτ. Σεου. Εὐσ. Περτ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντων. Εὐσ. Σεβαστοί καὶ Π. [Σεπτ. Γέτας . . . (ἔτ.  
ια) 1548. 28.  
Λ. Σεπτ. Σεου. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. [Ἀντων. Σεβαστοί] (ἔτ. ις) 1560. 7.  
Καίσαρες οἱ κύρ. Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντων. [[καὶ Γέτας Καῖσ.]] 1548. 7.  
θεὸς πατὴρ αὐτοῦ (sc. Caracalla) Σεουήρος 1449. 3, &c.  
'Ιουλία Δόμνα Σεβαστή 1449. 3; (ἡ κυρία Σεβ.) 1449. 9, &c.  
ἔτος η 1405. 13.

## CARACALLA.

Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀντων. Παρθ. Μέγ. Βρετανικὸς Μέγ. Γερμ. Μέγ. Εὐσ. Σεβ. 1406.  
1; (ἔτ. κβ) 1553. 13; (ἔτ. κγ) 1474. 20; 1552. 15; (ἔτ. κδ) 1463. 13; (Εὐτυχῆς for  
Εὐσ., ἔτ. κδ) 1463. 33; (om. Αὐτ. Καῖσ., ἔτ. κ.) 1449. 7.  
Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀντων. [. . . (ἔτ. κβ) 1432. 18.  
Μ. Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀντων. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. κβ) 1432. 9; (ἔτ. κδ) 1525. 6.  
ὁ κύρ. ἡμῶν Αὐτ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀντων. Εὐτ. Εὐσ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. κ.) 1449. 8 sqq.  
Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀντων. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. κδ) 1474. 5.  
ἔτος α 1449. 48, 50. ἔτ. δ 1449. 50. ἔτ. κα 1458. 12; 1536. 1. ἔτ. κγ 1530. 20;  
1552. 15. ἔτ. κδ 1458. 8; 1530. 1.

## ELAGABALUS (SEVERUS ALEXANDER).

Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντων. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. δ) 1522. int.  
Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντων. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Καίσαρ Σεβαστοί (ἔτ. ε) 1522. 1.  
ἔτος γ 1460. 1 (?); 1461. 7, 8. ἔτ. δ 1461. 25.

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀλέξ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. β) 1461. 15; (ἔτ. ε) 1459. 36.  
 Μ. Αὐρ. Σεου. Ἀλέξ. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. β) 1522. 11 sqq.; 1526. 5; (ἔτ. ε) 1459. 5.  
 θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεία (ἔτ. θ) 1468. 15. ἔτος θ 1500. 5.

## PURIENUS AND BALBINUS (GORDIAN III).

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσ. Μ. Κλώδιος [Μάξιμος] καὶ Δέκιμος Καίλιος Καλονίνος [Βαλβίνος] Εὐσε-  
 βεῖς Εὐτ. Σεβ. καὶ Μ. Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσ. (ἔτ. α) 1433. 16.

## GORDIAN III.

Μ. Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. β) 1433. 45; (ἔτ. γ) 1549. 18, 43.  
 Μ. Ἀντ. Γορδ. Καῖσ. ὁ κύρ. (ἔτ. γ) 1549. 9.

## PHILIPPUS I (PHILIPPUS II).

Αὐτ. Φίλιππος Σεβ. 1466. 6.  
 Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσ. Μάρκοι Ἰούλιοι Φίλιπποι Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. δ) 1556. 8.  
 Μάρκοι Ἰούλιοι Φίλιπποι Καῖσ. οἱ κύρ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. ς) 1444. 5.  
 ἔτος β 1466. 2, 9 (?). ἔτ. ε 1556. verso (?).

## DECIUS.

Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Μέσσιος Κύντος Τραιανὸς Δέκιος Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. α?) 1450. 26; (ἔτ. α)  
 1464. 12.

## GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS.

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσ. Γ. Οὐίβιος Τρεβωνιανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γ. Οὐίβ. Ἀφίνιος Γάλ. Οὐέλδουμνιανὸς  
 Οὐόλουσιανὸς Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. β) 1554. 1, 11.  
 οἱ κύρ. ἡμῶν Γαλ. καὶ Οὐόλουσ. Καῖσ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. β) 1442. 1.

## VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS (SALONINUS).

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσ. Π. Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Π. Λικίν. Οὐαλ. Γαλληνὸς Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτ. Σεβ.  
 (ἔτ. β) 1557. 13.  
 οἱ κύρ. ἡμῶν Οὐαλ. καὶ Γαλλ. καὶ Κορνήλιος Σαλονίνος Σεβαστοί (ἔτ. ς) 1563. 1.  
 ἔτος ζ 1407. 8.

## MACRIANUS AND QUIETUS.

Μακρ[ι]ανὸς καὶ Κυγιῆτος Σεβαστοί (ἔτ. α Φαῶφι β) 1476. 1.  
 οἱ κύρ. ἡμῶν Μακρ. καὶ Κυητ. Σεβ. 1555. 6.  
 ἔτος [πρώ]τον (Ἀθύρ κη) 1411. 20.

## GALLIENUS.

Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Π. Λικιν. Γαλληνὸς Γερμ. Μέγ. Παρθ. Μέγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. ιδ) 1475. 35.  
 Γαλληνὸς Σεβ. (ἔτ. ιδ) 1475. 2, 47, 50.  
 ἔτος ς, ζ, η, θ 1527. 1 sqq. ἔτ. ι 1467. 29. ἔτ. ιγ 1528. 1. ἔτ. ιδ 1528. 7; 1558. 5.

## CLAUDIUS II.

Κλαύδιος Σεβ. (ἔτ. β) 1561. 6, 21; (ἔτ. γ Φαῶφ[ι] τρι[γ]η [καὶ εἰ]κάς) p. 233.

## AURELIAN.

Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Α. Δομίτιος Αὐρηλιανὸς Γερμ. Μέγ. Περσ. Μέγ. Γοθθικὸς Μέγ. Καρπικὸς Μέγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. ς Μεσορῆ λ) p. 233; (ἔτ. ζ Φαῶφι κα) 1455. 20.  
 [Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Α. Δομίτ.] Αὐρηλιανὸς [Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. ρ] 1407. 21.  
 ὁ κύρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρηλιανὸς Σεβ. 1413. 4, 25, 26; (ἔτ. ζ) 1455. 6.  
 Αὐρηλιανοῦ βασιλεία 1562. 7.

## PROBUS.

ὁ κύρ. ἡμῶν Μ. Αὐρήλιος Πρόβος Σεβ. (ἔτ. γ) 1409. 6; (om. Μ. Αὐρ.; ἔτ. δ) 1497. 2.  
 Αὐτ. Καῖσ. Μ. Αὐρ. Πρόβ. Περσ. Μέγ. Γοθ. Μέγ. Παρθ. Μέγ. Γερμ. Μέγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. 1562. 1, 26.

## CARINUS.

Καρίνος (ἔτ. α Φαμενώθ κς) 1564. 2.  
 ἔτος [β] 1412. 21.

## DIOCLETIAN (MAXIMIAN).

ὁ κύρ. ἡμῶν Γ. Οὐαλέριος Διοκλήτιανὸς Καῖσ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. α ορ β) 1456. 4.  
 οἱ κύρ. ἡμῶν Διοκλ. καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ (ἔτ. ε καὶ δ) 1503. 1; (om. Σεβαστοὶ) 1551. 1.  
 ἔτ. θ, η, α 1565. 1. ἔτ. η, α 1410. 5. ἔτ. ιγ, ιβ, ε 1571. 5, 8. ἔτ. ιε, ιδ, ζ 1572. 6.  
 ἔτ. ιε, ιδ 1543. 6. ἔτ. ις, ιε, η 1429. 6.

## GALERIUS (MAXIMINUS).

ἔτος ιε, γ, α 1542. 12. ἔτ. ις, ε 1499. 7.

## CONSTANTINE (LICINIUS).

ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος Αὐγουστος 1470. 1.  
 ἔτος ιη, ις, η 1574. 4.  
 ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Λικίνιος Σεβ. καὶ Κρίσπος ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσ. 1425. 1.  
 Ἰούλιος Κωνσταντῖος πατρικίος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου 1470. 1.

## UNCERTAIN.

ο]ς Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. (Valerian or Gallienus?) 1407. 9.  
 ο]ς Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. . . τὸ τρίτον ἕπατος πατῆρ πατρίδος (Claudius II or Aurelian?) 1407. 17.  
 ὁ Σεβ. ἡμῶν κύρ. 1504. 4.  
 Σεβαστός 1407. 1 (Σεβασ]τός); 1416. 28. ] Σεβαστοὶ 1523. 2.  
 οἱ κύριοι (ἔτ. ε) 1519. 16.  
 ἔτος α (Χοῖακ κα) 1569. 6. ἔτ. β 1577. 14. ἔτ. γ 1427. 6; 1517. 1. ἔτ. δ 1570. 9;  
 1576. 5; 1578. 4. ἔτ. ε 1494. int.; 1514. 5; 1519. 16. ἔτ. ς 1535. verso 15. ἔτ. η 1503.  
 13. ἔτ. ι 1435. 4, 11. ἔτ. ιγ 1568. 3. ἔτ. ις 1436. 14, 27; 1437. 2; 1518. 4, 20.  
 ἔτ. ιη 1445. 13. ἔτ. ιθ 1436. 43. ἔτ. κ 1436. 39.

θεῖα διάταξις, δωρεά, κρίσις, θεῖον νόμισμα. See Index VI (d).

Καίσαρος λόγος 1434. 16.

κυριακὸς οἶνος 1578. 7. κυριακὴ κτῆσις 1461. 9.

Σεβαστοῦ, Σεβαστῶν νόμισμα. See Index XI (δ). οὐσία τοῦ κυρ. Σεβ. 1434. 20. Σεβαστὸς στόλος 1451. 1, 14.



## II. CONSULS AND ERAS.

## CONSULS.

- Ἀυτοκρά[τορι Φιλίππῳ Σεβ. καὶ Τιτιανῶ] ὑπάτοις (245) **1466. 6.**  
 Νουμμίῳ Τούσκῳ καὶ Μουμμίῳ [Βάσσω ὑπάτοις (258) **1407. 7.**  
 ο]ς Εὐσ, Εὐτ. Σεβ. . . . τὸ τρίτον ὑπατος πατήρ πατρίδος (Claudius II or Aurelian?) **1407. 18.**  
 ὑπατείας Ἀνικίου [Παυλίῳ τὸ β] καὶ Οὐριίου Γάλλου (298) **1469. 24.**  
 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρ. ἡμῶν Ἀντ. Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η (304) **1551. 1.**  
 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Λικιννίου Σεβ. τὸ δ καὶ Κρίσπου τοῦ ἐπιφαν. Καίσ. τὸ α (318)  
**1425. 1.**  
 τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ δ (324) **1430. 1.**  
 ὑπ. Οὐλπίῳ Πακατιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου καὶ Μαικιλίου Ἰλαριανοῦ (332) **1426. 1.**  
 μετὰ τὴν ὑπ. Ἰουλίῳ Κωνσταντίῳ πατρικίῳ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου  
 καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις (336) **1470. 1.**  
 ὑπ. Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπροτ. (341) **1559. 1.**  
 ὑπ. τῆς προκειμένης **1425. 13; 1430. 21. ἐπὶ ὑπάτων 1544. 11.**

## ERAS OF OXYRHYNCHUS.

- ἔτος λα, ιγ, δ (337-8) pp. 89-90.  
 ἔτος λβ, [ιδ], ε (?) (338-9) **1575. 4.**  
 ἔτος με, κζ, ια (351-2) **1431. 5.**  
 ἔτος μζ, κθ, β (353-4) pp. 89-90.  
 ἔτος ε (?) (early fourth cent.) **1494. int.**

## III. MONTHS AND DAYS.

Θῶθ	Aug. 29-Sept. 27
Φαῶφι	Sept. 28-Oct. 27
Ἀθύρ	Oct. 28-Nov. 26
Χοΐακ ('Αδριανός <b>1451. 10</b> )	Nov. 27-Dec. 26
Τῦβι	Dec. 27-Jan. 25
Μεχείρ	Jan. 26-Feb. 24
Φαμενώθ	Feb. 25-March 26
Φαρμῶθι	March 27-April 25
Παχῶν (α Σεβαστή <b>1447. 6</b> )	April 26-May 25
Παῦνι	May 26-June 24
Ἐπίεφ (α Σεβαστή <b>1447. 2</b> )	June 25-July 24
Μεσορή	July 25-Aug. 23
ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμεραι ( <b>1565. 2; cf. 1453. 20</b> )	Aug. 24-8

## IV. PERSONAL NAMES.

- 'Αἶς s. of Horus 1446. 85.  
 'Αβάσκαντος 1416. 20 (?).  
 — 1582. 15.  
 'Αβινοῦν fleece-seller 1519. 4.  
 'Αβράσαξ deity 1566. 4.  
 'Αγαθὸς, Ἀγρ. 'Α. ὁ καὶ 'Ωριγένης s. of Varianus 1475. 10, 37, 43, 46.  
 — 1420. 8, 10.  
 'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων, Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ 'Α. Δ. ex-agonomus 1475. 7, 11.  
 — strategus 1422. 3; 1452. 1, 28.  
 — Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ 'Α. Δ. σύνδικος 1413. 8, 14, 17, 32; 1414. 7, 9.  
 — Εὐπορος ὁ καὶ 'Α. Δ. 1413. 29, 31; 1496. 26.  
 — 1489. 4, 6.  
 'Αγάθων 1530. 10.  
 'Αγίγνωρ ὁ καὶ Θεόξενος s. of Apollonius 1473. 29, 32, 34.  
 'Αεὺς s. of Mysthes 1446. 54.  
 'Αθανάσιος 1431. 1.  
 'Αθηναῖς m. of Dioscurides 1510. 2.  
 — 1578. 12.  
 Αἰλιανός s. of Euphranor, archidicastes 1472. 8.  
 Αἰλουρίων, Ἀγρ. Α. s. of Zoilus 1458. 2, 6.  
 Αἰμιλιανός, Α. Μούσιος 'Α. praefect 1468. 1.  
 — 'Ασκληπιάδης (?) 1416. 19.  
 Αἰμίλιος 'Ρουστικιανός deputy-praefect 1469. 1.  
 — Στέφανος s. of Hatres 1405. 15.  
 'Αϊωνεύς s. of Tryphon 1446. 14.  
 'Ακᾶς s. of Akouis 1446. 30.  
 'Ακοικεύς f. of Heraiscus 1446. 7.  
 'Ακοῦις f. of Akas 1446. 30.  
 — s. of Lalas 1446. 27.  
 — s. of Pesouris 1446. 26.  
 'Ακοῦς (gen. 'Ακοῦ) f. of Saras 1432. 3.  
 'Ακουσίλαος ex-hypomnematographus f. of Erigenes 1496. 24.  
 — ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος sitologus 1530. 19.  
 'Ακτιασίων senator 1415. 5, 11.  
 'Ακύλας praefect 1434. 12.  
 'Αλβίνος, 'Ρούφιος 'Α. consul 1470. 1.  
 'Αλέξανδρος, Ἀγρ. 'Α. ἔι[αρχος ἄρ]χων 1406. 12.  
 — Σεπτίμιος 'Α. senator 1522. 5, 6.  
 — Ἀγρ. 'Α. 1475. 3; p. 228; 1561. 20.  
 — f. of Sarapion 1528. 11.  
 'Αλέξανδρος 1459. 18; 1508. 8.  
 'Αλεξίων, ]ων ὁ καὶ 'Α. 1496. 36.  
 'Αλις s. of Apollophanes 1536. 6.  
 'Αλλ[. . .]ρο( ) f. of Taiseis 1515. 19.  
 'Αλύπιος 1491. int., 1.  
 'Αμαζόνιον, Ταπόσιρις ἡ καὶ 'Α. w. of Demetrianus 1542. 5.  
 'Αμέριμος f. of Dionysius 1463. 5.  
 'Αμμωνᾶς, Φλ. 'Α. ὀφφικιάλιος 1423. 1, 12.  
 — s. of Petermouthis 1446. 18.  
 — Ἀγρ. 'Α. 1425. 15.  
 — 1517. 7.  
 'Αμμωνιανός s. of Aur. Gaion 1464. 9.  
 — 1512. 6.  
 'Αμμώνιος, ὁ κράτιστος 'Α. 1412. 10.  
 — centurio princeps 1424. 2, 22.  
 — deputy-strategus 1560. 2.  
 — Φλ. 'Ιούλιος 'Α. praefect of Augustamnica 1559. 8.  
 — πραγματευτής 1569. 7.  
 — Ἀγρ. 'Α. senator (a) 1562. 4, 5, 24, 26, 27; (b) 1501. 1.  
 — f. of Aur. Gaion 1464. 3.  
 — f. of Aur. Maxima 1442. 3.  
 — f. of Sarapiades 1459. 21, 24.  
 — f. of Serenus 1413. 23.  
 — f. of Aur. Silvanus 1455. 32.  
 — Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ 'Α. f. of [. . .]ριον 1444. 28.  
 — Ἀγρ. 'Α. s. of Cephal( ) 1466. int.  
 — M. Ἀγρ. 'Α. s. of Dionysius 1463. 4, 17.  
 — s. of Aur. Gaion 1464. 9.  
 — s. of Pkaës 1452. 53.  
 — 1505. 3; 1540. 8, 15; 1574. 1; 1587. 1.  
 'Αμμωνίων, Ἀγρ. 'Α. 1544. 3.  
 'Αμός f. of Amoïs 1518. 10.  
 — f. of Aur. Artemeis 1463. 7.  
 — f. of Tatriphis 1452. 5, 32.  
 — 'Αρεως ἀνθ' οὗ 'Αμ. 'Αμότιος 1438. 11.  
 — s. of Amoïs 1518. 10.  
 — s. of Apollonius (?) 1438. 11.  
 — s. of Onophris 1518. 18.  
 — Ἀγρ. Α. s. of Patas 1405. 18.  
 — 1543. 5.  
 'Αμυντιανός s. of Dionysius 1534. 13.  
 'Ανδρόμαχος 1449. 46.

- Ἀνδρόνικος, Ἀριστίων ὁ καὶ Ἄ. s. of Asyncritus 1413. 21.
- Ἄνδρων 1459. 10.
- Ἀνίκητος f. of Silvanus 1416. 18.  
— 1591. 1.
- Ἀνίκιος Παυλῖνος consul 1469. 24.
- Ἀνουβάς s. of Diogenes 1553. 9, 24.  
— 1505. 2.
- Ἀνουβίων ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος keeper of the records 1451. 4.  
— Ἄνρ. Ἄ. strategus 1432. 1; 1474. 1; 1525. 1.
- Ἀντίοχος s. of Ptolion 1552. 4, 10.
- Ἀντώνιος Μαρκελλῖνος consul 1559. 1.  
— officialis 1428. 8.  
— ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς 1444. 36.  
— 1519. 13.
- Ἀούτιος s. of Chaeremon 1446. 40.
- Ἀπάμμων, Ἄνρ. Ἄ. 1524. 1.
- Ἀπία, Ἰσιδώρα ἡ καὶ Ἄ. 1530. 2, 22.  
— 1581. 1, 19.
- Ἄπις advocate 1479. 5.
- Ἀπολιῦριος strategus 1472. 1.
- Ἀπολλοφάνης f. of Alis 1536. 6.  
— 1470. 11.
- Ἀπόλλων god. See Index VI (a).  
— ὁ καὶ Νείλος gymnasiarch 1416. 24.  
— Ἄνρ. Ἄ. ὁ καὶ Σερήνος deputy-nomarch 1463. 2, 27.
- Ἀπολλωνάριον d. of Chaeremon 1473. 5, &c.  
— 1515. 9.
- Ἀπολλωνίδης s. of Petosiris 1547. 19.
- Ἀπολλώνιος banker 1499. 1.  
— comogrammateus 1434. 1.  
— scribe of the city 1550. 1.  
— senator of Alexandria 1498. 17.  
— Τίρων ὁ καὶ Ἄ. senator 1416. 1; 1515. 4.  
— slave 1468. 22, 30.  
— f. of Agenor also called Theoxenus 1473. 29.  
— f. of Amois 1438. 11.  
— f. of Aur. Cassius 1554. 17.  
— f. of Dius 1446. 89.  
— f. of Horion 1553. 21.  
— f. of Phatris (?) 1447. 4.  
— f. of Sarapammon 1478. 1.  
— f. of Syrus 1468. 20.  
— f. of Thatres 1468. 13.  
— f. of Aur. Zoilus 1449. 1.  
— s. of Apollonius 1549. 14.
- Ἀπολλώνιος s. (?) of Cotus 1517. 13.  
— Ἄνρ. Θεογένης ὁ καὶ Ἄ. s. of Diogenes 1549. 4, 44.  
— s. of Heras 1571. 12.  
— s. of Pausirion 1549. 15.  
— s. of Sarapion 1449. 47.  
— Ἄνρ. Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἄ. 1561. 7.  
— Ἰτιων ὁ καὶ Ἄ. 1496. 30, 32.  
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 Πετέ[.]ς s. of Lucius 1538. 13.  
 Πετκηιερχενικαμητηρον (voc.) deity 1566. 5.  
 Πετόσιρις f. of Dionysius 1547. 2.  
 — f. of Thoōnas 1547. 22, 25, 30, 37.  
 — s. of Dionysius 1547. 2.  
 — Ἀνρ. Π. s. of Onnophris 1554. 4.  
 — s. of Patoiphis 1453. 7.  
 — s. of Saras 1547. 9.  
 — s. of Tauris 1542. 6.  
 — s. of Thaësis 1542. 9.  
 — s. of Thoōnis 1547. 19.  
 Πετρώνιος Προβίνος consul 1559. 1.  
 — Μ. Π. Πρίσκοι 1459. 30.  
 Πέτσιρις f. of Heracleüs 1459. 12.  
 — f. of Onnophris 1459. 34.  
 — s. of Heracleüs 1459. 11, 32.  
 — s. of Panechotes 1459. 25.  
 — s. of Pausiris 1459. 27.  
 — s. of Thaësis 1459. 35.  
 Πιβήμις, Ἀνρ. Π. comarch 1469. 2, 23.  
 Πινούτις f. of Psois 1531. 5.  
 Πισᾶς 1584. 14.  
 Πιχιμέ 1564. 1.  
 Πκαῆς (?) f. of Ammonius 1452. 53.  
 Πλήμις s. of Phthomonthis 1435. 2.  
 Πλούταρχος, Δωρίων ὁ καὶ Π. gymnasiarch 1416.  
 9.  
 — sitologist 1542. 13.  
 — slave 1451. 7, 19, 33.  
 — χειριστής 1462. 3 (?), 24.  
 — Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Π. 1498. 7.  
 — 1444. 36 ; 1498. 13.  
 Πλουτίνος 1413. 11.  
 Πλουτίων σύνδικος 1417. 17.  
 — tax-collector 1441. 4.  
 — f. of Demetrianus 1542. 5.

- Πλουτίων (?) f. of Aur. Demetrianus 1562. 3.  
 — f. of Plution 1548. 3.  
 — s. of Diodorus 1452. 2, 25, 30, 49.  
 — s. of Plution (a) 1548. 2, 12 ; (b) 1548.  
 2.  
 — Ἀνρ. Π. 1469. 23.  
 — 1413. 6, 7.  
 Πλουτογένεια 1586. 10.  
 Πνεφερώς 1446. 88.  
 Πολυδεύκης s. of Dexitheus 1518. 8.  
 — 1573. 7.  
 Πομπητιανός, Οὐαλέριος Π. praefect 1503. 13, 16,  
 19.  
 Ποσειδῶν s. of Theon 1446. 7.  
 Ποσιδάριος 1587. 21, 23.  
 Πούδης 1560. 14, 15.  
 Πούπλιος praefect 1416. 28.  
 — f. of Vibius 1537. 7.  
 Πουσίμις 1446. int.  
 Πρίσκοι, Μ. Πετρώνιος Π. 1459. 30.  
 Προβίνος, Πετρώνιος Π. consul 1559. 1.  
 Πρωτέας, Ἀνρ. Π. diocetes 1412. 9 ; p. 26.  
 Proximus, Jirrius P. tabularius 1511. 10.  
 Πτολεμαῖος, Ἀνρ. Π. basilicogrammateus 1549.  
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 — chief-priest, s. of Damarion, 1415. 20-9.  
 — gymnasiarch 1413. 19 (?), 21.  
 — ἐπέικτης τῆς ὀθόνης 1428. 3, 11.  
 — πορτᾶς 1519. 7.  
 — Ἀνρ. Π. ὁ καὶ Νεμεσιανός strategus 1411.  
 1 ; 1502. 7 ; 1555. 1.  
 — tax-farmer 1457. 1.  
 — f. of Aur. Aristion 1559. 4.  
 — f. of Diodorus 1452. 53.  
 — f. of Harendotes 1520. 4.  
 — f. of Heliodorus 1453. 12.  
 — f. of Theodorus 1413. 20.  
 — ὁ καὶ Λούκιος s. of Germanus 1539. 14.  
 — ὁ καὶ Πτολλίων 1539. 7.  
 — 1446. 91 ; 1459. 32 ; 1498. 12 ; 1534.  
 4 ; 1581. 9, 10.  
 Πτολεμαῖος ἡ καὶ Διδύμη 1515. 18.  
 — 1449. 16.  
 Πτολεμῖνος exegetes 1416. 25.  
 Πτολέμιος scribe of the nome 1426. 4.  
 Πτολλᾶς 1479. 11.  
 Πτολλίων f. of Antiochus 1552. 4.  
 — Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Π. 1539. 7.  
 ῥάμμιοι Μαρτιάλοι praefect 1547. 4.

- 'Ρουστικιανός, Αἰμίλιος 'P. deputy-praefect **1469**.  
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 'Ρούφιος 'Αλβίνος consul **1470**. I.  
 'Ρουῖφος, Μάγνιος 'P. catholicus **1410**. I.  
 'Ρωμανά **1494**. I4.
- Σαβίνος (a) **1413**. 6; (b) **1479**. 8.  
 Σάδαλος **1446**. int.  
 Σαμβᾶς f. of Heron **1446**. 57.  
 Σαπειφνήπ deity **1566**. 2.  
 Σαπρίων f. of Aur. Sarapammon **1455**. 16, 30.  
 Σαραεὺς d. (?) of Ach[ill] ( ) **1449**. 15.  
 Σαραμοῦσις f. of Horion **1531**. 6.  
 Σαραπάμμων, Ἀὐρ. Σ. ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος, ἐπίτροπος **1578**. I, 15.  
 — f. of Aphunchius **1509**. 2.  
 — s. of Apollonius **1478**. I, 4.  
 — s. of Psois **1438**. 10, 17.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Σ. s. of Saprion **1455**. 15, 29.  
 — **1476**. 13; **1488**. I, 28; **1491**. int., I; **1570**. I.  
 Σαραπάς f. of Aphunchis **1510**. 2.  
 Σαραπιάδης s. of Ammonius **1459**. 20, 24.  
 Σαραπιάς **1575**. I.  
 Σάραπις god. See Index VI (a).  
 Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ 'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων ex-agoranomus **1475**. 7, 11.  
 — ἄλωνοφύλαξ **1465**. 7.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Σ. ὁ καὶ 'Ηρακλείδης basilicogrammateus **1443**. 16.  
 — centurion **1428**. 7.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Τριάδελφος ὁ καὶ Σ. decemprimus **1442**. 4.  
 — Θεωνίνος ὁ καὶ Σ. prytanis **1515**. I.  
 — senator s. of Alexander **1526**. 11.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Σ. sitologus **1525**. 2.  
 — χειριστής **1431**. I.  
 — f. of Apollonius **1449**. 47.  
 — f. of Aur. Arsinoë **1466**. 7.  
 — f. of Aur. Claudia **1463**. 3.  
 — f. of Eudaemon **1521**. 5.  
 — f. of Heraclides **1449**. 49.  
 — f. of Sarapion **1449**. 15.  
 — f. of Saras **1446**. 58.  
 — s. of Chaeremon **1463**. 19.  
 — s. of Heranou(bis?) **1515**. 6.  
 — s. of Mysthes **1446**. 54.  
 — Ἀὐρ. 'Ασκληπιάδης ὁ καὶ Σ. s. of Pausirion **1555**. ii.
- Σαραπίων s. of Plution **1452**. 11, 20, 37, 56.  
 — s. of Sarapion (a) **1449**. 15; (b) **1452**. 13, 39.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Σ. ὁ καὶ 'Απολλώνιος **1561**. 7.  
 — ὁ καὶ Διαδε. [. ]τιος **1515**. 8.  
 — ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος (a) **1433**. 57; (b) **1537**. 3.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Σεργῆνος ὁ καὶ Σ. **1558**. 8.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Σ. ὁ καὶ Χαϊρήμων **1464**. 15.  
 — **1414**. 21; **1439**. 1; **1441**. 8; **1490**. 1; **1498**. 1, 15; **1503**. 2; **1535**. 13; **1561**. 7; **1568**. 1; **1572**. 1, 7; **1573**. 1, 6, 11; **1575**. 1; **1581**. 5, 14, 17; **1582**. 15; **1587**. 1; **1593**. 17.  
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 Σαραποῦς m. of Copres **1446**. 18.  
 — m. of Isas **1536**. 3.  
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 Σαρᾶς f. of Taaphunchis **1550**. 19.  
 — s. of Akous **1432**. 2.  
 — s. of Sarapion **1446**. 58.  
 — Ἀὐρ. Βησάμμων ὁ καὶ Σ. **1522**. 7, 9.  
 Σαρμάτης f. of Dioscurides **1531**. 3.  
 — **1512**. 2.  
 Σαταβούς f. of . . ]μαπίς **1446**. 53.  
 Σάττος s. of Harpocraton **1489**. I, 11.  
 Σάφθις god **1435**. 9.  
 Σεκοῦνδος chief-priest, s. of Secundus **1413**. 10.  
 — f. of Secundus **1413**. 10.  
 Σέννω (gen.) **1534**. 18.  
 Σεουήρος s. of Philosophus **1413**. 24.  
 — **1573**. 11, 16; **1585**. 1.  
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 — Σεργῆνος ὁ καὶ 'Ισχυρίων exegetes **1413**. 2.  
 — 'Αλέξανδρος senator **1522**. 5, 6.  
 — Διογένης ὁ καὶ 'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων, σύνδικος **1413**. 8, 14, 17, 32; **1414**. 7, 9.  
 — 'Όρίων ὁ καὶ Διογένης **1416**. 4.  
 Σαραπίων, 'Ηρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Σ. **1444**. 10.  
 — **1444**. 16.  
 Σεργῆνος, Σεπτίμιος Σ. ὁ καὶ 'Ισχυρίων exegetes **1413**. 2.  
 — goldsmith **1582**. I, 8.  
 — gymnasiarch s. of Ammonius **1413**. 5, 9(?).  
 — Ἀὐρ. 'Απόλλων ὁ καὶ Σ. deputy-nomarch **1463**. 2, 27.  
 — Λεωνίδης ὁ καὶ Σ. sitologus **1541**. 8.  
 — f. of Thaïs **1502**. 3, 8.

- Σεργῆνος, Αὐρ. Σ. s. of Castor **1555.** 10.  
 — s. of Sarapion **1463.** 19.  
 — Αὐρ. Σ. ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων **1558.** 8.  
 — **1416.** 13, 16 (?).  
 Σερωῖς **1446.** int.  
 Σε[.]ώνιος s. of Pasis **1470.** 11.  
 Σιλβανός, Αὐρ. Σ. χωματεπιμελήτης **1546.** 1.  
 — Αὐρ. Σ. s. of Ammonius **1455.** 31.  
 — s. of Anicetus **1416.** 18.  
 — Αὐρ. Σ. **1409.** 23.  
 — **1530.** 14.  
 Σινθεὺς, Διονυσία ἡ καὶ Σ. **1537.** 2.  
 Σινθῶνις d. of Diogenes **1444.** 31.  
 Σίφων **1446.** int.  
 Σκνβάτος, Ἑρμῖας ὁ καὶ Σ. **1515.** 14.  
 Σουτῶριος Σωσίβιος strategus **1452.** 44.  
 Σουχάμμων **1474.** 12.  
 Σπάταλος **1446.** 29.  
 [Σπούριος] **1451.** 17, 30, 31.  
 Στατιανός, Γ. Καλουσίσιος Σ. praefect **1451.** 11, 13.  
 Στέφανος f. of Dosithes **1518.** 6.  
 — Αὐρ. Σ. s. of Hatres **1405.** 15.  
 — s. of Kanbares **1518.** 1.  
 — **1440.** 4.  
 Στρατονίκη **1489.** 9.  
 Στρίτιος **1489.** 9.  
 Συλικύσησος deity **1478.** 5.  
 Σύρος s. of Apollonius **1468.** 20.  
 — **1590.** 3.  
 Σώπατρος, Ἰούλιος Σ. epistrategus **1459.** 7.  
 — **1408.** 2, 7.  
 Σωσίβιος, Σουτῶριος Σ. strategus **1452.** 44.  
 Σωτᾶς f. of Demetrianus **1492.** 2, 21.  
  
 Τααπολλῶς ἡ καὶ Μεγίστη **1444.** 9.  
 Τααφύγχις d. of Saras **1550.** 18.  
 — m. of Aur. Theoninus **1468.** 3, 12.  
 — slave **1468.** 14.  
 — Αὐρ. Τ. **1449.** 1.  
 Ταεπίμαχος slave **1548.** 25.  
 [Τα?]ερμάς **1479.** 12.  
 Ταέρως slave **1548.** 23, 27.  
 Ταεὺς ἡ καὶ Δημητροῦς m. of Eudaemon **1473.** 30.  
 — m. of Aur. Gaion **1464.** 4.  
 Ταηρακλῆς **1446.** int.  
 Ταῖσεις d. of All[ ] **1515.** 19.  
 Ταλθύβιος **1522.** verso 3.  
 Ταμός **1559.** 11.  
 Ταπόσιρις ἡ καὶ Ἀμαζόνιον w. of Demetrianus  
**1542.** 5.
- Ταποῦς **1446.** int.  
 Ταρουτῆλλιος ὁ πρὸς τοῖς καταλοχισμοῖς **1462.** 2,  
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 Τασηοῦς **1446.** int.  
 Τασόραπισ m. of Aur. Stephanus **1405.** 16.  
 Τατριφίς d. of Amoïs **1452.** 4, 31.  
 Ταυρία (?) **1494.** int.  
 Ταῦρις, Ὀριγένεια ἡ καὶ T. m. of Aur. Agathinus  
**1475.** 10.  
 — m. of Petosiris **1542.** 7.  
 — m. of Aur. Zoilas **1456.** 2.  
 Ταφαιμός m. of Aur. Artemeis **1463.** 7.  
 Ταχύρις (?) f. of Paësis **1430.** 4.  
 Ταψύσις d. of Paos **1550.** 5.  
 — d. of Paulus **1547.** 19 (?).  
 — ἡ καὶ Εὐδαιμονίς d. of Plution **1548.** 14,  
 20.  
 — m. of Plution **1548.** 3.  
 [Τα]ῶς w. of Aur. Gaion **1464.** 9.  
 Τεθεὺς m. of Pekusis **1474.** 11.  
 — m. of Theonas **1481.** 1, 13.  
 Τεκοῦσα **1489.** 1, 3.  
 Τελώνης bath-attendant **1499.** 2.  
 Τεράς **1560.** 8.  
 Τερέντιος Ἄρειος strategus **1414.** 17.  
 Τεσενοῦφίς f. of Phaseis **1446.** 89.  
 Τετεῶρις **1471.** 6, 11, 30.  
 Τετοεὺς d. of Thoōnas **1547.** 7, 14, 17.  
 Τηρω[.]ο. [ **1462.** 20.  
 Τιαρκαρικεντεν (voc.) deity **1566.** 10.  
 Τιβέριος. See Κλαύδιος.  
 Τιθοητίων, Αὐρ. Τ. γραμματεὺς ποταμιῶν **1427.** 1.  
 Τιμαγένης, Αὐρ. Τ. **1466.** 8.  
 Τιμοκράτης **1446.** 91.  
 Τίρων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος **1416.** 1; **1515.** 4.  
 — f. of G. Didymus (?) **1537.** 10.  
 Τισόσις m. of Aur. Petosiris **1554.** 5.  
 — **1444.** 20.  
 Τιτιανός consul **1466.** 6.  
 — Κλωδιανός (praefect?) **1468.** 28.  
 Τίτιος, νόμος Ἰούλιος καὶ Τ. **1466.** 5.  
 Τκαίσις **1446.** int.  
 Τκοῦσις m. of Antiochus **1552.** 5.  
 Τνεφερσίσις d. of Plution **1452.** 11, 38.  
 Τοθῆς νομοφύλαξ **1440.** 7.  
 Τοκεὺς **1534.** 3 (Τοκεως gen.).  
 Τοτοεὺς f. of Horus **1453.** 38.  
 Τοτόης f. of Heraclides **1453.** 4 (?).  
 — f. of Tuphis **1444.** 24.  
 Τοῦσκος, Νούμμιος T. consul **1407.** 9.

- Τριάδελφος, Ἀνρ. Τ. ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων decaprotus  
 1442. 4.  
 Τρουνηία Μάρκελλα 1451. 5, 18, 24, 31.  
 — Ε[. . . .]α Τρουνηία [ 1451. 20, 24, 27.  
 Τρούνιος, Λ. Τ. Λουκιλλιανός 1451. 6, 17, 23, 30.  
 Τρύφων f. of Aïoneus 1446. 14.  
 — 1408. 2, 6, 10.  
 Τρωίλος f. of Xenicus 1496. 20, 22, 34.  
 Τυράνιος, Γ. Τ. praefect 1434. 15.  
 Τυραννίς slave 1463. 10.  
 Τύφης s. of Totoës 1444. 24.  
 Τυφών god 1449. 14.  
  
 Φάβουλος f. of Aur. Hatres 1426. 17.  
 Φανκείμ 1519. 3.  
 Φαρβατίων (?) 1444. 29.  
 Φασεΐς s. of Tesenouphis 1446. 89.  
 Φάτρης s. of Apollonius (?) 1447. 4.  
 Φαῦστος, Χαϊρήμων ὁ καὶ Φ. s. of Horion 1473.  
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 Φερέμφις ἐπικαλ. Ἰσχυρίων 1539. 13.  
 Φθομώνθης s. of Papontes 1435. 2.  
 Φιλάγριος, Φλ. Φ. praefect 1470. 4, 6, 9.  
 Φιλαντινός, Ἀνρ. Φ. ὁ καὶ Μῶρος s. of Besarion  
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 — Διδυμανός ὁ καὶ Φ. 1578. 33.  
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 Φιλέρως 1479. 12.  
 Φιλίαρχος, Ἀνρ. Φ. ὁ καὶ Ὀρίων strategus 1456.  
 1; p. 175.  
 Φίλιππος 1446. int.; 1459. 32; 1534. 4.  
 Φιλίσκος, Ἰσίδωρος ὁ καὶ Φ. 1444. 30.  
 Φιλίστιος, Ἀνρ. Φ. comarch, s. of Dionysius  
 1426. 6.  
 Φιλόμουσος, Ἀνρ. Φ. πραγματευτής 1544. 1.  
 — 1479. 8.  
 Φιλορώμιος οἰκονόμος 1560. 4.  
 Φιλόσοφος f. of Epimachus and Severus 1413.  
 20, 24; 1497. 1.  
 Φιλοῦς 1446. int.  
 Φίρμος, Οὐαλέριος Φ. praefect 1418. 4; 1466.  
 1 (Valerius Firmus), 4.  
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 Φλαουία Μάρκελλα 1460. 4.  
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 θεος, Ἐρμίας, Ἰούλιος, Φιλάγριος.  
 Φουῶνσις f. of Kaëtis 1446. 89.  
 Φρ[α?]γένης s. of Horion 1449. 12.  
 Φυλάρχης 1535. verso 11.
- Χαϊρήμων νομκάριος 1416. 20 (?), 21.  
 — ὁ καὶ Φαῦστος s. of Horion 1473. 9, 27.  
 — Ἀνρ. Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Χ. 1464. 15.  
 — [Ἡλιά?]δωρος ὁ καὶ Χ. 1496. 35.  
 — f. of Apollonarian 1473. 24, 32, 33.  
 — f. of Sarapion 1463. 19.  
 — f. of Theon also called Origenes 1413.  
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 — s. of Asclepiades 1446. 40.  
 Χαρίτων 1446. int.  
 Χαρμίνος οἰνοπώλης 1519. 9.  
 Χιάσις 1446. int.  
 Χῶνσις f. of Heroninus 1446. 29.  
 Χωοῦς bath-attendant 1499. 2.  
 Χωσιών ὀνηλάτης 1517. 8.  
  
 Ψεναμόνις 1464. int.  
 Ψευμώνθης f. of Pasaphthis 1435. 9.  
 Ψύς s. of Inuris 1438. 10, 17.  
 — s. of Pinoutis 1531. 5.  
 — 1538. 15.  
  
 Ὀκεανός 1590. 9.  
 Ὀριγένεια ἡ καὶ Ταῦρις m. of Aur. Agathinus  
 1475. 10.  
 Ὀριγένης f. of Theon 1487. 2.  
 — Θεών ὁ καὶ Ὡ. s. of Chaeremon 1413. 28.  
 — Ἀνρ. Ἀγαθίνος ὁ καὶ Ὡ. s. of Varianus  
 1475. 10, 37, 43, 46.  
 Ὀρίων, Ἰρι. os Ἀνρ. Ὡ. ex-archidicastes 1560.  
 3, 10, 13, 15.  
 — Ἀνρ. Ὡ. ex-chief-priest 1461. 3.  
 — Ἀνρ. Φιλίαρχος ὁ καὶ Ὡ. strategus 1456.  
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 — Ἀνρ. Ὡ. συστάτης 1551. 4.  
 — Ἰούλιος Ὡ. veteran 1459. 3, 39.  
 — Σεπτίμιος Ὡ. ὁ καὶ Διογένης 1416. 4.  
 — f. of Phr[a]genes 1449. 12.  
 — s. of Apollonius 1553. 21, 25.  
 — s. of Castor 1446. 58.  
 — s. of Eudaemon 1446. 6.  
 — s. of Hierax 1473. 6, &c.  
 — s. of Saramouis 1531. 6.  
 — s. of Thonis 1455. 3, 27.  
 — 1413. 16; 1573. 13; 1576. 1.  
 Ὄμος f. of Aas (?) 1446. 85.  
 — f. of Cornelius 1530. 12.  
 — f. of Harpaësis 1537. 5.  
 — f. of Isas 1446. 7.  
 — f. of Mieux 1547. 3.

ᾠρος, Ἀῦρ. ᾠ. son of Pathotes 1425. 11.

— s. of Totoeus 1453. 38.

ᾠσις s. of Panouris 1446. 26.

[.]αιπεῖς s. of Satabous 1446. 53.

[.]ηλις 1444. 35.

]ferinus praefect of an ala 1511. 11.

]irius Proximus tabularius 1511. 10.

]κατιανός, Ἀῦρ. Εὐδαίμων ὁ καὶ . . . 1523. 6.

[.]ιον d. of Dionysius also called Ammonius 1444. 28.

[.]τιλλίς 1444. 26.

. . . s. of Dioscorus, deputy-strategus 1498. 6.

## V. GEOGRAPHICAL.

### (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, RIVERS.

Ἄθριβίτης (νομός) 1458. 1.

Ἄθριβιτῶν πόλις 1458. 4.

Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοι 1558. 3.

Αἴγυπτος 1408. 15, 22; 1409. 21; 1423. 2, 14; 1451. 12, 13; 1466. 4; 1470. 4, 9;

1503. 13, 17, 19; 1504. 2, 5, 10, 14; 1589. 16, 17. Aegyptus 1466. 1. ἐπαρχία

Αἴγ. καὶ Λιβύης 1410. 3.

Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1405. 12; 1428. 4; 1498. 5, 17; 1553. 2.

Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις, ἡ λαμπροτάτη π. τῶν. Ἄ. 1412. 3; 1560. 14. Cf. πόλις.

Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα 1462. 34.

Ἀλεξανδρίνος στόλος 1451. 1, 14.

Ἀνταιοπολίτης (νομός) 1443. 2.

Ἀντιοέων πόλις 1489. 2.

Ἀντιόου πόλις 1463. 1, 26.

Armenorum cohors 1511. 1.

Ἀραβία 1415. 6.

Ἀραβίας (νομοῦ) ἄνω τόποι 1435. 8.

Ἀρσινοῖτης (νομός) 1408. 11; 1409. 2, 7.

Ἀσιαγένης 1463. 10.

ἀστρυγείτων νομός 1456. 10.

Αὔασίτης 1482. 4, 19. Cf. ᾠασίτις.

Αὐγουσταμνίκη 1559. 8.

A . . . νωος Νῆσος 1543. 4.

B[αβυλῶν (?) 1406. 10.

Βεθεννῆις, Ἀτάργατις B. 1449. 5, 6.

[Γνναι?]κοπολίτης (νομός) 1422. 3.

Δαλμάται 1513. 2.

ἐπαρχία Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης 1410. 3.

Ἐπτανομία καὶ Ἀρσινοῖτης 1409. 2, 7.

Ἐπτὰ νομοὶ καὶ Ἄρσιν. 1408. 11.

Ἐρμού πόλις 1423. 7.

Ἐλιοπολιτικά (sc. ζεύγη?) 1438. 22.

Ἐλίον πόλις 1406. 13.

Ἐρακλάμμωνος (ἀπὸ Ἡ.) 1419. 8.

Ἐρακλεσπολίτης νομός 1463. 8.

Ἐρακλέους πόλις 1463. 24.

Ἐρακλεωτικά ζεύγη 1438. 21.

Θμοισεφὼ τοπαρχία 1433. 9, 39; 1436. 35; 1541. 3; 1578. 2.

Ἰταλικὴ στυπτηρία (= λίτρα στυπτηρίας) 1429. 4.

Κάνωπος 1479. 3.

Κομμαγητῶν σπεῖρα δευτέρα ἵππική 1472. 10.

Κρητικὸν (ἄμφοδον) 1452. 9, 36.

Κυνοπολίτης (νομός) 1449. 7, 42; 1453. 14.

Λεοντοπαλίτης (Λεοντωνπολ. Π; sc. νομός) 1503. 12.

Λεόντων πόλις 1503. 12.

Λιβύη, ἐπαρχία Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λ. 1410. 4.

Λυκίων Παρεμβολή (ἄμφοδον) 1552. 11.

μητρόπολις τοῦ Ὄξυρρυχίτου 1471. 9. μ. = Athribis 1458. 9. μ. = Oxyrhynchus 1408. 18; 1422. 10; 1449. 3.

μητροπολίτης 1452. 8.

μητροπολιτικά. See Index XII.



- Νέ]α πόλις 1407. 8.  
 Νείλος, ὁ ἱερώτατος Ν. 1409. 17.  
 Νῆσος Α. . νωνος 1543. 4.  
 νομός 1414. 2; 1419. 4; 1422. 9; 1425. 4;  
 1434. 11; 1449. 54; 1456. 10, 11;  
 1463. 8; 1469. 2; 1470. 11; 1473. 41;  
 1475. 15, 48. Cf. Ἀθριβίτης, Ἀνταιοπολί-  
 της, Ἀραβίας, Ἀρσινοίτης, [Γυναι?]κοπολίτης,  
 Ἡρακλεοπολίτης, Κυνοπολίτης, Λεοντοπολίτης,  
 Ὀξυρρυχίτης. νομοί 1408. 18. Cf. Ἐπτὰ ν.  
 1536. 3; 1547. 3; 1548. 4; 1549. 7;  
 1550. 6; 1552. 7; 1555. 13.  
 πάγος 1430. 7. β π. 1426. 7. γ (sc. πάγος?)  
 1559. 9. η π. 1425. 4, 6.  
 Πάρμος, προτομή Π. 1449. 11, 14.  
 Περσίνη 1471. 7.  
 Πηλούσιον 1425. 7; 1544. 6.  
 πόλις (1) = Alexandria 1475. 3, 41; 1560. 4,  
 11; 1561. 20. (2) = Oxyrhynchus 1414.  
 2, 12; 1449. 4; 1455. 12, 18; 1470. 3,  
 10; 1472. 16; 1473. 30, 37; 1475. 12,  
 22; 1540. 5; 1543. 1; 1545. 11; 1550.  
 2, 21; 1551. 8.  
 Ῥωμαϊκά 1466. 3; 1558. 8.  
 Ῥωμαῖος, ἱππεὺς Ῥ. 1444. 15. Ῥωμαῖοι 1451.  
 12. Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη 1460. 5. Ῥωμαίων πολι-  
 τεία 1458. 5; 1558. 4. ἔθνος Ῥωμαῖοις  
 ὄρκος 1451. 7.  
 Ῥώμη 1407. 16.  
 Τάλν ὕδατα 1427. 4.  
 Ταποσιμάς, Ἴσις T. 1434. 12.  
 τοπαρχία. ἄνω 1434. 3; 1522. 4. ἀπηλιώτου  
 1573. 14. Θμουσεφά 1433. 9, 39; 1436.  
 35; 1541. 3; 1578. 2. κάτω 1462. 13,  
 27; 1539. 11. πρὸς λίβα 1469. 2; 1475.  
 15. μέση 1444. 3; 1522. 4; 1525. 3;  
 1526. 3; 1539. 4; 1540. 4, 12, 14;  
 1549. 24; 1573. 14.  
 τόποι, Ἀραβίας ἄνω τ. 1435. 8.  
 Τραιανὸς ποταμὸς 1426. 10.  
 Φαρίτης 1583. 9 (?).

## (b) VILLAGES, ἐποίκια, χωρία.

(1) *Oxyrhynchite nome.*

- Ἀσσούα 1529. 11.  
 Γέμη. See Ἰέμη.  
 Γερωντὰ ἐποίκ. 1448. 10.  
 Δάκμων (gen.; not Oxyrh.?) 1517. 18.  
 Δωσιθέων 1413. 16; 1424. 6; 1425. 6;  
 1448. 5 marg., 8.  
 Εἰόνθις (? α τόπος) 1421. 5.  
 Ἐντελεψύ 1510. 4, 10.  
 Ἡρακλείδου κόμη 1430. 7. Ἡρ. ἐποίκιον 1528.  
 1, 7; 1537. 5, 21.  
 Ἡρακλείου 1488. 10.  
 Θαλασσοκάπρου 1448. 20.  
 Θῦρις (not Oxyrh.?) 1517. 16.  
 Θῶλθις 1448. 6; 1512. 1.  
 — (κάτω τοπ.) 1529. 2.  
 — (Θμουσεφά τοπ.) 1578. 2.  
 Ἰβίων Χύσεως 1442. 2.

Ἰδν( ) 1434. 24.  
 Ἰέμη (γεμη Π) 1444. 34.  
 Ἰσεῖον 1488. 23. Ἰ = Ἰ. Πεκύσιος 1465. 5.  
 — Ἄνω 1539. 11.  
 — Κάτω 1529. 5.  
 — Παγγᾶ 1502. verso 1; 1522. 4. Παγγᾶ  
 1494. 3; cf. n.  
 — Πεκύσιος 1465. 2, 5.  
 — Τρύφωνος 1529. 6, 12.  
 Ἰστρου 1444. 22.

Κερκεθῦρις 1449. 62.  
 Κερκεῦρα 1531. 20.  
 Κερκ[ 1449. 62.  
 Κεσμούχισ 1433. 10, 40; 1448. 3.  
 Κόβα 1529. 7.

Λόγγου. See Σκυταλίτις Λ.

Μίλων(ος?) 1545. 9.  
 Μονίμου ἐπικόκιον 1413. 14; 1434. 2.  
 Μουχινγάλη 1529. 10.

Νααιλ( ) 1448. 14.  
 Νεβῶ (not Oxyrh.?) 1438. 16.  
 Νεμέρα 1525. 3; 1549. 23.  
 Νεμεσίωνος, Σερήνου καὶ Ν. χωρίον 1448. 15.  
 Νεσμῖμις 1413. 16.  
 Νίγρου 1426. 7, 18.  
 Νικοστράτου ἐπικόκ. 1459. 31.

Παγγᾶ. See Ἰσεῖον Π.  
 Παεῖμις 1469. 2; 1475. 15.  
 Πακέρκη 1540. 4, 12, 14.  
 Παλώσις 1448. 4; 1459. 9.  
 Πανεεῖ 1559. 9.  
 Παρόριον 1545. 5.  
 Παῶμις 1448. 5; 1534. 12; 1541. 3.  
 Πεενῶ 1549. 12.  
 Πέλα 1447. 3; 1497. 9.  
 Πελαίτον 1448. 17.  
 Πέτνη 1539. 5; 1545. 8.  
 Πετροκ( ) 1448. 11.

Σαδάλου 1426. 6.  
 Σαραπᾶ ἐπικόκ. 1448. 13.  
 Σενῶ 1584. 3.  
 Σενέπτα 1508. 7.  
 Σενοκῶμις 1506. 1; 1528. 3; 1545. 5.  
 Σεντώ 1470. 10.  
 Σερήνου καὶ Νεμεσίωνος χωρ. 1448. 15.  
 Σερύφισ 1421. 3; 1528. 2, 8; 1542. 4; 1545.  
 4; 1546. 5.  
 Σέσφθα 1416. 13; 1423. 10; 1529. 1. Σέφθα  
 1554. 6.  
 Σεηριάς 1545. 10.  
 Σεφῶ 1459. 34.  
 Σιγκέφα 1405. 16, 21.  
 Σιναρύ 1449. 54; 1462. 12, 26.  
 Σκυταλίτις Λόγγου 1448. 12.  
 Σοῦις 1448. 7.  
 Στεφανίτις 1577. 2, 4.  
 Στρούθου 1448. 18.  
 Σύρων 1474. 16; 1528. 3, 9.

Τααμπέμον 1421. 3; 1505. 2; 1545. 3. Ταμ-  
 πέμον 1491. 13.  
 Τακόνα 1498. 14; 1529. 9.  
 Ταλαῶ 1529. 4.  
 Τανάις 1444. 8, &c.  
 Τα[ 1449. 56.  
 Τερῶθις 1507. 3.  
 Τῆις 1435. 3; 1436. 35; 1448. 2; 1545.  
 1546. 10.  
 Τυχιωφάγων 1529. 3.  
 Τ. [. . .]εῖ 1546. 7.

Φθῶχισ 1530. 1.  
 Φοβῶον 1546. 11 (?).

Χύσις. See Ἰβιῶν Χύσεως.

Ψανωρμᾶ 1448. 19.  
 Ψῶβθις (ἴνω τοπ.) 1434. 23.  
 — (κάτω τοπ.) 1529. 8.  
 — (μέσης τοπ.) 1526. 3.  
 ]θις 1434. 18.

(2) *Other nomcs.*

Ἀργίας (Arsinoïte) 1446. 95.  
 Εὐημέρεια (Arsinoïte) 1446. 5, &c.  
 Θεαδέλφεια (Arsinoïte) 1446. 4, 5 &c.

Ἰβιῶν Τα[ν. ]ε[. . .]ρεως (Hermopolite?) 1440. 4.  
 Κόρη (Delta) 1427. 1.  
 Μαγαῖς (Arsinoïte) 1446. 94.

Νώις (Ἄλεξ. χώρα) 1462. 32.	} Τερῶθις (Cynopolite) p. 257.	
Πολυδενύκεια (Arsinoïte) 1446. 28, 36, 56, 86, 90.		} Χοινῶθις (Heracleopolite) 1463. 8.
Σιν[. ]ταπή (Hermopolite?) 1440. 3.		
		} ]ψαμις (Arabian nome?) 1435. 10.

## (c) ἄμφοδα AND λαῦραι OF OXYRHYNCHUS.

Βορρά Δρόμου 1547. 7.	} Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς 1552. 11.	
Βορρά Κρηπίδος 1548. 10.		} Μυροβαλάνου, Νότου Δρόμου καὶ Μ. 1562. 8.
Δεκάτης 1473. 36; 1520. 4, 6.		
Δρόμου Γυμνασίου 1449. 6; 1452. 50, 60; 1516. 1; 1550. 28.		} Νότου Κρηπίδος 1521. 4.
Δρόμου Θεοήριδος 1449. 4; 1516. 6; 1550. 24.		} Παμμένους Παραδείσου 1452. 22.
Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς 1449. 6; 1551. 11.		} Πατεμίτ (λαῦρα) 1449. 6.
Κρητικοῦ 1452. 9, 36.		} Πλατείας 1449. 5. ἡ Π. 1461. 10.
		} Ποιμενικῆς 1516. 3.

## (d) κλήροι.

Ἄλεξάνδρου πρότερον Μένωνος 1508. 8.	} Μηνοδώρου 1534. 2, 22.	
Ἄνδρωνος 1459. 10.		} Νικάνωρος Θεσσαλοῦ 1534. 5.
Ἀπολλοφάνους 1470. 11.		
Δημητρίου τοῦ Πο[. ] 1434. 18.		} Νικίου 1534. 7.
Διονυσίου Διογένους 1535. 9.		} Νικομήδους. See Νίκωνος.
Δορκάωνος 1533.		} Νίκωνος ἀνθ' οὗ Νικομήδους 1475. 15.
Δ[ό]ρκωνος 1508. 7.		} Παρμενίωνος 1459. 35.
Ἡρακλείδου. See Θεοφίλου καὶ Ἡ. Θεοφίλου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου 1502. verso 1.		} Πτολεμαίου καὶ Φιλίππου 1459. 32; p. 181.
Θρασυμάχου παρειμένη 1549. 13, 34.		} Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλίππου 1534. 4.
Κυ[ ] 1534. iii.		} Σέννω 1534. 18.
Μενεσθέως 1459. 10, 16, 22, 29.		} Τοκέως 1534. 3.
Μένωνος 1508. 8.		} Τριακονταουρίας 1534. 1.
		} Φιλίππου. See Πτολεμαίου.

## (e) TRIBES AND DEMES.

Νεοκόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἄλθαιεύς 1458. 6.	} φυλή (τρῖτη) 1413. 12, 13, 16(?); 1415. 20, 30; 1552. 3.
Σωσικόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἄλθαιεύς 1463. 5.	
Φυλαξιθαλάσσιος ὁ καὶ Ἄλθαιεύς 1463. 20.	

## (f) BUILDINGS, τόποι, &amp;c. (Cf. Index VI (b).)

ἀγορά 1455. 10.	} βιβλιοφυλάκιον 1562. 5.		
Ἄδριανῆ βιβλιοθήκη (Alex.) 1473. 40; 1475. 44.		} γραφεῖον 1488. 9.	
ἀρχεῖα 1468. 19; 1562. 20.			} γύης 1537. 15.
βαλανείον, δημόσιον β. 1499. 3.		} γυμνάσιον 1452. 34, 47; 1552. 14. Cf. (c).	
βαλανίδιον (πανίδιον Π), δημόσιον β. 1430. 13.			} δρόμος. See (c).
βιβλιοθήκη 1451. 4; 1587. 4 (ἐγκτήσε[?]ων).		} κοῖται ἑκατὸν ἐνέα 1470. 11.	
Cf. Ἄδριανῆ β., Νααίου β.			} κρηπίς. See (c) Νότου Κ.

Ναναίου βιβλιοθήκη (Alex.) 1473. 41; 1475. 45.  
 οὐσία τοῦ κυρίου Σεβασταῦ 1434. 20.  
 παράρια τῆς πόλεως 1475. 22.  
 Πασίτος, τόπος λεγόμενος Π. 1502. verso 5.  
 περίμετρα τῆς κόμης 1475. 22. π. Ἡρακλείδου  
 ἐποικίου 1537. 20.  
 Πλατεία 1461. 10. Cf. (c).

πορθμεῖον (προθμιον Π) 1421. 6.  
 στοὰ δημοσία (Babylon?) 1406. 11.  
 σφαιριστήριον 1450. 5, 7.  
 τόπος λεγόμενος Πασίτος 1502. verso 5.  
 τράπεζα, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξ. πόλ. Σαραπίου τ.  
 1473. 7. Cf. Index VIII.  
 Ψοῦ, πρὸς τῷ Ψ. 1461. 9.

## VI. RELIGION.

## (a) GODS.

Ἀβράσαξ 1566. 4.  
 Ἀπόλλων 1449. 2. Ἄ. . . θεὸς μέγας ἀγαθὸς  
 δαίμων 1449. 4. Ἄ. θεὸς μέγιστος 1435. 2.  
 Ἄρπακράτης 1449. 24.  
 Ἀτάργατις 1449. 1, 6. Ἄ. Βεθεννῦ[ις] 1449.  
 5, 6.  
 Ἄφρο? ἴδιη 1449. 33.  
 Βούβαστις 1449. 19 (?).  
 Δημήτηρ θεὰ μεγίστη 1449. 10, 49 (?).  
 Διόνυσος 1449. 2, 3. σπονδὴ Διονύσου 1436.  
 17, 32, 49.  
 Ἐλουεῖν (voc.) 1566. 7.  
 Ζεὺς 1449. 1, 5, 6, 7, 58 (θεὸς μέγιστος);  
 1482. 6.  
 Ἥλιος 1566. 1.  
 Ἥλοαί (voc.) 1566. 6.  
 Ἥρα 1449. 1, 5, 6, 7, 58 (θεὰ μεγίστη).  
 θεὰ, θεός. θ. μέγας, μέγιστος. See Ἀπόλλων,  
 Ζεὺς, Σάραπις. θεὰ μεγίστη see Δημήτηρ, Ἥρα,  
 Θοῆρις. θεός (Christian) 1492. 19; 1493.  
 13; 1494. 3, 7; 1593. 12. κύριος θ. 1493.

5; 1495. 5. θεοί 1464. 5; 1482. 9;  
 1550. 15, 21; 1582. 7. θεοὶ τῆς πόλ. τῶν  
 Ἀντιοέων 1489. 2. θεοὶ μέγιστοι 1449.  
 58; 1550. 10. θεοὶ σύνναοι 1449. 2; 1550.  
 10. Cf. Index I.  
 Θοῆρις 1449. 4; 1550. 8. Θοῶρις θεὰ μεγίστη  
 1453. 9. Cf. Index V (c).  
 Ἰσις 1550. 8, 20. Ἰ. Ταποσιριάς 1434. 11.  
 Κόρη 1449. 2, 5, 6, 44, 52.  
 Νεωτέρα 1449. 2, 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14.  
 Πεταπινακσενεὶ . ξα . πετενταετηρηκειειχιδουαι-  
 ρουβι (voc.) 1566. 7.  
 Πετκηιερχενεικαμητρον (voc.) 1566. 5.  
 Σαπειφνήπ 1566. 2.  
 Σάραπις 1550. 9. ὁ κύριος Σ. 1484. 4; 1583.  
 5. ὁ μέγας Σ. 1472. 9. Σ. θεὸς μέγιστος  
 1453. 5.  
 Σάφθις 1435. 9.  
 Συλικύσησος 1478. 5.  
 Τιαρκαμικεντευ (voc.) 1566. 10.  
 Τυφών 1449. 14.

## (b) TEMPLES.

Δημητρείον 1449. 5; 1485. 3.  
 Θοηρείον 1484. 6. ἱερὸν Θοῆριδος 1453.  
 9. ἄμφοδον Δρόμον Θ. See Index V (c).  
 ἰβιών. See Index V (b) 1 and 2.  
 ἱεράκιον 1475. 23.  
 ἱερόν 1414. 4, 11; 1449. 58; 1453. 13, 16, 19.  
 ἰ. Ἀπόλλωνος 1435. 2; 1449. 4. ἰ. Διονύσου  
 1449. 3. ἰ. Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας 1449. 7. ἰ. Διὸς  
 καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀταργάτιδος Βεθεννῦ[ιδ(ος?) καὶ

Κόρης 1449. 5, 6. ἰ. Κόρης 1449. 52. ἰ.  
 Θοῆριδος. See Θοηρείον. ἰ. Νεωτέρας 1449.  
 4, 8, 10. ἰ. Σαράπιδος. See Σαραπίον. ἰ.  
 Σάφθιος 1435. 6, 9.  
 Ἰσείον, τὸ ἀντόθι (sc. in the Serapeum) ἰ. 1453.  
 6. Cf. Index V (b). 1.  
 Ναναίου (Alex.) 1473. 41; 1475. 45.  
 Σαραπίον, τὸ πρὸς Ὁξ. πόλ. Σ. 1457. 10 (Σαρα-  
 πείον); 1473. 7. ἱερὸν Σαράπιδος 1453. 5.

## (c) PRIESTLY TITLES.

- ἀρχιερεύς 1413. 10; 1415. 22, 25, 28; 1434. 10 (of Alexandria?); 1461. 3.  
 θυσίαί, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν θ. αἰρεθέντες 1464. 1.  
 ἱερά, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν 1453. 13.  
 ἱερεὺς 1414. 4 (?); 1416. 10, 15; 1444. 13, 23; 1446. 8, 85; 1449. 1. ἱ. καὶ ἀρχιδικαστής. See Index VIII.  
 ἱεροτέκτων 1550. 7, 14. Cf. τέκτων 1550. 19.  
 κωμαστὴς προτομῶν τοῦ κυρ. Σεβ. καὶ νίκης αὐτοῦ προαγούσης 1449. 2.  
 λυχνιάπτης (-τος Π) 1453. 4, 8.  
 νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος 1472. 8.  
 παστοφόρος 1435. 2, 6, 9.  
 προφήτης 1480. 2, 29.

## (d) MISCELLANEOUS.

- ἀναθεθέντα 1449. 9 sqq.  
 ἀνδριαντάρια Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας 1449. 58.  
 ἀνιερωθέντα 1449. 12.  
 βασιλίσκος 1566. 9.  
 βωμός 1449. 47, 49.  
 δρόμος (Σαραπίου) 1457. 12. Cf. Index V (c).  
 εἰκονίδιον (of Caracalla, Severus and Julia Domna) 1449. 8, 42, 54, 56, 58, 60, 63.  
 ζῆδιον Κόρης 1449. 44.  
 θεῖος 1449. 15, 23, 25. θ. διάταξις 1405. 26.  
 θ. δωρεά 1504. 15. θ. τῶν Σεβ. νόμισμα 1411. 7. θ. κρίσις 1464. 6. θ. πρόνοια 1492. 8.  
 θύειν 1464. 4, 7; 1483. 9.  
 θυσία 1464. 1.  
 Ἰακχάριον (ιαχχαρ. Π) 1449. 46.  
 ἱερατικά 1443. 8.  
 ἱερεῖον 1464. 8.  
 ἱερός 1592. 7. ἱερά (γῆ) 1434. 11; 1437. 9; 1446. 52. ἱ. υἱός 1492. 1, 21. ἱ. ὑπογραφή 1469. 19. ἱερώτατος Καῖσαρ 1433. 25.  
 ἱερώτ. Νεῖλος 1409. 17. ἱερώτ. ταμίον 1558. 7.  
 κλίνη τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος 1484. 3.  
 κύριος. See (a) θεός and Σάραπις.  
 λαμπὰς Κόρης 1449. 44.  
 νίκη, ἐπέικτης χρυσοῦ στεφάνου καὶ νίκης τοῦ κυρ. ἡμῶν Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβ. 1413. 25. κωμαστὴς προτομῶν τοῦ κυρ. Σεβ. καὶ νίκης αὐτοῦ προαγούσης 1449. 2.  
 ξόανον 1449. 14, 52. ξ. Δήμητρος 1449. 10. ξ. Νεωτέρας 1449. 12, 13.  
 Ὀπριανός 1566. 9.  
 πανήγυρις 1416. 2, 16.  
 πηδάλιον Νεωτέρας 1449. 14.  
 πρόνοια, θεία π. 1492. 8.  
 πρ(οσ)κυνη[τήριον] 1449. 19.  
 προτομή 1449. 2, 10, 14.  
 σπουδὴ Διονύσου 1436. 17, 32, 49.  
 σωτήρ 1566. 3.

## VII. ASTROLOGY.

- Αἰγόκερος 1476. 12; 1563. 8, 9; 1564. 7.  
 ἀκρόνυκτος (ακρων. Π) 1476. 5.  
 Ἄρης 1476. 7; 1563. 4; 1564. 5; 1565. 6.  
 ἀρχάς 1565. 8.  
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